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VOL. I

INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

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INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

NEW EDITION

BY

E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

EPIGRAPHIST TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS, RETIRED

WITH 55 PLATES

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PREFACE

THE printing of this volume was stopped in 1914 by the outbreak of war. In 1920 the Government sanctioned a resumption of printing, and the re-composition of those sheets which had been already struck off, but had become antiquated in the meantime owing to fresh researches. I have tried to sift critically, and to quote, when necessary, whatever has been written by scholars on the subject in the course of nearly a century. The transcripts of the texts are based on mechanical copies furnished by the Archæological Survey Department under orders of Sir John MARSHALL. The most perfect among these were contributed by my former assistant, now Government Epigraphist for India, Rao Bahadur H. KRISHNA SASTRI. The plates issued with this volume are collotype reproductions of negatives which were prepared under my personal supervision by Mr. Carl PLETTNER. With the exception of the two Shāhbāzgaṛhī edicts VII and XII, the impressions of the two Kharōshṭhī versions of the fourteen rock-edicts proved unsuitable for reproduction, partly owing to the extreme roughness of the rocks on which these records are engraved, and partly because Sir Aurel STEIN's careful estampages of them had become torn and damaged by frequent use. It is a pleasant duty to thank those scholars who have rendered me valuable assistance. Before the war I could avail myself of the ever ready advice of my late friend Dr. J. F. FLEET. To the late Professor Arthur VENIS I am indebted for detailed criticisms of my rendering of the Girnār and Kālsī versions. Professor A. A. MACDONELL kindly looked at the proof-sheets of portions of the texts and translations. The proofs of the introduction were minutely examined by two old friends, Mr. Robert SEWELL and Professor Th. ZACHARIAE.

E. HULTZSCH.

HALLE,
October, 1922.

POSTSCRIPT

THE issuing of this volume was still delayed by the printing of the collotype plates when I received from Mr. H. HARGREAVES, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Frontier Province, Peshawar, a fresh set of inked estampages of the two north-western versions of the rock-edicts. These estampages have been made with great care and skill, and enable me at the last moment to furnish illustrations of the whole of the Shāhbāzgaṛhī and Mānsehrā edicts. The overlapping sections were clipped and pinned together in my presence by Mr. PLETTNER. In this way the creases and slips disfiguring other facsimiles which I had received in a pasted condition were avoided. Although, owing to the rough surface of the rocks, the new estampages are not quite perfect in every detail, they are the first ever made which admit of reproduction by photography, and they will thus allow students to check the transcripts of those valuable ancient records, and to acquire a first-hand knowledge of the whimsical and often ambiguous Kharōshṭhī characters. Scholars will feel much indebted to Mr. HARGREAVES, who has now supplied this want, and to Sir John MARSHALL, at whose instance the new impressions were prepared by him.

E. H.

HALLE,
January, 1924.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AJP = American Journal of Philology.
ASSI = Archæological Survey of Southern India.
ASWI = Archæological Survey of Western India.
BRWW = Buddhist Records of the Western World (Beal).
CR = Comptes Rendus. Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres.
EI = Epigraphia Indica.
GGA = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
GN = Nachrichten der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.
Grammatik = Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen (Pischel).
IA = Indian Antiquary.
IF = Indogermanische Forschungen.
Ind. Alt. = Indische Alterthumskunde (Lassen).
Ind. Pal. = Indian Paleography (Bühler).
JA = Journal Asiatique.
Jaartelling = Over de Jaartelling der Zuidelijke Buddhisten (Kern).
JAOS = Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JASB = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JBBRAS = Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society.
JPASB = Journal & Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
KZ = Kuhn's Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung.
Lotus = Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi (Burnouf).
Memoirs, ASB = Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
SBE = Sacred Books of the East.
Skt. = Sanskrit.
SPAW = Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
VOJ = Vienna Oriental Journal.
ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I. DESCRIPTION OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

FIRST PART: THE ROCK-EDICTS

THE above term is meant to comprise (1) the existing versions of the well-known '**fourteen edicts**', and (2) the two '**separate edicts**' which the Dhauli and Jaugaḍa versions substitute for edicts XI to XIII. It does not include the minor rock-inscriptions, which will be treated in the fourth part.

I. THE GIRNAR ROCK (Text, p. 1).

This famous set of Aśōka's fourteen edicts is found about a mile to the east of **Junāgaṛh**, the capital of the Junāgaṛh State in the Kāṭhiāvāṛ Peninsula, 'and at the entry of the dell or gorge which leads into the valley that girdles the mighty and sacred **Girnār**' mountain.[1] The inscription 'covers considerably over a hundred square feet of the uneven surface of a huge rounded and somewhat conical granite boulder, rising 12 feet above the surface of the ground, and about 75 feet in circumference at the base.'[2] The boulder bears, beside Aśōka's edicts, two other valuable documents: An inscription of the *Mahākshatrapa* **Rudradāman** records the restoration of the lake **Sudarśana**, which had been 'originally constructed by the *Vaiśya* **Pushyagupta**, the provincial governor (*rāshṭriya*) of the **Maurya** king **Chandragupta**, and subsequently adorned with conduits by the **Yavana** king **Tushāspha** for **Aśōka** the **Maurya**.'[3] Among local names it mentions **Girinagara**, i. e. the town of Junāgaṛh or its ancient representative, and **Ūrjayat**, i. e. the mountain now called Girnār.[4] The third inscription on the boulder is dated in the reign of the **Gupta** king **Skandagupta** and records further repairs of the lake Sudarśana made in A. D. 456–7 by Chakrapālita, the son of Parṇadatta who was governor of **Surāshṭra**.[5]

The Aśōka inscription occupies the north-east face of the boulder. The fourteen edicts are arranged in two columns and divided from one another by straight lines. As may be seen on the third of the plates issued with Wilson's article in JRAS, 12. 153 ff., the left column consists of edicts I to V and the right one of edicts VI to XII; and

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[1] ASWI, 2. 94. The position of the inscribed stone is marked on Lieutenant Postans' sketch of Girnār in JASB, vol. 7, plate 54.

[2] ASWI, 2. 97. A photograph of the boulder is given on the plate facing page 94 of the same volume.

[3] Lüders, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* (EI, vol. 10, Appendix), p. 99.

[4] EI, 8. 42. The later (Prākṛit) form of Ūrjayat is Ujjayanta. Cf. Hēmachandra's *Anēkārthasaṅgraha*, III, 279, and his *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*, IV, 97; ASWI, 2. 154 ff., and 8. 328 ff.; Tawney's translation of Mērutuṅga's *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, Index. Another name of the Girnār mountain is Raivata or Raivataka. See e. g. Hēmachandra's two Kōśas, loc. cit.; Māgha's *Śiśupālavadha*, IV, 1; GN, 1921. 41.

[5] Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 57 f.

edicts XIII and XIV are placed below V and XII. When Major James Tod visited Girnār in December 1822, the inscription seems to have been intact.[1] Subsequently portions of edicts V and XIII were blasted with gunpowder by the workmen of a pious merchant who constructed a causeway from Junāgaṛh to Girnār.[2] At the recommendation of the late Dr. Burgess a shed has been specially built to protect the boulder from the sun and rain.

The first decipherment of the **Brāhmī** alphabet and, with it, of the Girnār inscription, is due to the learning and ingenuity of **James Prinsep**.[3] His transcript and translation were based on tracings on cloth which had been taken in 1835 by Captain Lang for the Rev. Dr. J. Wilson of Bombay.[4] Fresh copies were made by Lieutenant Postans and Captain Lang in 1838,[5] and by Captain (afterwards General) Le Grand Jacob and Professor Westergaard in 1842.[6] These materials were utilized by Mr. E. Norris for drawing up an improved plate of the Girnār inscription, from which Professor H. H. Wilson's transcript and translation in JRAS, vol. 12 (1850), were made. No better materials were available to three other scholars who examined the Girnār version, viz. Professor Chr. Lassen (*Indische Altertumskunde*), E. Burnouf (*Lotus de la Bonne Loi*; Paris, 1852), and Professor H. Kern (*Over de Jaartelling der Zuidelijke Buddhisten en de Gedenkstukken van Açoka den Buddhist*; Amsterdam, 1873).

The first perfectly mechanical estampages of the Girnār edicts were prepared in 1875 by Dr. J. Burgess. These were reproduced by collotype in 1876 in ASWI, 2. 98 ff., and also in IA, 5. 257 ff., with an English translation of Kern's Dutch versions of part of the edicts.

A complete edition of the Girnār edicts is included in Senart's *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, vol. I. An abridged English translation of his work appeared in IA, vols. 9 and 10. In JA (8), 12. 311 ff., Senart added the results of his inspection of the Girnār rock *in situ*. Bühler published a number of corrections and the text of edict XIII in his *Beiträge zur Erklärung der Aśoka-Inschriften* (ZDMG, vols. 37–48), and the full text of the Girnār version in EI, 2. 447 ff. The plates which accompany this article are much clearer than those issued in 1876, but seem to have been touched up by hand. *A Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions* printed at Bhavnagar (without year) contains the text, Sanskrit and English translations, and facsimiles, of the Girnār edicts.

Two fragments of the lost portion of edict XIII were recovered recently and are now preserved in the Junāgaṛh Museum.[7] Both of them were discussed by Senart (JRAS, 1900. 335 ff.), and the second of them also by Bühler (VOJ, 8. 318 ff.). Both pieces are shown in the plate which accompanies my transcript of edict XIII.

As regards the Brāhmī **alphabet** of the Girnār inscription I can refer the reader to Bühler's *Indian Paleography*, edited by Fleet (IA, vol. 33, Appendix), § 16. The chief peculiarity of the Girnār alphabet is the addition of the horizontal bar, marking the length of initial *ā*, at the top of *a*, while it is elsewhere attached to the middle of the letter. The formation of groups of consonants, and the peculiar way in which the letter *r* is expressed in combination with other consonants, will be discussed in the chapter on the Girnār dialect (below, p. lviii. f.).

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[1] ASWI, 2. 95.
[2] Cf. JASB, 7. 874.
[3] JASB, 7 (1838). 219 ff.
[4] Id., pp. 157, 228, 334, 336.
[5] Id., p. 871 ff.
[6] JBBRAS, 1. 257 f., and 2. 410.
[7] They may be identical with two fragments picked up by Lieutenant Postans in 1838; see JASB, 7. 874.

II. The Kalsi Rock (Text, p. 27).

This set of the fourteen edicts is engraved near **Kālsī**, a town in the Chakrātā tahsīl of the Dehra Dūn district of the United Provinces. About one and a half miles to the north of Kālsī 'is a huge boulder of quartz on the western bank of the Jumna, just above the junction of the Tons river, and about fifteen miles to the west of Mussooree.'

'The block is 10 feet long and 10 feet high, and about 8 feet thick at bottom. The south-eastern face has been smoothed, but rather unevenly, as it follows the undulations of the original surface. The main inscription is engraved on this smoothed surface, which measures 5 feet in height, with a breadth of 5½ feet at top, which increases towards the bottom to 7 feet 10½ inches. The deeper hollows and cracks have been left uninscribed, and the lines of letters are undulating and uneven. Towards the bottom, beginning with the tenth edict, the letters increase in size until they become about thrice as large as those of the upper part. Owing either to this enlargement of the letters, or, perhaps, to the latter part of the inscription being of later date, the prepared surface was too small for the whole record, which was therefore completed on the left-hand side of the rock. On the right-hand side an **elephant** is traced in outline.'

'When first found by Mr. Forrest early in 1860, the letters of the inscription were hardly visible, the whole surface being encrusted with the dark moss of ages; but on removing this black film, the surface becomes nearly as white as marble.'[1]

Senart's edition of the Kālsī text in his *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, vol. I, was based on Cunningham's eye-copy of the inscription. Bühler published both the text and a translation from a rubbing supplied by Cunningham (ZDMG, vols. 37 and 40), and a revised version of the text of edict XIII from an impression prepared by Burgess (id., 43. 162 ff.). A collotype of the first half of Cunningham's rubbing was issued with ZDMG, vol. 39. In EI, 2. 447 ff., Bühler re-edited the Kālsī text, which was accompanied by reproductions of inked estampages by Burgess.

The Kālsī **alphabet** exhibits the following chief peculiarities. The letter *kh* has a loop at the bottom; see Bühler's *Ind. Pal.*, plate 2, No. 10, columns II and III. A similar loop is found occasionally in the centre of *j* (id., No. 15, column III) and of *s* (id., No. 39, column VII). The end of an edict is marked by a symbol resembling a crescent. From edict X the characters get larger, and the two letters *ś* and *sh* are frequently used. The former of these occurs already twice in edict IV, l. 13,[2] and the second twice in the Queen's edict on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar, ll. 1 and 4, once on the Sārnāth pillar, l. 10, and once at Maski, l. 2. In a few lines of the first part of the Kālsī inscription (29, 33–36, 39) the punctuation mark ı, which occurs once in each of ll. 13, 25, 31, is employed many times. The same mark is found in the Sahasrām and Maski rock-inscriptions.

III. The Shahbazgarhi Rock (Text, p. 50).

While the alphabet of the two preceding sets of the fourteen edicts is the Brāhmī, this one is written in those north-western cursive characters running from the right to the left which used to be called Indo-Bactrian or Ariano-Pāli, but to which Bühler restored the indigenous name **Kharōshṭhī**. The honour of the decipherment of this alphabet is divided between Prinsep, Lassen, Norris, and Cunningham.[3] A number

[1] Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 12 f.

[2] Also once in each of the Bairāṭ, Maski, and Śiddāpura rock-inscriptions, and twice at Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara.

[3] JASB, 23. 714; *Ind. Pal.*, § 6.

of Kharōshṭhī letters had been already identified from bilingual coins of the Indo-Grecian and Indo-Scythian kings, before the Shāhbāzgaṛhī inscription was discovered.

Shāhbāzgaṛhī is a village on the Makām river, nine miles from Mardān, the head-quarters of the Yūsufzai subdivision of the Peshāvar district of the North-West Frontier Province. The inscription is about half a mile distant from this village and two miles from the village of Kapurdagaṛhī.[1] It 'is engraved on a large shapeless mass of trap rock, lying about 80 feet up the slope of the hill, with its western face looking downwards towards the village of Shāhbāzgaṛhī.'[2] The edicts I to XI are on the east face (edict VII being entered on the left at the top of the rock), and the edicts XIII and XIV are on the west face. Edict XII is engraved on a separate boulder, which is now enclosed within a wall.

M. (afterwards General) Court, of Mahārāja Ranjit Singh's service, first notified the existence of a Kharōshṭhī inscription near Shāhbāzgaṛhī in 1836 and gave a few letters copied by himself. In 1838 Captain Burnes, being at Peshāvar, sent an agent to Shāhbāzgaṛhī, who returned with an imperfect paper impression. In the same year Mr. C. Masson obtained through a young man a partial impression on calico. He then proceeded to the spot himself and prepared fresh copies.[3] His zeal deserves much praise, as at that time a journey through such an unpacified tract involved considerable personal risk. Masson's materials were brought to Europe and examined by Norris, who first read in them the word *Devanaṁpiyasa.* With the help of this discovery, Dowson ascertained that the portion of which a facsimile is given in JRAS, 8 (1846). 303, is a duplicate of edict VII of the Girnār inscription. Norris further found that the front of the rock contained the edicts I to XI, and traced on the back of it portions of edict XIII. He also published the text of edict VII (id., p. 306 f.). In 1850 Wilson contributed a tentative transcript of both faces of the Shāhbāzgaṛhī rock, accompanied by plates drawn by Norris from Masson's copies (id., 12. 153 ff.). An independent eye-copy of the Shāhbāzgaṛhī inscription was prepared by Cunningham (*Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 10).

Senart's transcript in his *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, vol. I, had still to be based on the same imperfect materials. Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji furnished transcripts of the Shāhbāzgaṛhī and other versions of edict I (IA, 10. 107) and of edict VIII (JBBRAS, 15. 284). After the return from a trip to India, Senart published the results of his examination of edicts I to XI *in situ* (JA (8), 11. 521 ff.). The missing edict XII was discovered on a separate boulder by Captain Deane and edited both by Senart (id., p. 511 ff.) and by Bühler (EI, 1. 16 ff.). The latter published the whole Shāhbāzgaṛhī version in ZDMG, 43. 128 ff., and a fresh transcript and a translation of it in EI, 2. 447 ff., from estampages by Burgess. The only portions of which mechanical copies have been made public so far are edict VII (ZDMG, vol. 43) and edict XII (EI, 1. 16).

IV. THE MANSEHRA ROCK (Text, p. 71).

Like the Shāhbāzgaṛhī version this set of the fourteen edicts is written in the **Kharōshṭhī** alphabet. **Mānsehrā** is the head-quarters of a tahsīl in the Hazāra district of the North-West Frontier Province. The inscription is found to the north of the village and is engraved on three boulders. Of these, the first bears edicts I to VIII, the second edicts IX to XI on its north face and edict XII on its south face, and

[1] Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 8.

[2] Id., p. 9. For a sketch-map of the locality see Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, vol. V, plate 3.

[3] JRAS, 8. 293 ff.

the third edicts XIII and XIV. The two first inscribed stones were discovered by Cunningham,[1] and the third in 1889 by a native subordinate of the Panjāb Archæological Survey.[2]

Senart was the first to transcribe edict XII (JA (8), 11 (1888). 511 ff.) and, from insufficient materials, portions of edicts I to XI (id., 12. 319 ff.). Bühler edited the whole Mānsehrā version first in ZDMG (43. 273 ff., and 44. 702 ff.), and a second time in EI (2. 447 ff.), from estampages by Burgess. JA (8), vol. 12 contains three plates reproduced from Cunningham's casts of edicts I to XII. These are so indistinct that they must be pronounced useless.

V. The Dhauli Rock (Text, p. 84).

Dhauli is a village in the Khurdā subdivision of the Purī district, Orissa, about seven miles south of Bhuvanēsvar. The inscribed rock near the village was discovered in 1837 by Lieutenant Kittoe, who calls it 'Aswastama'.[3] It 'is situated on a rocky eminence forming one of a cluster of hills, three in number, on the south bank of the Dyah river.'

'The hills before alluded to rise abruptly from the plains and occupy a space of about five furlongs by three; they have a singular appearance from their isolated position, no other hills being nearer than eight or ten miles. They are apparently volcanic, and composed of upheaved breccia with quartzose rock intermixed.'

'The *Aswastama* is situated on the northern face of the southernmost rock near its summit; the rock has been hewn and polished for a space of fifteen feet long by ten in height, and the inscription deeply cut thereon.'

'Immediately above the inscription is a terrace sixteen feet by fourteen, on the right side of which (as you face the inscription) is the fore half of an **elephant,** four feet high, of superior workmanship; the whole is hewn out of the solid rock.'[4]

While Prinsep was examining a lithograph of Kittoe's copies, he found that the greater part of the Dhauli inscription was identical with the Girnār edicts (JASB, 7. 157). He further ascertained that the Dhauli rock omits edicts XI to XIII of the Girnār version, but compensates for them by **two separate edicts** (id., p. 219). These two he edited with a tentative translation (id., p. 438 ff.), adding Kittoe's lithograph of the whole Dhauli inscription (id., plate 10). As may be seen on this plate, the inscription is arranged in three columns. The middle column contains edicts I to VI, and the right column edicts VII to X and XIV,[5] and below them, within a border of straight lines, the second separate edict, while the first separate edict occupies the whole of the left column.

Cunningham[6] showed that it would be more correct to exchange the two designations 'first and second separate edict': the separate edict engraved in continuation of edict XIV ought to be called No. I, and the one engraved separately on the left No. II. This order is confirmed by the Jaugaḍa rock (No. VII, below) where Prinsep's No. II is actually placed above No. I. But as all editors (besides Kern) have followed

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[1] JA (8), 11. 508. [2] ZDMG, 44. 702.

[3] Can this name be due to a misreading of the word *gajatame* (see Text, p. 50), which is engraved below the figure of an elephant on the north face of the Kālsī rock, and which might have been originally engraved on the Dhauli rock too? See, however, Text, p. 92, n. 1.

[4] JASB, 7 (1838). 435–7. For a sketch of the elephant see id., plate 25, and for a photograph of it, the frontispiece of V. A. Smith's *Early History of India.*

[5] The commencement of each fresh edict is marked by a short horizontal dash.

[6] *Inscriptions of Asoka*, pp. 16, 20.

Prinsep's arrangement, a change of numbers would now lead to much confusion, and it will be sufficient to keep in mind that the separate edict No. I was engraved *after* No. II.

The two separate edicts were re-edited and translated by Burnouf (*Lotus*, p. 671 ff.) and, from Cunningham's copies, by Kern (JRAS, 1880. 379 ff.). Senart's edition of them[1] was based on estampages by Burgess. The same applies to Bühler's editions of the Dhauli version. He published the whole of it twice: once in German (ZDMG, 39. 489 ff., and 41. 1 ff.) and once in English (ASSI, 1. 114 ff.). His second edition is accompanied by photo-lithographs (plates 64–66).

VI. The Jaugada Rock (Text, p. 101).

A duplicate of the Dhauli edicts is engraved at **Jaugaḍa**, a ruined fort in the Berhampur tāluka of the Ganjām district, Madras, about eighteen miles north-west of Ganjām town, on the northern bank of the Rishikulya river.

The inscribed rock 'is situated in what appears to have once been an extensive but now deserted town, surrounded by the debris of a lofty wall.'

'The rock is part of a large mass of rock or rocks, rising to various heights, and covering a large space of ground, I should say many thousand square yards.'[2]

'The Jaugaḍa inscriptions are written on three different tablets on the vertical face of the rock.'

'The first tablet contained the first five edicts, but about one-half has been utterly lost by the peeling away of the rock.'

'The second tablet comprised the next five edicts, namely, 6 to 10, to which was added the 14th or closing edict of the other versions. About one-third of this tablet has been lost by the peeling away of the rock.'

'The third tablet contained the two separate or additional edicts which are found at Dhauli.'

'These two additional edicts are enclosed in a frame which separates them from the collected series of Aśōka's edicts.'

'The separation of these two edicts is more distinctly marked by the accompaniment of the *svastika* symbol at each of the upper corners of the upper inscription, and of the letter *m* at the upper corners of the lower inscription.'[3]

'Copies of the inscriptions were taken in 1850 by the present Sir Walter Elliot, who was perfectly aware that they contained only another version of Aśōka's edicts, which had already been found at Shāhbāzgaṛhī, Girnār, and Dhauli.'[4]

Thanks to orders of the Government of Madras, the rock is now protected by an iron roof and railing.

The **two separate edicts** of Jaugaḍa were edited with those of Dhauli by Profe sor Kern. The first purely mechanical estampages of the rock were prepared by Burgess. On these Senart's edition of the two separate edicts was based.[5] Bühler published edicts I to X and XIV from a photograph by Mr. Minchin (ZDMG, vols. 37 and 40) and the two separate edicts from Burgess's estampages (id., 41. 1 ff.). His

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[1] *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, 2. 105 ff., and IA, 19. 82 ff.

[2] Mr. W. F. Grahame in IA, 1 (1872). 219.

[3] Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 19 f. In JPASB, 17. 232 f., Harit Krishna Deb very ingeniously explains the *svastika* symbol as a monogram consisting of two Brāhmī *o*'s, and the *m* as the final letter of the sacred syllable *ōm*.

[4] Cunningham, op. cit., p. 18. For further attempts to copy the Jaugaḍa inscriptions I may refer to the same page, and to R. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, vol. I, p. 4.

[5] For references see above, under Dhauli.

second edition of the whole Jaugaḍa version (ASSI, 1. 114 ff.) is accompanied by photo-lithographs (plates 67–69).

VII. The Bombay-Sopara Fragment (Text, p. 118).

Sōpārā is an ancient town in the Bassein tāluka of the Thāna district, Bombay. There Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji discovered in 1882 a broken block of basalt bearing about one-third of the **eighth rock-edict** of Aśōka. The existing fragment suggests that a complete set of his edicts must have been engraved near Sōpārā.

'The stone was found near the Bhātelā pond to the east of the town close to the old landing-place.' [1]

The Pandit published a tracing and transcript of the fragment, along with the text of five other versions of edict VIII. The original stone is now preserved in the Museum of the **Bombay** Asiatic Society.

SECOND PART: THE PILLAR-EDICTS

This term is meant to comprise the Aśōka inscriptions on the Delhi-Tōprā pillar and on the five other pillars which bear six of the seven edicts inscribed on it. The minor pillar-inscriptions will be treated separately in the third part. The 'Queen's edict' and the 'Kauśāmbī edict', however, are included in the second part, because they are inscribed on the Allahabad-Kōsam column which bears also six of the chief pillar-edicts.

I. The Delhi-Topra Pillar (Text, p. 119).

This famous monument 'is a single shaft of pale pinkish sandstone, 42 feet 7 inches in length, of which the upper portion, 35 feet in length, has received a very high polish, while the remainder is left quite rough.' [2] It used to be known by the names of 'Bhīmasēna's pillar', 'Golden pillar', 'Fīrōz Shāh's pillar', and 'Delhi-Siwālik pillar'. Shams-i Sirāj, a historian of **Fīrōz Shāh** (A.D. 1351–88), informs us that it stood originally 'in the village of Tobra, in the district of Sālaura and Khizrābād, in the hills'; [3] that Sultan Fīrōz had it carried to Delhi; and that he erected it again on the top of his palace at Fīrōzābād. From Tobra near Khizrābād, which was ninety *kōs* from Delhi, the column was carried on a truck with forty-two wheels to the bank of the Jamnā, whence it was floated down the river to Fīrōzābād (Delhi) on a number of large boats.

Cunningham (*Arch. Reports*, 14. 78 f.) identified the village of Tobra, where the pillar stood originally, with the present **Tōprā**, on the direct line between Ambālā and Sirsāvā, eighteen miles to the south of Sādhōrā, and twenty-two miles to the south-west of Khizrābād. The pillar is standing to the present day on the roof of the three-storied citadel (*kōṭlā*) of Fīrōz Shāh outside the 'Delhi Gate' to the south-east of modern **Delhi**. [4] An elevation of the building, with the pillar on the top of it, was published in 1788 in the first volume of the *Asiatic Researches*, p. 379, and a sketch of it in 1803 in vol. 7, p. 175, plate 4.

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[1] JBBRAS, 15. 282. [2] Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 35.

[3] Elliot-Dowson's *History of India*, 3. 350.

[4] See a note by Lieutenant Kittoe, JASB, 6. 796 f., and the map facing p. 185 of Baedeker's *Indien*.

The Delhi-Tōprā pillar bears **seven edicts** of Aśōka, of which the last and longest is unique, while other specimens of the first six edicts have been discovered elsewhere. The first six edicts and the eleven first lines of the seventh edict are arranged in four columns on the north, west, south, and east faces of the pillar; the eleven remaining lines of the seventh edict run all round the pillar.

Besides the Aśōka edicts and several minor records of pilgrims and travellers,[1] the pillar bears three short inscriptions of the Chāhamāna **Vīsaladēva** of Śākambarī, son of Ānnalladēva (EI, 9. 67, n. 5), dated A.D. 1164, which have been edited last by Kielhorn from Fleet's impressions (IA, 19. 215 ff.).

The Delhi-Tōprā pillar-inscription is the first record of Aśōka that was read and translated in 1837 by Prinsep (JASB, 6. 566 ff.). Facsimiles of this inscription had been in the possession of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 'since its very foundation, without any successful attempt having been made to decipher them' (id., p. 566).

'On searching the Society's portfolio' Prinsep 'found the five original manuscript plates of Captain Hoare, whence the engravings published in the *Researches*[2] seem to have been copied.'

'I found also two much larger drawings of the first and last inscription of the series, apparently of the actual dimensions.—These I suppose to have been the originals presented to Sir William Jones by Colonel Polier, and therefore of themselves venerable for their antiquity!' (id., p. 567).[3]

The ingenious manner in which Prinsep succeeded in deciphering the ancient Brāhmī alphabet deserves to be recorded here in his own words:

'In laying open a discovery of this nature, some little explanation is generally expected of the means by which it has been attained. Like most other inventions, when once found it appears extremely simple; and, as in most others, accident, rather than study, has had the merit of solving the enigma which has so long baffled the learned.'

'While arranging and lithographing the numerous scraps of facsimiles for Plate XXVII,[4] I was struck at their all terminating with the same two letters, दानं. Coupling this circumstance with their extreme brevity and insulated position, which proved that they could not be fragments of a continuous text, it immediately occurred [to me] that they must record either obituary notices, or more probably the offerings and presents of votaries, as is shown to be the present custom in the Buddhist temples of Ava; where numerous *dhvajas* or flag-staffs, images, and small *chaityas* are crowded within the enclosure, surrounding the chief cupola, each bearing the name of the donor. The next point noted was the frequent occurrence of the letter स, already set down incontestably as *s*, before the final word:—now this I had learnt from the Saurāshṭra coins, deciphered only a day or two before, to be one sign of the genitive case singular, being the *ssa* of the Pāli, or *sya* of the Sanskrit. "Of so and so the gift", must then be the form of each brief sentence; and the vowel *ā* and Anusvāra led to the speedy recognition of the word *dānaṁ* (gift), teaching me the very two letters, *d* and *n*, most different from known forms, and which had foiled me most in my former attempts. Since 1834 also my acquaintance with ancient alphabets had become so familiar that most of the remaining letters in the present examples could be named at once on re-inspection. In the course of a few minutes I thus became possessed of the whole

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[1] See Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 1. 167, and 5. 143 f.

[2] See *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 7, plates 6–10.

[3] Cf. *Asiatic Researches*, 1. 379.

[4] 'Inscriptions from Sanchee, taken in facsimile on paper by Capt. E. Smith, Engineers.'

alphabet, which I tested by applying it to the inscription on the Delhi column' (id., p. 460 f.).

The first four edicts were examined by Burnouf in his *Lotus*, and the fourth and sixth by Kern in his *Jaartelling*. Senart's edition and translation of the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edicts in his *Inscriptions de Piyadasi* (2. 1 ff.) were based on Cunningham's eye-copies. In 1884 Fleet issued excellent photo-lithographs, to which Bühler added transcripts in the Nāgarī character (IA, 13. 306 ff.), and which were utilized in Sir George Grierson's English translation of Senart's French article (IA, vols. 17 and 18). Finally Bühler edited and translated the seven pillar-edicts twice, in German (ZDMG, vols. 45 and 46) and in English (EI, 2. 245 ff.).

II. The Delhi-Mirath Pillar (Text, p. 137).

This pillar now stands on the so-called 'Ridge' to the north-west of modern **Delhi.**[1] Like the Delhi-Tōprā pillar, it was carried to Delhi by **Fīrōz Shāh.** Shams-i-Sirāj tells us that it stood before in the vicinity of **Mīraṭh**, now a town and the head-quarters of a district of the United Provinces, and that Fīrōz Shāh re-erected it at Delhi on a hill in the Kushk-i-Shikār or 'Hunting-Palace',[2] which is known to have been situated on the Ridge.[3]

The pillar bears, besides some modern scribblings,[4] a more or less damaged version of the first **five edicts** of the Delhi-Tōprā pillar. A lithograph of its inscription was published by Prinsep in JASB, vol. 6 (1837), plate 42, from impressions forwarded by Major P. L. Pew, who added the following particulars:

'This very ancient Hindu pillar was dug out of some ruins near a well, and was probably destroyed by the blowing up of a powder magazine which I understand once existed near the spot. It consists of five pieces.'

'The pillar is sandstone, and to its perishable nature is to be attributed the imperfect state of the inscriptions' (id., p. 795).

Padre Tieffenthaler, who visited Delhi towards the middle of the eighteenth century, already saw the same five pieces lying on the top of the Ridge, and also ascribed the destruction of the pillar to gunpowder.[5]

'There the five pieces remained undisturbed for upwards of a century, when the inscribed portion was' sawn off[6] and 'sent down to Calcutta to the Museum of the Asiatic Society. Within the last few years this piece has been returned to Delhi, and the pillar has again been set up in its old position.'[7]

IA, vol. 19 contains a facsimile of the Delhi-Mīraṭh pillar-edicts by Fleet with transcripts by Bühler (p. 122 ff.), who reprinted the text twice, in ZDMG (vols. 45 and 46) and in EI (2. 245 ff.).

A fragment bearing portions of the two last lines of the **sixth edict** was offered to the British Museum in 1913. Its dimensions render it very probable that it belonged originally to the Delhi-Mīraṭh pillar.

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[1] The position of the pillar is marked on plate 25 (facing p. 132) of Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, vol. I. See also the map facing p. 185 of Baedeker's *Indien*.

[2] Elliot-Dowson's *History of India*, 3. 353.

[3] Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 1. 168.

[4] Id., 5. 144.

[5] Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 37.

[6] Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 1. 167.

[7] Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 37.

III and IV. The Lauriya-Araraj and Lauriya-Nandangarh Pillars (Text, pp. 141 and 145).

The inscriptions on these two pillars were already known to Prinsep when he edited the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edicts in 1837 (JASB, 6. 566ff.). Both pillars bear the first **six edicts**, the first four on the east face and the last two on the west face. Mr. B. H. Hodgson had called them the Radhia and Mathiah pillars.[1] Cunningham ascertained that the villages of Radhia and Mathiah are 2½ and three miles distant from them, and proposed to call them the Lauṛiyā-Ararāj and Lauṛiyā-Navandgaṛh pillars.[2] His reasons were the following: Each of the two pillars stands near a village named **Lauṛiyā**, the former of which is in the Champāran district, North Bihār, twenty miles NW. of Kēsariyā, while the second is fifteen miles NNW. of Betiyā in the same district. Both names are derived from the pillars themselves, which were mistaken by the people for *liṅgas* (Hindī *lauṛā*). To distinguish the two different villages of Lauṛiyā, Cunningham combined with the former **Ararāj**, the name of a neighbouring temple of Śiva, and with the second Navandgaṛh, the name of a ruined fort in its vicinity. V. A. Smith (JRAS, 1902. 153, note) added that 'Navandgaṛh' is a mistake for '**Nandangaṛh**'.

The Lauṛiyā-Ararāj pillar 'is a single block of polished sandstone, 36½ feet in height above the ground.'[3] According to V. A. Smith it was originally surmounted by a figure of **Garuḍa**.[4]

The Lauṛiyā-Nandangaṛh pillar 'is formed of a single block of polished sandstone, 32 feet 9½ inches in height.'

'The capital, which is 6 feet 10 inches in height, is bell-shaped, with a circular abacus supporting the statue of a **lion** facing the north. The abacus is ornamented with a row of Brahmani geese pecking their food.'[5]

Besides the Aśōka edicts, the pillar bears a record of the emperor **Aurangzīb** and a few modern scribblings. It is now worshipped as a symbol of Śiva, and its erection is ascribed to the Pāṇḍava Bhīma.[6]

Bühler edited the inscriptions of the Lauṛiyā-Ararāj and Lauṛiyā-Nandangaṛh pillars twice, in ZDMG (vols. 45 and 46) and in EI (2. 245 ff.). His second article was accompanied by photo-lithographs of Mr. Garrick's impressions.

V. The Rampurva Pillar (Text, p. 151).

Another copy of the first **six edicts** is engraved on a lion-pillar of polished sandstone, which was discovered by Mr. Carlleyle at **Rāmpurvā** in the Champāran district, 32½ miles north of Betiyā.[7] The relative positions of Lauṛiyā-Ararāj, Lauṛiyā-Nandangaṛh, and Rāmpurvā are shown on V. A. Smith's sketch map in JRAS, 1902. 162, and on plate I of Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, vol. 16.

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[1] See JASB, 3 (1834). 481 ff., where a drawing of the Mathiah pillar and a lithograph of its inscription are given (plates 27 and 29). The first lithograph of the Radhia pillar appeared in vol. 4 (1835), p. 124, plate 7.

[2] *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 39 ff.

[3] Id., p. 40.

[4] *Asoka*, sec. ed., p. 147, and ZDMG, 65. 227.

[5] Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 1. 72 f. For pictures of the pillar see id., plates 22 and 25; vol. 16, plate 27; the frontispiece of V. A. Smith's *Asoka*, sec. ed.; and plate 2 of his *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*.

[6] Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 41.

[7] Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 22. 51.

'The pillar has fallen down, and is now lying partly in water.[1] The upper part of the lion is gone, but the lower part of the animal, with the bell capital and circular abacus with the well-known geese and conventional flowers, is still in very fair condition. The capital was fixed to the shaft by a massive copper bolt.'[2]

Mr. Garrick prepared impressions of that side of the pillar which could then be reached. Bühler's transcripts of them (ZDMG, vols. 45 and 46; EI, 2. 245 ff., with photo-lithograph) show that it contained portions of the first four edicts.

To Sir John Marshall we are indebted for complete impressions of the six edicts and for the discovery of the missing **lion-capital.**[3] The length of the shaft was found to be 44 feet 9½ inches, of which 8 feet 9 inches are left rough-dressed, having originally been buried in the ground. As on the two Lauṛiyā pillars, the inscription is divided into two columns on opposite faces of the pillar.

The pillar has now been removed some 200 yards from its former position and lies horizontally on a small mound. To protect the inscription from the weather, a small brick shed has been erected over the centre of the pillar.[4]

VI. The Allahabad-Kosam Pillar (Text, p. 155).

This pillar now stands inside the fort at **Allahabad.** It 'is a single shaft of polished sandstone 35 feet in length.'[5] 'Its total length, including the base, is forty-two feet seven inches.'[6]

Habent sua fata columnae! The history of the Allahabad pillar is as chequered and curious as that of the two Delhi pillars. On examination it is found to contain on it four strata of literary records:

(1) The original inscriptions of Aśōka, viz.:
- (*a*) the first six edicts of the Delhi-Tōprā pillar;
- (*b*) the so-called 'Queen's edict' (to the right of 2);
- (*c*) the so-called 'Kauśāmbī edict' (above *b*).

(2) An inscription of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Samudragupta (below 1).

(3) An interlineation in Nāgarī characters.

(4) An inscription of the emperor Jahāngīr.

A sketch of the pillar by Captain James Hoare and a rough copy of portions of its inscriptions appeared in 1801 in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 7, plates 13 and 14. In 1834 Lieutenant T. S. Burt published, at Prinsep's request, drawings of the pillar (JASB, vol. 3, plate 3), which was then lying on the ground, having been taken down by Colonel Kyd in 1804.[7] 'The common legend of the natives', he says, 'states the pillar to be the *gadā* or staff of Bhīmasēna' (p. 105). Prinsep added a lithograph of Burt's copies of the Aśōka inscriptions and a classified table of letters (plates 4 and 5). Although yet unable to read the alphabet, he very shrewdly guessed the actual value of post-consonantal *ā*, *e*, and Anusvāra.

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[1] See Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, vol. 22, plate 7.

[2] Id., vol. 16, preface, p. viii. See also plate 28.

[3] JRAS, 1908. 1086, and plate I, fig. 1.

[4] See *Annual Report of the Arch. Survey of India, Eastern Circle*, for 1912–1913, p. 36.

[5] Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 37.

[6] Lieutenant Burt in JASB, 3. 105.

[7] See Lieutenant Kittoe's note in JASB, 4. 127.

Six months later he recognised the consonants *y*, *v*, *s* (p. 485), and three years after he deciphered the six Aśōka edicts, together with those of the Delhi-Tōprā pillar.[1]

'The capital of the column was no doubt of the usual bell-shape of Aśōka's other pillars, but of this there is now no trace. The circular abacus, however, still remains, with its graceful scroll of alternate lotus and honeysuckle, resting on a beaded astragalus of Greek origin. This was once surmounted by the statue of a **lion**;[2] but the lion must have disappeared many centuries ago, as when the pillar was re-erected by Jahāngīr in A.D. 1605, it was crowned by a globe, surmounted by a cone, as described and sketched by Padre Tieffenthaler in the middle of the next century.'[3]

In 1838 the pillar was set up again by Captain Edward Smith and provided with a newly designed lion which, according to Cunningham (*Arch. Reports*, 1. 300), looks 'not unlike a stuffed poodle stuck on the top of an inverted flower pot.'

As regards the set of **six edicts** (1, *a*), 'the present confused appearance of it is due chiefly to the later inscriptions [3] that have been engraved between the original lines of writing. The most serious damage that has been done to it is due to seven entire lines and the greater part of the eighth, line 16, having been entirely destroyed to make room for a circular inscription of Jahāngīr [4].'[4] IA, vol. 13 contains a facsimile of the six edicts by Fleet and a Nāgarī transcript by Bühler (p. 306 ff.), who reprinted the text twice, in ZDMG (vols. 45 and 46) and in EI (2. 245 ff.).

The **Queen's edict** (1, *b*) was already transcribed and translated by Prinsep,[5] while the **Kauśāmbī edict** (1, *c*) was first noticed by Cunningham.[6] Both were edited by Senart[7] and, with Fleet's facsimiles, by Bühler (IA, 19. 122 ff.). The Kauśāmbī edict was re-edited by A.-M. Boyer.[8]

The Kauśāmbī edict is addressed to the *Mahāmātras* at Kōsambī (*Kauśāmbī* in Sanskrit). Cunningham concluded from this that the Allahabad pillar must have been originally erected by Aśōka at Kauśāmbī,[9] which is the modern **Kōsam** on the left bank of the Jamnā, about twenty-eight miles west by south from Allahabad.[10] He further suggested that the removal of the pillar from Kōsam to Allahabad was perhaps due to Fīrōz Shāh, who is known to have transported the Tōprā and Mīraṭh pillars to Delhi. But, while Delhi was the capital of Fīrōz Shāh, Allāhabad was founded, or rather refounded, two centuries after him by **Akbar.**[11] This ruler may have removed from Kōsam the Allahabad pillar, on which inscriptions of his favourite Bīrbal[12] and of his son Jahāngīr are engraved. In this case the pillar would have been still standing at Kōsam when the inscription of **Samudragupta** (2) was incised on it. This record was last edited by Fleet in his *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 1; it refers to 'this lofty pillar' (*ayam-uchchhritaḥ stambhaḥ*, l. 30).

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[1] JASB, 6 (1837). 566 ff. See also id., p. 965 f.

[2] Cf. JASB, 4. 127.

[3] Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 37. For Captain Hoare's sketch of the pillar see *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 7, plate 13.

[4] Fleet in IA, 13. 305.

[5] JASB, 6. 568 f. and 966 f., with a lithograph on plate 56, fig. 1. See also id., vol. 3, plate 4, bottom.

[6] *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 38.

[7] *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, 2. 99 ff., and IA, 18. 308 f.

[8] JA (10), 10. 120 ff. and 141.

[9] *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 39.

[10] See Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 2; also Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 391 ff., and EI, 11. 91 and 141.

[11] Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 1. 298. For coins struck by Akbar at Allahabad see the *British Museum Catalogue of Moghul Coins*, pp. 48 and 53, Whitehead's *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum*, vol. II, Introduction, p. xlix, and the Catalogues by Wright (1908) and Brown (1920).

[12] Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 39.

The Nāgarī interlineation (3) of the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar 'is merely a series of unconnected scribblings of various dates, cut in most likely by the attendants on the pillar as a pretext for exacting a few rupees from visitors.'[1]

Jahāngīr's inscription (4) records the names of his ancestors and is dated in A.H. 1014 or A.D. 1605.[2]

THIRD PART: MINOR PILLAR-INSCRIPTIONS

I. THE SAMCHI PILLAR (Text, p. 160).

Sāṁchī[3] is an ancient site in the Bhōpāl State, Central India, 5½ miles from Bhīlsā and about ¾ mile from the Sanchi railway station. The Aśōka pillar 'is only a fragment of a large polished shaft; but near it there still lies a beautiful broken capital crowned by **four lions,** which, no doubt, once surmounted it.'[4] It is now lying in the jungle; but apparently it stood originally near the south gate of the great Sāṁchī Stūpa.[5]

The beginning of the inscription on the pillar is lost, and the first preserved line is badly damaged. A facsimile was published by Burgess in EI, 2. 369. The record was edited and translated by Bühler (id., p. 366 f.) and by Boyer (IA (10), 10. 123 ff. and 141), and re-examined by myself (JRAS, 1911. 167 ff., and 1912. 1055 f.).

II. THE SARNATH PILLAR (Text, p. 161).

Sārnāth, about 3½ miles to the north of **Benares,** is believed to be the site of one of the most memorable events in the career of the Buddha: it adjoins the **Migadāya** (i. e. 'deer-park') at **Isipatana** in which he preached his first sermon.[6] Here Mr. F. O. Oertel discovered a broken pillar of polished sandstone which bears an edict of Aśōka.[7] He found also the former capital of the column, which 'is surmounted by **four** magnificent **lions** standing back to back, and in their middle was a large stone wheel, the sacred *dharmachakra* symbol', of which only fragments remain. 'The lions stand on a drum with four animal figures carved on it, viz. a lion, an elephant, a bull, and a horse, placed between four wheels. The upper part of the capital is supported by an elegantly shaped Persepolitan bell-shaped member.'

In the opinion of a competent judge 'it would be difficult to find in any country an example of ancient animal sculpture superior or even equal to this beautiful work of art, which successfully combines realistic modelling with ideal dignity, and is finished in every detail with perfect accuracy.'[8]

The Chinese traveller, **Hiuen Tsiang,** saw on the site of the Migadāya a stone pillar which stood in front of a *Stūpa* built by **Aśōkarāja,** and which was about 70 feet high.[9]

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[1] Prinsep in JASB, 6. 967. Cf. Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 38 f.

[2] See Lieutenant Burt in JASB, 3. 108, and Prinsep's foot-note.

[3] Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar informed me that this, and not Sāñchī, is the actual pronunciation of the name.

[4] Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 42.

[5] See EI, 2. 366, n. 2, and JRAS, 1902. 30.

[6] Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 1. 107; SBE, 11. 146, and 13. 90; *Buddhist Birth Stories*, 1. 111 f.

[7] *Arch. Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1904–5, p. 68 ff.

[8] V. A. Smith's *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 60. For photographs of the capital see id., plate 13, and Oertel's article, plate 20.

[9] Beal's BRWW, 2. 46.

As Oertel (op. cit., p. 69) has calculated the actual height of the Sārnāth pillar at about 37 feet above ground, Hiuen Tsiang seems to have overestimated its height, unless he refers to a different pillar.

Unfortunately the three top lines of the inscription are broken away, and the fourth line is badly damaged. But Oertel succeeded in recovering three inscribed fragments which, as Professor Vogel has proved, contain the two first *aksharas* of each of lines 1–3, and the end of lines 3 and 4 (EI, 8. 166 f.). The remainder of the inscription was found *in situ* underground, and is in a state of nearly perfect preservation.

The stump of the pillar bears also two short records of a later date: an inscription of king **Aśvaghōsha** which is engraved in continuation of the last line of the Aśōka edict, and a Buddhist inscription in early **Gupta** characters above the Aśvaghōsha epigraph. These three records were first published, with collotypes, by Vogel in EI, 8. 166 ff., and the Aśōka edict was re-edited by Boyer (JA (10), 10. 119 ff.), Senart (CR, 1907. 25 ff.), and Venis (JPASB, 3. 1 ff.). See also my remarks in JRAS, 1912. 1053 ff.

III. The Rummindei Pillar (Text, p. 164).

In December 1896 Dr. Führer found a pillar bearing an inscription of Aśōka about thirteen miles south-east of the Nigālī Sāgar pillar (below, No. IV) in the Nepalese Tarāī. The pillar stands near the shrine of **Rummindēī,** about a mile to the north of the village of **Paṛariyā,** which is about two miles north of Bhagvānpur, the head-quarters of the Nepalese tahsīl of that name, and about five miles to the north-east of Dulhā in the British district of Bastī.[1]

The new Aśōka pillar is a mere stump, but still *in situ* and surrounded by a brick railing. 'It is of hard sandstone of the usual yellowish colour, and rises to a height of 21 feet or so.'[2] The inscription on it was edited, with facsimile, by Bühler in 1898,[3] and records that Aśōka visited the spot and erected the pillar 'because the **Buddha Śākyamuni** was born here', and that the king exempted the village of **Lummini** from taxes.

Both Lummini and the modern name Rummindēī must be identical with the **Lumbinī** grove, the traditional site of the Buddha's birth.[4] This identification is confirmed by **Hiuen Tsiang,** who mentions a pillar set up by **Aśōkarāja** in the Lumbinī garden, and near the pillar the 'river of oil',[5] which is now called Tilār-nadī, i. e. apparently 'the tēlī's or oilman's river'.[6] He further states that the pillar bore on the top the figure of a **horse,** and that it had been struck by lightning and broken off in the middle. This agrees with Mukherji's description of the Rummindēī pillar (p. 34). He tells us that 'its upper portion is gone, and of what remains the top is split into two halves, the line of fissure coming down to near the middle height. The capital was of the usual bell-shaped form, of which the base, broken into two halves, exists . . . . . The stone horse, which crowned the capital, is gone with the upper portion of the shaft';

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[1] See V. A. Smith in IA, 34. 1, and cf. plates 18 and 19 of Babu P. C. Mukherji's *Antiquities in the Tarai* (Calcutta, 1901).

[2] Op. cit., p. 34. For a drawing of the pillar see id., plate 20, fig. 3, and for photographs of it, the plate facing p. 27 of Führer's *Monograph on Buddha Sakyamuni's Birth-place* (Allahabad, 1897) and the plate facing p. 148 of V. A. Smith's *Early History of India.*

[3] EI, 5. 1 ff. For subsequent articles on the Rummindēī inscription see IA, 43. 17.

[4] See the Introduction to the *Jātaka,* vol. I, pp. 52 and 54. For other forms of the word *Lumbinī* see IA, 43. 18.

[5] Beal's BRWW, 2. 24 f.

[6] See V. A. Smith's preface to Mukherji's *Antiquities,* p. 6.

but it seems to be alluded to in the inscription itself. Finally, the temple of Rummindēī contains an ancient sculpture which represents the nativity of the Buddha (op. cit., plate 24, a). This is an additional piece of evidence in favour of the identity of the locality with the *Lumbini-vana.*

IV. The Nigali Sagar Pillar (Text, p. 165).

In March 1895 another Aśōka pillar of polished sandstone was discovered by Führer in the Nepalese Tarāī on the western bank of a large tank called **Nigālī Sāgar,** about a mile south of **Niglīvā.** This village lies about thirteen miles north-west of Rummindēī and belongs to the Nepalese tahsīl of Taulivā (about seven miles north-west of Piprāvā in the British district of Bastī).[1]

The pillar is now called *Nigālī* or 'the smoking-pipe' of Bhīmasēna.[2] It is not *in situ*, and only two broken portions of it are preserved. The upper piece is about 14 feet 9½ inches long and bears a few mediæval drawings and scribblings. The lower portion is about 10 feet long and bears an inscription of Aśōka in four lines; some letters at the beginning of the two last lines are broken away.[3]

The inscription was first edited by Bühler in VOJ, 9. 175 ff., and again, with facsimile, in EI, 5. 1 ff. It records that Aśōka 'enlarged the *Stūpa* of the **Buddha Kōnākamana** to the double (of its original size)', and that later on he visited the spot in person and erected the pillar.

Hiuen Tsiang seems to mention the Nigālī Sāgar pillar.[4] He states that it stood in front of a *Stūpa* containing relics of **Kanakamuni Buddha,** that it was surmounted by a **lion,** was about 20 feet high (which is less than the length of the two preserved pieces combined), bore an inscription, and had been erected by **Aśōkarāja.** The *Stūpa* referred to by Hiuen Tsiang cannot be traced near the spot where the two portions of the pillar have been found.[5]

FOURTH PART: MINOR ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS

I. The Rupnath Rock-Inscription (Text, p. 166).

Rūpnāth is an out-of-the-way place of pilgrimage in the Central Provinces, fourteen miles west of Sleemanabad railway station[6] on the line from Jabalpur to Katni.

'The Rūpnāth rock is a single flinty block of dark-red sandstone lying at the foot of the **Kaimur** range of hills, just below the fertile plateau of **Bahuriband.**[7] Here a small stream breaks over the crest of the Kaimur range, and, after three low falls, forms a deep secluded pool at the foot of the scarp. Each of these pools is considered holy, the uppermost being named after Rāma, the next after Lakshmaṇa, and the lowest

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[1] For the relative positions of Niglīvā and Rummindēī see plate 1 of Mukherji's *Antiquities in the Tarai.*

[2] Id., p. 30, and Führer's *Monograph*, p. 23.

[3] For photographs of the pillar see plates 3, 4, 5 of Führer's *Monograph*, and for a drawing of it, Mukherji's *Antiquities*, plate 16, fig. 1.

[4] Beal's BRWW, 2. 19.

[5] See V. A. Smith's preface to Mukherji's *Antiquities*, p. 3 f.

[6] See V. A. Smith's *Asoka*, sec. ed., p. 133, n. 1.

[7] A small town thirty-two miles to the north of Jabalpur; see Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 9. 39.

after Sītā. The spot, however, is best known by the name of Rūpnāth, from a *liṅga* of Śiva which is placed in a narrow cleft of the rocks on the right.'[1]

'The detached boulder, upon which the edict of Aśōka is inscribed, lies just above the west margin of the lower pool under a great tree, the inscription being upon its flat top and near one edge. The rock is one of many that have fallen at some time or another from the cliffs above, and it is possible that it has fallen since the inscription was cut upon it.'[2]

'The edict of Aśōka is inscribed on the upper surface of the rock, which has been worn quite smooth by people sitting upon it for hundreds of years at the annual fairs. It is now of a very dark dirty-red colour, and the inscription might easily escape observation. The lines follow the undulations of the rock, and are neither straight nor parallel with each other. The inscription is $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet long and 1 foot broad, and consists of six lines, of which the last has only five letters.'[3]

The Rūpnāth edict was copied in 1871–2 by Cunningham (*Arch. Reports*, 7. 59) and published with a facsimile in 1877 by Bühler (IA, 6. 149 ff.), who re-edited it twice afterwards.[4] Senart's treatment of it is included in his *Inscriptions de Piyadasi* (2. 165 ff.) and in Sir George Grierson's translation (IA, 20. 154 ff.). Fresh impressions of the inscription were prepared by the late Dr. Bloch.[5]

II. THE SAHASRAM ROCK-INSCRIPTION (Text, p. 169).

Sahasrām is a town and the head-quarters of a subdivision in the Shāhābād district, South Bihār. 'About two miles to the east of the town rises one of the last spurs of the Kaimur range of hills called **Chandan-Pīr,** after a Muhammadan saint, who took up his abode on the top of the hill.'[6]

The edict of Aśōka 'is found in an artificial cave a short distance below, which is generally known as the *Chirāghdān* or 'lamp' of the saint. The roof of the cave is formed by a large projecting mass of rock that has most effectually preserved the greater part of the inscription, which is in excellent order, except in three or four places where the rock has peeled off. The entrance, which is only 4 feet high, is to the west between two built walls. By making an opening in one of these walls, my assistant, Mr. Beglar, obtained a good photograph of the inscription.'[7]

The Sahasrām edict was published three times by Bühler and twice by Senart along with the Rūpnāth one (No. I, above). In editing it the third time (IA, 22. 299), Bühler noted that Beglar's photograph still shows a number of letters which have since disappeared owing to the disintegration of the rock, and which are already missing in Fleet's facsimile (loc. cit.). To the kindness of Sir John Marshall I owe a copy of this valuable photograph, which I have utilized for my transcript of the text.

III. THE BAIRAT ROCK-INSCRIPTION (Text, p. 171).

A much damaged version of the Rūpnāth-Sahasrām edict was discovered in 1871–2 by Mr. Carlleyle about a mile to the north-east of **Bairāṭ,** the head-quarters

[1] Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 21.
[2] Mr. Cousens in *Progress Report*, ASWI, 1903–4, p. 35.
[3] Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 22.
[4] IA, 7. 141 ff., and, with Fleet's facsimile, id., 22. 299 ff.
[5] *Annual Report*, AS, *Eastern Circle*, 1907–8, p. 19.
[6] Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 11. 132 f.
[7] Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 20 f.

of a tahsīl in the Jaipur State, Rājputānā, about forty-two miles north-by-north-east of Jaipur City.

'This edict is engraved on a block lying separately, but immediately below the hill locally known as *Bhīm-kī-ḍuṅgrī* . . . . . It is inscribed on the eastern face and near the lower end of the rock.' [1]

The inscribed block 'is 17 feet in height by 24 feet in length from east to west, and 15 feet in thickness from north to south.' [2]

The inscription was edited by Bühler and Senart along with the Rūpnāth and Sahasrām ones (Nos. I and II, above). No facsimile of it has yet been published except Cunningham's eye-copy in his *Inscriptions of Asoka*, plate 14, No. x.

IV. The Calcutta-Bairat Rock-Inscription (Text, p. 172).

The block which bears this very interesting and valuable record is now preserved in **Calcutta** by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It was discovered in 1840 by Captain Burt 'upon a hill lying adjacent to' **Bairāṭ**, the town near which some years later Carlleyle found the preceding inscription (No. III). Burt reported that he found the inscription 'on a hard, grey granite block, irregularly shaped, and measuring about two feet in two of its dimensions, and a foot and a half in the third' (JASB, 9. 616). His copy of the inscription was lithographed by Captain Kittoe, and transcribed and translated by the same 'with the aid of the learned Paṇdit Kamala Kanta' (id., p. 617 and plate).

Burt's copy formed the basis of the editions of Burnouf (*Lotus*, p. 710 ff.), Kern (*Jaartelling*, p. 32 ff.), and Wilson (JRAS, 16. 357 ff., with lithograph). Senart edited the record in his *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, 2. 197 ff., and published a revised edition of it, from an estampage by Burgess, in IA, 20. 165 ff. A photograph of Burgess' estampage appeared in JA (8), 9. 498.

As Burt had stated that Bairāṭ was six *kōs* distant from 'Bhabra' (JASB, 9. 616), the inscription has been styled generally 'the Bhabra edict'. But this name implies a double mistake: the town from which it is derived is not called 'Bhabra', but Bhābrū, and the latter is twelve miles distant from Bairāṭ, the finding-place of the block.[3] According to Cunningham (*Arch. Reports*, 2. 247), 'the hill on which the inscription was found forms a conspicuous object about one mile to the south-west of the town [of Bairāṭ]. It is about 200 feet high, and is still known by the name of *Bījak-Pahāṛ* or "inscription hill".' It is covered with ruins which Cunningham (id., p. 248) took to be the remains of two Buddhist monasteries.

'The inscription stone originally lay, I am told, near the shrine of Hanūmān below the rock known as *tōp* or "cannon", on the first or lower platform on the summit of the hill.' [4]

In order to distinguish this inscription from the preceding one (No. III), I propose to call it 'the Calcutta-Bairāṭ rock-inscription'.

V. The Maski Rock-Inscription (Text, p. 174).

Another, damaged, version of the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Bairāṭ edicts was discovered on January 27, 1915, by Mr. C. Beadon, a gold-mining engineer, in the

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[1] D. R. Bhandarkar, *Progress Report, AS, Western Circle*, 1909–10, p. 45 f. Cf. Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 23. 29.

[2] Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 6. 98.

[3] See D. R. Bhandarkar, *Progress Report, AS, Western Circle*, 1909–10, p. 45.

[4] D. R. Bhandarkar, loc. cit.

neighbourhood of **Maski**, a village in the Lingsugur tāluka of the Raichur district of the Nizam's Dominions, about forty-six miles west-south-west from Raichur. I am indebted to Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri for the subjoined note on Maski:

'By enquiries made at the place, I gather that the spelling of the village named Maski is different with different communities. The masses of illiterate agriculturists pronounce it Maśgi or Maśigi; the Brahmin classes call it Maski, and the Muhammadans Masgi. A Chālukya inscription of the time of Jagadēkamalla (Śaka 949) calls the place *Rājadhāni piriya-Mosaṁgi*, i.e. "the royal residence of great Mosaṅgi". Another inscription of the same king in the village refers to that quarter as the *Brahmapurī* of *Mosaṁgi*. A later record of the Yādava king Siṅghaṇa of the thirteenth century calls the place again *Rājadhāni piriya-Mosaṁgi*. In two other inscriptions of the place belonging to the reigns of Achyutarāya and Sadāśivarāya, its name is mentioned as *Mosage*, the chief town of *Mosage-nāḍu*.'

To these remarks we may add that **Mosaṅgi**, the ancient form of the name of Maski, suggests its identity with the battle-field of **Muśaṅgi**, where, according to Tamiḻ records, the Chālukya king Jayasiṁha II was defeated by Rājēndra-Chōḷa I.[1]

A careful transcript and translation of the Maski inscription (with plates) was published by H. Krishna Sastri,[2] who describes the site as follows:

'The cavern in which the inscribed boulder stands is formed of a huge rock resting at various points of its periphery on other smaller ones, some of which are partly buried in the gravelly soil below. The boulder, which is a block of crystalline grey granite of irregular shape, stands at the southern entrance into the cavern, with the writing facing inwards. The surface of the boulder has peeled off at various places, sometimes right up to the depth to which the letters were incised, and measures roughly 8 feet 9 inches by 5 feet' (p. 2).

In the year 1916, the third of the great war, Fleet drew attention to the new inscription in JRAS, 1916. 572 ff.; Senart examined it in detail in JA (11), 7. 425 ff.; and I, having received a copy of Krishna Sastri's article from my friend Konow, re-published the text in ZDMG, 70. 539 ff.

The chief interest of the Maski inscription consists in the fact that the king is here called not only *Dēvānaṁ priya*, but in addition to it **Aśōka**,—a name which was hitherto known only from Buddhist literature and from the *Purāṇas*.

VI, VII, VIII. Rock-Inscriptions in the Mysore State (Text, p. 175).

These three records, which resemble the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāṭ, and Maski edicts, but add to them a second edict, were discovered and edited with lithographs by Mr. B. L. Rice in 1892.[3] They were discussed by Senart, who added a transcript and translation of the Brahmagiri version (JA (8), 19. 472 ff.), and by Bühler, who corrected a few details (VOJ, 7. 29 ff.). In 1894 Bühler re-edited the three inscriptions with photo-lithographs prepared from inked estampages (EI, 3. 134 ff.). Transcripts and facsimiles are given also in Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. 11, from which I borrow the following careful description of the localities (Introduction, p. 2 f.):[4]

'The Aśōka inscriptions discovered by me were three in number, situated on hills on the right and left banks of the Janagi-haḷḷa or Chinna Haggari river, where it crosses

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[1] See *South-Ind. Inscriptions*, 1. 95 f.; EI, 9. 230; Fleet in JRAS, 1916. 574.

[2] *Hyderabad Archæological Series*, No. I; *The New Asokan Edict of Maski*, 1915.

[3] *Edicts of Aśōka in Mysore*, nine pages of foolscap, dated Bangalore, February 1892.

[4] See also Fleet's remarks in JRAS, 1909. 997 f.

the Moḷkālmuru tāluq [of the Chitaldroog district of the Mysore State] from west to east. They are all in the neighbourhood of **Siddāpura**,[1] between 14° 47′ and 51′ north latitude and about 76° 51′ east longitude. The best preserved is the **Brahmagiri** inscription, engraved on the top of a great boulder of gneiss, at the north-west base of the hill of that name, at a point called the *Ganjigunṭe-mūle*. The boulder was well known throughout the neighbourhood as the *Akshara-gunḍu* or "letter-rock", and was supposed to be endued with medicinal virtues. Accordingly, in various ailments of human beings and in diseases of cattle, the stone was washed and the water used for the purpose given to the patient to drink. It was the favourite seat for goatherds in the heat of the day when the flocks were collected into the shade of the surrounding rocks, and for ryots watching the crops in the neighbouring fields. The inscription is cut on the undressed horizontal surface of the rock, which slopes down somewhat at the end of the lines. It consists of thirteen not very regular lines, covering a space of 15′ 6″ by 11′ 6″. Half a dozen letters at the beginning of the 6th and 7th lines have been defaced by lodgment of water in a depression in the stone.'

'The second inscription is less than a mile to the west of the first, and close to **Siddāpura**, on a ledge, facing south, some way up a rocky group of hills called *Yenamana Timmayyana gunḍlu* or "the buffalo-herd Timmayya's rocks". It consists of twenty-two lines, covering a space of 13′ 6″ by 8′, and is engraved in lines of varying length on the sloping and peeling horizontal surface of the rock. A great boulder overhangs the inscription on the north, under the eaves of which the lines end, leaving a very small space between the inscribed floor and the rock above. Considerable portions have been defaced, as the shady ledge on which the inscription is cut formed a favourite shelter for goats and cattle.'

'The third inscription is on the western summit of the **Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara** hill, which is some three miles or more north by west of Brahmagiri. The inscription is cut on a very irregular slanting horizontal surface of rock, facing north-east, which has been quarried at some period. Overhanging the inscription on the south is an immense boulder, which still shows the marks of the mason's punches used in splitting off a considerable portion of its northern face. The floor on which the inscription is cut is immediately in front of the stairs leading up to the Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara temple. Consequently all pilgrims to the shrine used to walk right over the inscription, and have no doubt done so for centuries. Moreover, owing to the convenient shadow of the overhanging boulder, the site of the inscription was the favourite resort of the bangle-sellers at the annual festival. Hence the rock is called the *Baḷegāra-gunḍu* or "bangle-sellers' rock", and various holes have been punched in different parts of the rock on which the inscription is cut to receive the posts of the booths or tents erected by them at the annual fair. For the foregoing reasons it is not surprising that the inscription is very greatly defaced, so much so indeed that it is difficult to tell exactly where it begins or where it ends. So far as can be made out, it consists of at least twenty-eight lines, covering a space of 17′ 6″ by 6′ 6″. There is a guiding line engraved in the margin to the left, apparently to show the direction of the lines, but those above this mark do not seem to have been parallel with those below it.'

From a foot-note[2] we are glad to learn that 'erections have now been put up over this and the other Aśōka inscriptions by the Mysore Government for their protection, and the headman of the village has the keys as custodian'.

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[1] According to Krishna Sastri, the actual pronunciation of this name is Śiddāpura.

[2] *Ep. Carn.*, vol. 11, Introduction, p. 2, n. 2.

IX. The Barabar Hill Cave-Inscriptions (Text, p. 181).

'The Hills called **Barābar** are isolated rocks of syenitic granite rising abruptly from the plain about 15 miles north of the city of **Gayā**' in South Bihār. 'Although Barābar is that by which the cluster is commonly known, each hill has a name of its own, the highest being called "Barābar", also "Siddhēśvar" from a temple to Mahādēva that once crowned it.'[1]

'All of these possess some Buddhistic remains, but the most interesting are the caves of Barābar and Nāgārjunī, which were hewn out of the solid rock upwards of two thousand years ago.'[2]

'There are altogether seven caves in these hills, four of which belong to the Barābar or Siddhēśvara group, and three to the **Nāgārjunī** group.'[3] Each of the three Nāgārjunī caves contains an inscription of **Dashalatha** *Devānaṁpiya*, i.e. Aśōka's grandson Daśaratha.[4] Among the four Barābar caves, three bear an inscription of king *Devānaṁpiya*, and one (the so-called 'Lōmaśa Rishi cave') a Vaishṇava inscription of the **Maukhari Anantavarman**, which seems to show that the original name of the Barābar Hill was **Pravaragiri**.[5]

According to the second and third Barābar inscriptions the name of the Barābar Hill was then **Khalatika**. Both the first and second inscriptions of king *Devānampiya* and the three Nāgārjunī inscriptions of Daśaratha specify as donees the monks of the **Ājīvika** sect. In three cases an attempt has been made to chisel away the word *Ājīvikehi*. This was probably done in the time of the Maukhari Anantavarman, who assigned one of the Barābar caves to Kṛishṇa, and two of the Nāgārjunī ones to Śiva and Pārvatī.[6]

The three Barābar inscriptions of king *Dēvānāṁpriya* were first lithographed and discussed by Captain Kittoe.[7] They were examined by Burnouf (*Lotus*, p. 779 ff.) and edited by Senart[8] and, with Fleet's facsimiles, by Bühler (IA, 20. 361 ff.).

CHAPTER II. THE AUTHOR OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

The king at whose orders the rock- and pillar-edicts published in the first and second parts of this volume were engraved, gives his name or title in various Prākṛit forms of which the Sanskrit would be *Dēvānāṁpriyaḥ Priyadarśī rājā*.[9] This full

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[1] Captain Kittoe in JASB, 16 (1847). 402. [2] Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 1. 40.

[3] Id., p. 44. For the modern names of the single Barābar caves and for plans of them see id., plates 18 and 19. Cf. also Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, revised by Burgess and Spiers, 1. 130 ff.; *Cave Temples of India*, p. 37 ff.; V. A. Smith's *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 20.

[4] For the bibliography of these inscriptions see Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* (EI, vol. 10, Appendix), Nos. 954–6.

[5] See Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 222. [6] See id., Nos. 48–50.

[7] JASB, 16. 401 ff., and plate 9, figures 4–6.

[8] *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, 2. 209 ff., and IA, 20. 168 ff.

[9] In a few cases (Kālsī rock-edict I, A; Shāhbāzgaṛhī rock-edict II, A; Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, O and X) the word *rājā* is omitted, and once (Shāhbāzgaṛhī, I, A) the word *Priyadarśī*. Cf. Fleet, JRAS, 1908. 482.

form of his title is shortened into *Dēvānāṁpriyaḥ* in section C of the Dhauli and Jaugaḍa rock-edict X, in all texts of the rock-edicts XII and XIII after the opening section, in which the full style is preserved, and in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, RR. In the two separate rock-edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, in the Queen's pillar-edict, and in the Kauśāmbī pillar-edict, *Dēvānāṁpriyaḥ* alone is found.

Among the records published in the third and fourth parts of this volume, the Rummindēī and Nigālī Sāgar pillars exhibit the full form *Dēvānāṁpriyaḥ Priyadarśī rājā*. The Maski rock-inscription opens with the genitive case of *Dēvānāṁpriya* **Aśōka.** On the Sārnāth pillar and in the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāṭ, and the three Mysore rock-inscriptions we have only *Dēvānāṁpriyaḥ*. On the Sāṁchī pillar this word is lost; but the contents of the Sāṁchī and Sārnāth pillars are so nearly related to those of the Kauśāmbī edict on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar, that they can be safely referred to the same royal author. The same applies to the rock-inscriptions at Rūpnāth, &c., which remind us of the rock- and pillar-edicts in many significant details.[1]

There remain the Calcutta-Bairāṭ rock-inscription and the three Barābar Hill cave-inscriptions. In the former the king styles himself *Priyadarśī rājā*, and in the three others *rājā Priyadarśī*. In the Calcutta-Bairāṭ record the king shows a strong interest in Buddhism. It would be, therefore, hypercritical not to assign this document to the same sovereign who paid visits to Saṁbōdhi (rock-edict VIII, C), to Luṁmini (Rummindēī pillar), and to the *Stūpa* of Kōnākamana (Nigālī Sāgar pillar). We cannot, however, decide with certainty whether the three Barābar Hill inscriptions belong to the same king or to another member of his dynasty. In favour of the former alternative it may perhaps be urged that two of the caves on the Barābar Hill were dedicated to the Ājīvikas when the donor had been 'anointed twelve years'. For, this happens to be the regnal year in which the author of the rock- and pillar-edicts commenced to issue 'rescripts on morality'; see the pillar-edict VI, B, and cf. the rock-edict IV, K.

The etymological meaning of the term *Dēvānāṁpriya* is 'dear to the gods'. According to Patañjali's *Mahābhāshya* on Pāṇini, II, 4, 56, and V, 3, 14, this word was used as an honorific like *bhavān*, *dīrghāyuḥ*, and *āyushmān*.[2] Pāṇini himself does not mention *Dēvānāmpriya*, but states that the termination of the genitive case is preserved at the end of the first member of compounds if the meaning is abusive (षष्ठ्या आक्रोशे, VI, 3, 21). The *Kāśikā* commentary adduces the two examples चौरस्यकुलं, 'the family of a thief', and वृषलस्यकुलं, 'the family of a low-caste man'.[3] Kātyāyana affixes to Pāṇini's *Sūtra* five *Vārttikas*, the third of which states that the compound *Dēvānāṁpriya* ought to be added. Neither the *Mahābhāshya* nor the *Kāśikā* have the word मूर्खे, 'with the meaning of "fool"', which the *Siddhāntakaumudī* adds to the *Vārttika*. This secondary meaning of *Dēvānāṁpriya* was already known to Patañjali's commentator Kaiyaṭa,[4] while Kātyāyana and Patañjali ignore it, although Patañjali on Pāṇini, II, 4, 56, seems to have used *Dēvānāṁpriya* in an ironical sense. In Bāṇa's

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[1] Cf. the foot-notes on the translation of the Rūpnāth edict, *passim*, and Bühler, IA, 7. 144 f.

[2] Cf. Weber's *Ind. Studien*, 13. 337, n. 1.

[3] Cf. वृषल्याःपुत्रः in the *Kāśikā* on the next *Sūtra*. It is worth noting that in the drama *Mudrārākshasa* Chāṇakya uses the term वृषल with reference to Chandragupta.

[4] Cf. *Bālamanōramā* on Pāṇini, VI, 3, 21. Kaiyaṭa's commentary is not accessible to me.

Harshacharita it is found twice as an honorific.[1] In the same way *Devāṇuppiya* is employed frequently in Jaina literature.[2]

In the *Dīpavaṁsa*, Devānaṁpiya is prefixed to the name of Aśōka's contemporary, Tissa of Ceylon, and is often used alone to denote him,[3] and in the Nāgārjunī Hill cave-inscriptions it follows the name of Aśōka's grandson **Daśaratha.**[4] In a few of the inscriptions published in this volume it is employed as a synonym of *rājan*, 'a king': In the Kālsī, Shāhbāzgaṛhī, and Mānsehrā texts of the rock-edict VIII, A, the king's predecessors are called *Devānaṁpiyā* and *Devanaṁpriya*, while the Girnār and Dhauli versions have *rājāno* and *lājāne*; and the word *Devānaṁpiye* in the second separate edict at Dhauli (twice in section G and thrice in I) corresponds to *lājā* in the Jaugaḍa text of the same edict (sections H and J).

As stated above (p. xxviii), another epithet of the king to whom the inscriptions published in this volume are due was *Priyadarśin*, 'he who glances amiably'. Both *Piyadassī* and *Piyadassana*, 'of amiable appearance', occur repeatedly in the *Dīpavaṁsa* [5] as equivalents of **Aśōka**, the name of the great **Maurya** king.[6] In the drama *Mudrārākshasa*,[7] *Piadaṁsaṇa* is prefixed to Chandasiri, i.e. **Chandragupta**, the name of Aśōka's grandfather.

Before discussing Prinsep's identification of the king *Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin* of the inscriptions with the Maurya king Aśōka, it will be advisable to quote from the texts a few details which are of leading importance in this connexion. The opening section of the Calcutta-Bairāṭ rock-inscription informs us that Priyadarśin was a **Māgadha** king, i. e. a ruler of Magadha. From the rock-edict V, M, we learn that his capital was **Pāṭaliputra**; for, the words 'both in Pāṭaliputra and in the outlying [towns]' at Girnār correspond to 'here and in all the outlying towns' at Kālsī, Shāhbāzgaṛhī, Mānsehrā, and Dhauli. In the second and thirteenth rock-edicts the king refers to a number of contemporary Yōna, i.e. Greek, kings: the rock-edict II, A, mentions 'the **Yōna** king **Antiyoka** (*Antiyaka* at Girnār, *Antiyoga* at Kālsī and Mānsehrā) and the kings who are the neighbours of this Antiyoka'; and the rock-edict XIII, Q, 'the **Yōna** king **Antiyoka** (*Antiyoga* at Kālsī and Mānsehrā), and beyond him four kings, viz. **Turamāya** (*Tulamaya* at Kālsī), **Antekina** (*Antikini* at Shāhbāzgaṛhī), **Makā** (*Magā* at Girnār), and **Alikasudara** (*Alikyashudala* at Kālsī)'.

The great decipherer of the old Brāhmī alphabet, James Prinsep, at first ascribed the edicts to *Devānaṁpiya* **Tissa** of Ceylon.[8] This is of course impossible because we know now that the author of the edicts calls himself a king of Magadha, and that he resided at Pāṭaliputra. The discovery of the Nāgārjunī Hill cave-inscriptions of Dashalatha *Devānaṁpiya*, whom Prinsep at once identified with **Daśaratha,** the grandson of the Maurya king Aśōka (id., p. 676 ff.), and the fact that Turnour had found *Piyadassi* or *Piyadassana* used as a surname of Aśōka in the *Dīpavaṁsa*, induced Prinsep to abandon his original view, and to identify king *Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin* with Aśōka himself (id., p. 790 ff.). *A limine*, another member of the Maurya dynasty

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[1] See Kielhorn in JRAS, 1908. 505.

[2] See Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 111. Hoernle and Pischel derived the word from Skt. *dēva+anupriya*. Hēmachandra (*Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*, III, 17) assigns to *Dēvānāṁpriya* the meaning of 'fool'.

[3] See Fleet in JRAS, 1908. 485. [4] IA, 20. 364 f. [5] See the Index to Oldenberg's edition.

[6] Similarly, in the fourth act of the drama *Priyadarśikā*, its heroine is called both *Priyadarśikā* and *Priyadarśanā*.

[7] Hillebrandt's edition, p. 159, lines 1 and 5; cf. his article on the *Kauṭilīyaśāstra* (Breslau, 1908), p. 30.

[8] JASB, 6 (1837). 472 f., 566 f.

might be meant as well; for, as stated above (p. xxx), the eighth rock-edict shows that the king's predecessors also bore the title *Dēvānāṁpriya*, and the *Mudrārākshasa* applies the epithet *Priyadarśana* to Chandragupta. Every such doubt is now set at rest by the discovery of the Maski edict, in which the king calls himself *Dēvānāṁpriya* **Aśōka.**

In February, 1838, Prinsep published the text and a translation of the second rock-edict. He found in the Girnār version of it (l. 3) the words *Aṁtiyako Yona-rājā*, and in the Dhauli version (l. 1) *Aṁtiyoke nāma Yona-lājā*, and identified the Yōna king Antiyaka or Antiyoka with **Antiochus III** of Syria.[1] In March, 1838, he discovered in the Girnār edict XIII (l. 8) the names of *Turamāya*, *Aṁtikona*,[2] and *Magā*, whom he most ingeniously identified with **Ptolemy II** Philadelphus of Egypt, **Antigonus** Gonatas of Macedonia (?), and **Magas** of Cyrene. At the same time he modified his earlier theory, and now referred the name *Antiyoka* to **Antiochus I or II** of Syria, preferably the former (id., p. 224 ff.).

On the Girnār rock the name of a fifth king, who was mentioned after *Magā*, is lost. The Shāhbāzgaṛhī version calls him *Alikasudara*. Norris recognised that this name corresponds to the Greek Ἀλέξανδρος, and suggested hesitatingly that **Alexander of Epirus,** the son of Pyrrhus, might be meant by it.[3] This identification was endorsed by Westergaard,[4] Lassen,[5] and Senart.[6] But Professor Beloch now thinks that **Alexander of Corinth,** the son of Craterus, has a better claim.[7]

As will appear in the sequel, the mention of these five contemporaries in the inscriptions of king *Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin* confirms in a general way the correctness of Prinsep's identification of the latter with Aśōka, the grandson of Chandragupta whose approximate time we know from Greek and Roman records. Antiochus I Soter of Syria reigned 280–261 B.C., his son Antiochus II Theos 261–246, Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt 285–247, Antigonus Gonatas of Macedonia 276–239, Magas of Cyrene c. 300–c. 250, Alexander of Epirus 272–c. 255, and Alexander of Corinth 252–c. 244.[8] The rock-edict XIII cannot be placed earlier than twelve years after Aśōka's *abhishēka*, when he commenced publishing 'rescripts on morality'.[9] If we assume that the rock-edicts are arranged in chronological order, it cannot have been issued earlier than thirteen years after the *abhishēka*, when Aśōka appointed '*Mahāmātras* of morality' as he tells us in edict V. If the Alikasudara of edict XIII is Alexander of Epirus, its date would fall between 272 and 255, and if Alexander of Corinth is meant, between 252 and 250. For fixing the period of Aśōka's reign within narrower limits, we are thrown back on what information can be gathered from Indian and classical literature concerning Aśōka's grandfather Chandragupta.

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[1] JASB, 7. 156 ff.

[2] In reality Girnār and Kālsī read *Aṁtekina*, and Shāhbāzgaṛhī *Aṁtikini*. Bühler (ZDMG, 40. 137) justly remarked that these two forms would rather correspond to Antigenes than to Antigonus. But no king named Antigenes is known to us, although it was the name of one of the officers of Alexander the Great, who was executed, together with Eumenes, in 316 B.C., being then satrap of Susiana.

[3] JRAS, 8 (1846). 305.

[4] *Zwei Abhandlungen*, translated from the Danish into German by Stenzler (Breslau, 1862), p. 120 f.

[5] *Ind. Alt.*, 2 (2nd ed.). 253 ff.

[6] IA, 20. 242.

[7] *Griechische Geschichte*, vol. 3, part 2, p. 105.

[8] The figures of these reigns are taken from Beloch's *Griech. Geschichte*, vol. 3.

[9] See the pillar-edict VI, B, and cf. the rock-edict IV, K.

The historical tradition of India, Ceylon, and Burma is unanimous in naming as the founder of the **Maurya** dynasty **Chandragupta,** and as his two immediate successors **Bindusāra** and **Aśōka.** The pseudo-prophetic account of the *Purāṇas* runs thus:

'Kauṭilya (or Chāṇakya) will establish king Chandragupta in the kingdom. Chandragupta will be king twenty-four years, Bindusāra twenty-five years, and Aśōka thirty-six years.'[1]

According to the *Dīpavaṁsa*, Chandragupta reigned twenty-four years (V, 73, 100), and Bindusāra's son Aśōka thirty-seven years (V, 101).[2]

The *Mahāvaṁsa* states that the Brāhmaṇa Chāṇakya anointed the Maurya Chandragupta (V, 16 f.), and that Chandragupta reigned twenty-four years, his son Bindusāra twenty-eight years (V, 18), and Bindusāra's son Aśōka (V, 19) thirty-seven years (XX, 6).

Buddhaghōsha's *Samantapāsādikā* agrees with the *Mahāvaṁsa* in allotting twenty-four years to Chandragupta and twenty-eight years to Bindusāra.[3]

The Burmese tradition assigns twenty-four years to Chandragupta and twenty-seven years to Bindusāra.[4]

It will be seen that all sources agree in fixing the length of Chandragupta's reign at twenty-four years. To Bindusāra the Ceylonese chronicles allot twenty-eight years, Bigandet twenty-seven years, and the *Purāṇas* twenty-five years.

The Ceylonese sources state that Aśōka succeeded his father Bindusāra **214 years** after Buddha's Nirvāṇa,[5] and that his anointment took place four years after his father's death, or **218 years** after the Nirvāṇa.[6] The Burmese tradition confirms the two dates 214 and 218.[7]

As, according to the Ceylonese sources, Bindusāra ruled twenty-eight years and Chandragupta twenty-four years, the former would have reigned A.B. 186–214, and the latter A.B. 162–186.[8] If we deduct the year of Chandragupta's accession to the throne (162) from the traditional date of the Nirvāṇa, 544 B.C., the result is 382 B.C. This would be about sixty years earlier than the actual accession of Chandragupta as ascertained from Greek sources. For, luckily, the approximate time of king Chandragupta of Pāṭaliputra has been already settled by one of the great pioneers of Indian research, Sir William Jones,[9] who identified him with *Σανδράκοττος* of *Παλίβοθρα*, the contemporary of **Seleucus** Nikator.

Various devices were proposed in order to account for this chronological error, until Fleet showed that the Buddha-varsha of 544 B.C. is a comparatively modern fabrication, of the twelfth century, and that the difference of about sixty years is the quite natural

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[1] See Pargiter's *Dynasties of the Kali Age* (Oxford, 1913), p. 28.

[2] The length of Bindusāra's reign is not specified in the *Dīpavaṁsa*; but the period of twenty-eight years is deducible from statements made in chapter XI, verses 5, 12, 13, about king Muṭasīva of Ceylon. See Fleet in JRAS, 1908. 481, and 1909. 25.

[3] *Vinaya-piṭaka*, ed. by Oldenberg, 3. 321.

[4] Bigandet's *Life or Legend of Gaudama*, 4th ed., 2. 128.

[5] *Dīpavaṁsa*, VI, 20 f.

[6] *Dīpavaṁsa*, VI, 1, 21 f.; *Mahāvaṁsa*, V, 21 f.; *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 299.

[7] Bigandet's *Life of Gaudama*, 2. 128 f.

[8] According to Bigandet's *Life of Gaudama*, 2. 128, Chandragupta reigned A.B. 163–187, and Bindusāra 187–214. If, as the *Purāṇas* assert, Bindusāra reigned only twenty-five years, he would have succeeded Chandragupta in A.B. 189.

[9] In his *Anniversary Discourse*, delivered February 28, 1793, and published in 1795 in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 4. The passage is reprinted in his *Works* (London, 1799), 1. 152 f., and in the *Centenary Review of the ASB*, part 2, p. 85 f.

result of accumulated mistakes which were made in rounding off the figures of the regnal years of the kings of Ceylon.[1]

While thus the alleged date of the Nirvāṇa in 544 B.C., and that of Chandragupta's accession in 382 B.C., have no practical value, the traditional interval of 218 years between the Nirvāṇa and Aśōka's *abhishēka* might still be considered authentic. There are, however, two facts which in my opinion render it somewhat suspicious. It includes a period of 100 years between the Nirvāṇa and the Second Council.[2] Such a nice round sum as just 100 years looks very much like a clumsy guess and a pure invention.[3] Secondly, the traditional figures of the Northern Buddhists are almost totally at variance with those of the Southern Buddhists.[4]

The leading passage concerning Chandragupta's date is found in Justin's *Epitoma Pompei Trogi*, XV, 4:[5]

'[Seleucus] multa in Oriente post divisionem inter socios regni Macedonici bella gessit. Principio Babyloniam cepit; inde auctis ex victoria viribus Bactrianos expugnavit. Transitum deinde in Indiam fecit, quae post mortem Alexandri, veluti a cervicibus iugo servitutis excusso, praefectos eius occiderat. Auctor libertatis Sandrocottus fuerat, sed titulum libertatis post victoriam in servitutem verterat; siquidem occupato regno populum, quem ab externa dominatione vindicaverat, ipse servitio premebat. Fuit hic humili quidem genere natus, sed ad regni potestatem maiestate numinis inpulsus. Quippe cum procacitate sua Nandrum regem offendisset, interfici a rege iussus salutem pedum celeritate quaesierat. Ex qua fatigatione cum somno captus iaceret, leo ingentis formae ad dormientem accessit sudoremque profluentem lingua ei detersit expergefactumque blande reliquit. Hoc prodigio primum ad spem regni inpulsus contractis latronibus Indos ad novitatem regni sollicitavit. Molienti deinde bellum adversus praefectos Alexandri elephantus ferus infinitae magnitudinis ultro se obtulit et veluti domita mansuetudine eum tergo excepit duxque belli et proeliator insignis fuit. Sic adquisito regno Sandrocottus ea tempestate, qua Seleucus futurae magnitudinis fundamenta iaciebat, Indiam possidebat, cum quo facta pactione Seleucus conpositisque in Oriente rebus in bellum Antigoni descendit.'

McCrindle translates this as follows:[6]

'[Seleucus] waged many wars in the East after the partition of Alexander's empire among his generals. He first took Babylonia, and then with his forces augmented by victory subjugated the Bactrians. He then passed over into India, which after Alexander's death, as if the yoke of servitude had been shaken off from its neck, had put his prefects to death. Sandrocottus had been the leader who achieved their freedom, but after his victory he had forfeited by his tyranny all title to the name of liberator; for, having ascended the throne, he oppressed with servitude the very people whom he had emancipated from foreign thraldom. He was born in humble

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[1] JRAS, 1909. 333, 335.

[2] *Vinaya-piṭaka, Chullavagga*, beginning of last chapter (XII); *Dīpavaṁsa*, IV, 47, and V, 15 f.; *Mahāvaṁsa*, IV, 8; *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 293.

[3] Cf. Rhys Davids and Oldenberg in SBE, 13. xxii: 'This is no doubt a round number; and the exact year of the date of the Buddha's death is open to question.'

[4] Cf. Geiger's translation of the *Mahāvaṁsa*, p. lx f., where the figures of the Northern Buddhists are specified, and Westergaard's *Zwei Abhandlungen*, p. 94 ff.

[5] Ruehl's edition (Leipzig, 1886), p. 119.

[6] *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great* (Westminster, 1893), p. 327 f.

life,[1] but was prompted to aspire to royalty by an omen significant of an august destiny. For when by his insolent behaviour he had offended king Nandrus,[2] and was ordered by that king to be put to death, he had sought safety by a speedy flight. When he lay down overcome with fatigue and had fallen into a deep sleep, a lion of enormous size approaching the slumberer licked with its tongue the sweat which oozed profusely from his body, and when he awoke quietly took its departure. It was this prodigy which first inspired him with the hope of winning the throne, and so, having collected a band of robbers, he instigated the Indians to overthrow the existing government. When he was thereafter preparing to attack Alexander's prefects, a wild elephant of monstrous size approached him, and kneeling submissively like a tame elephant received him on to its back and fought vigorously in front of the army. Sandrocottus having thus won the throne was reigning over India when Seleucus was laying the foundations of his future greatness. Seleucus, having made a treaty with him and otherwise settled his affairs in the East, returned home to prosecute the war with Antigonus.'

The same transactions are referred to in Appian's *Ῥωμαϊκά*, book *Συριακή*, chapter 55:[3]

[Σέλευκος] τὸν Ἰνδὸν περάσας ἐπολέμησεν Ἀνδροκόττῳ βασιλεῖ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν Ἰνδῶν, μέχρι φιλίαν αὐτῷ καὶ κῆδος συνέθετο.

'[Seleucus] crossed the Indus and waged war on Androcottus, king of the Indians who dwelt about it, until he made friends and entered into relations of marriage with him.'[4]

According to Strabo, Seleucus ceded to Sandrocottus a tract of land to the west of the Indus, entering into a matrimonial alliance with him and receiving in exchange five hundred elephants.[5] We know from various sources that **Megasthenes** became the ambassador of Seleucus at Chandragupta's court.[6] Strabo adds that **Deïmachus** was sent on an embassy to Chandragupta's son, whom he calls Amitrochades:[7]

Ἐπέμφθησαν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὰ Παλίμβοθρα, ὁ μὲν Μεγασθένης πρὸς Σανδρόκοττον, ὁ δὲ Δηίμαχος πρὸς Ἀλλιτροχάδην[8] *τὸν ἐκείνου υἱὸν κατὰ πρεσβείαν· ὑπομνήματα δὲ τῆς ἀποδημίας κατέλιπον τοιαῦτα.*

'Megasthenes and Deïmachus were sent on an embassy, the former to Sandrocottus at Palimbothra, the other to Amitrochades his son; and they left accounts of their sojourn in the country'.[9]

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[1] According to the *Mudrārākshasa*, Chandragupta was a Vṛishala, i.e. a member of the Śūdra caste; see above, p. xxix, n. 3.

[2] This 'Nandrus' must be the last king of the Nanda dynasty which, according to Indian tradition, was overthrown by Chandragupta; see A. von Gutschmid, *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Neue Folge*, 12 (1857). 262. Instead of the accusative 'Nandrum' the older editions read 'Alexandrum'; cf. Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, 2 (sec. ed.), p. 207, n. 3. The original reading might have been 'Nandum'.

[3] Mendelssohn's edition (Leipzig, 1879), 1. 426.

[4] McCrindle's translation, IA, 6. 114.

[5] Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, 2 (sec. ed.). 217 f.; V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 132 f.; Krom, *Hermes*, 44. 154 ff.

[6] Schwanbeck, *Megasthenis Indica* (Bonn, 1846), p. 19; C. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, 2 (Paris, 1848). 398; McCrindle, IA, 6. 115.

[7] *Geographica*, ed. Müller et Dübner, II, 1, 9 (p. 58 f.).

[8] The subsequent quotation from Athenaeus shows that this is a clerical mistake for *Ἀμιτροχάδην* or *Ἀμιτροχάτην*.

[9] McCrindle's translation, IA, 6. 115.

It may be concluded from this interesting notice that Chandragupta's son and successor Bindusāra had the surname **Amitraghāta**,[1] i.e. 'the slayer of enemies'. The same king is referred to as a contemporary of **Antiochus** (I Soter of Syria) in a curious anecdote preserved by Athenaeus:[2]

Οὕτω δὲ ἦσαν περισπούδαστοι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις αἱ ἰσχάδες ..... ὡς καὶ Ἀμιτροχάτην τὸν τῶν Ἰνδῶν βασιλέα γράψαι Ἀντιόχῳ ἀξιοῦντα, φησὶν Ἡγήσανδρος, πέμψαι αὐτῷ γλυκὺν καὶ ἰσχάδας καὶ σοφιστὴν ἀγοράσαντα. καὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἀντιγράψαι· 'ἰσχάδας μὲν καὶ γλυκὺν ἀποστελοῦμέν σοι, σοφιστὴν δ' ἐν Ἕλλησιν οὐ νόμιμον πωλεῖσθαι.'

'Dried figs were so eagerly desired by all men ..... that even Amitrochates, the king of the Indians, wrote to Antiochus asking him, says Hegesander, to purchase and send him sweet wine, dried figs, and a sophist; and that Antiochus wrote back: "We shall send you dried figs and sweet wine; but it is not lawful in Greece to sell a sophist."'

If this statement of Athenaeus is combined with the preceding one of Strabo, it appears that the friendly intercourse which had existed between Seleucus and Chandragupta, was continued by their respective sons and successors, Antiochus I and Bindusāra-Amitraghāta, and that Megasthenes, the ambassador of Seleucus at the court of Chandragupta, was succeeded by Deïmachus, the ambassador of Antiochus I at the court of Bindusāra-Amitraghāta. From Pliny[3] we learn that another Greek potentate, Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt (B.C. 285–247), sent **Dionysius** as ambassador to an unnamed Indian king, who may be supposed to have been either Bindusāra or Aśōka.[4]

I now return to the question of Chandragupta's date. Seleucus I Nikator of Syria (B.C. 312–280) 'arrived in Cappadocia in the autumn of 302 [the year preceding the battle of Ipsus]. The march thither from India must have required at least two summers. Consequently, the peace with Chandragupta has to be placed about the summer of 304, or at the latest in the next winter.'[5] Thus the coronation of Chandragupta falls between B.C. 323 (Alexander's death) and 304 (the treaty with Seleucus). As the consolidation of an empire which, as described by Megasthenes in his *Ἰνδικά*, reached from Paṭnā to the Indus, must have been a matter of many years, I feel inclined to shift the date of Chandragupta's accession towards the earlier limit and to adopt as a working date the year B.C. 320 which Fleet has proposed.[6] With this starting-point, and if the length of reigns as given in the *Mahāvaṁsa* is accepted, **Chandragupta** would have ruled 320–296, and **Bindusāra** 296–268. **Aśōka** would have been crowned (four years after his father's death) in B.C. 264. This date is confirmed approximately by Aśōka's thirteenth rock-edict, which, as stated above (p. xxxi), cannot be placed earlier than twelve or thirteen years after his *abhishēka*. 264—12/13 =252/251 would be one or two years before the last possible year (B.C. 250) in which all the Greek kings mentioned in that edict were still alive. This synchronism would prove that the date of Chandragupta's coronation, on which that of Aśōka's coronation depends, can hardly be placed later than B.C. 320. It would follow further that the *Antiyoka* of edict XIII (and probably also of rock-edict II) was not Antiochus I, but

[1] See P. von Bohlen, *das alte Indien* (Königsberg, 1830), I. 92. The word *amitraghāta* is mentioned by Patañjali on Pāṇini, III, 2, 87; cf. JRAS, 1909. 425.

[2] *Δειπνοσοφισταί*, ed. Kaibel (Leipzig, 1890), XIV, 67 (vol. 3, p. 444).

[3] *Naturalis historia*, ed. Mayhoff, VI, 17 (vol. 1, Leipzig, 1906, p. 454 f.).

[4] As stated above (p. xxxi), Ptolemy II is mentioned in Aśōka's rock-edicts.

[5] Beloch's *Griechische Geschichte*, vol. 3, part 1, p. 146, n. 3.

[6] JRAS, 1906. 985.

Antiochus II (261–246), and that the *Alikasudara* of edict XIII was not Alexander of Epirus, but **Alexander of Corinth** (252–c. 244). But we must remember that the above figures rest only on the Ceylonese tradition, while the *Purāṇas* assign to Bindusāra twenty-five instead of twenty-eight years, and that, accordingly, Chandragupta's coronation might fall about three years later than B.C. 320. Besides, it must be kept in mind that the upper limit of Chandragupta's coronation is the death of Alexander the Great in B.C. 323. The working date of B.C. 320 has the advantage of being the mean of the two outside dates 323 and 317.

I now append a list of the regnal dates which are incidentally mentioned in Aśōka's inscriptions, adding in brackets the year B.C. to which each year of his reign may be supposed to correspond.

1. **Eight years** after the coronation (B.C. 256). The king conquered (the country of) the Kaliṅgas; rock-edict XIII.

2. **Ten years** after the coronation (B.C. 254). He went (on a visit) to Saṁbōdhi (i.e. Bōdh-Gayā); rock-edict VIII.

3. **Twelve years** after the coronation (B.C. 252):

   (1) He ordered his officers to set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years; rock-edict III.
   (2) He promoted morality by public shows of edifying subjects; rock-edict IV.
   (3) He published rescripts on morality; pillar-edict VI.
   (4) He gave two caves to the Ājīvikas; two of the Barābar Hill cave-inscriptions.

4. **Thirteen years** after the coronation (B.C. 251). He appointed superintendents of morality; rock-edict V.

5. **Fourteen years** after the coronation (B.C. 250). He enlarged the *Stūpa* of Kōnākamana to the double (of its size); Nigālī Sāgar pillar.

6. **Nineteen years** after the coronation (B.C. 245). He gave a cave (to the Ājīvikas); the third Barābar Hill cave-inscription.

7. **Twenty years** after the coronation (B.C. 244). He visited the Buddha's birth-place at Luṁmini and the *Stūpa* of Kōnākamana; Rummindēī and Nigālī Sāgar pillars.

8. **Twenty-six years** after the coronation (B.C. 238). He issued the pillar-edicts I, IV, V, VI.

9. **Twenty-seven years** after the coronation (B.C. 237). He issued the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII.

CHAPTER III.

ASOKA'S EMPIRE AND ITS ADMINISTRATION

In the preceding chapter it was shown that the king *Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin* of the inscriptions can be no other than the Maurya king Aśōka of Magadha. It will appear from the two next chapters (IV and V) that his edicts are not concerned with public affairs, but are of an almost purely religious character. In spite of this we may glean from them some details of historical importance which are mentioned incidentally.

The extent of Aśōka's empire may be guessed already from the distribution of his rock-edicts, which it seems were engraved along the very confines of his territories. In the west they are found at Girnār on the Kāṭhiāvāṛ peninsula and at Sōpārā on the

Bombay coast; in the south in the Raichur district of the Nizam's Dominions and in the Chitaldroog district of the Mysore State; and in the east at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa in the Purī and Ganjām districts. The north-eastern boundary line is marked by the rock-edicts at Shāhbāzgaṛhī and Mānsehrā in the Peshāvar and Hazāra districts and at Kālsī in the Dehra Dūn district, and it is continued by the Nigālī Sāgar and Rummindēī pillars in the Nepalese Tarāī and by the Rāmpurvā pillar in the Champāran district.

The capital of this vast empire was **Pāṭaliputra**, which, as stated above (p. xxx), is mentioned as such in the fifth rock-edict. The two syllables *Pāṭa*, which are preserved at the beginning of the third line of the Sārnāth pillar-inscription, are probably the remainder of the same name. Both the *Dīpavaṁsa* (V, 25, &c.) and the *Mahāvaṁsa* (V, 22) are aware of the fact that Pāṭaliputra was Aśōka's capital. From the *Mudrā-rākshasa* and from classical authors we learn that it had been already the residence of his grandfather **Chandragupta**. As I have stated before (p. xxxii), we owe to Sir William Jones the identification of Pāṭaliputra with the *Παλίβοθρα* or *Παλίμβοθρα* of the Greeks. Megasthenes, who represented Seleucus at Chandragupta's court, described it as a very large city:[1]

Καὶ λέγει Μεγασθένης, μῆκος μὲν ἐπέχειν τὴν πόλιν κατ' ἑκατέρην τὴν πλευρὴν ἵναπερ μακροτάτη αὐτὴ ἑωυτῆς ᾤκισται ἐς ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίους, τὸ δὲ πλάτος ἐς πεντεκαίδεκα· τάφρον δὲ περιβεβλῆσθαι τῇ πόλι τὸ εὖρος ἑξάπλεθρον, τὸ δὲ βάθος τριήκοντα πήχεων· πύργους δὲ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ πεντακοσίους ἔχειν τὸ τεῖχος καὶ πύλας τέσσαρας καὶ ἑξήκοντα.

'Megasthenes informs us that this city stretched in the inhabited quarters to an extreme length on each side of eighty stadia, and that its breadth was fifteen stadia, and that a ditch encompassed it all round which was six hundred feet in breadth and thirty cubits in depth, and that the wall was crowned with 570 towers and had four-and-sixty gates.'[2]

The identity of Pāṭaliputra with the modern **Paṭnā** is well known to the Hindūs.[3] The capital belonged to the ancient province of **Magadha**,[4] which is now called South Bihār. In accordance with this, Aśōka styles himself *Māgadha*, i.e. king of Magadha, at the commencement of the Calcutta-Bairāṭ rock-inscription. In the rock-edict VIII, C, he refers to his visit to another locality which was included in the province of Magadha.[5] This is **Saṁbōdhi**, now **Bōdh-Gayā** to the south of Paṭnā.

The Kauśāmbī edict on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar mentions **Kōsambī** (*Kauśāmbī* in Sanskrit), which is the modern **Kōsam** (see above, p. xx) to the west of the Magadha province. From the fact that Aśōka addressed the Kauśāmbī edict to his *Mahāmātras* at Kōsambī, it may be concluded that in his time, just as in later times,[6] Kauśāmbī was the head-quarters of a province.

Two other chief towns of provinces are referred to in the Dhauli separate edict I, AA and BB, viz., **Ujjēnī** (*Ujjayinī*) and **Takkhasilā** (*Takshaśilā*). Aśōka's governor of the former was a royal prince (*kumāra*). In Buddhist tradition Aśōka himself is stated to have held the appointment of viceroy at Ujjayinī in the life-time of his father Bindusāra.[7] Ujjayinī, the capital of Avanti, and the *Ὀζήνη* of the *Periplus* and of Ptolemy, is the modern **Ujjain** in the Gwalior State. Takshaśilā, the *Τάξιλα* of the

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[1] Arrian's *Ἰνδική*, ed. by Eberhard in *Arriani Scripta Minora* (Leipzig, 1885), X, 6 f. (p. 13).

[2] McCrindle's translation, IA, 6. 131.

[3] Wilson's *Theatre of the Hindus*, 3rd ed., 2. 136.

[4] BRWW, 2. 82 ff.; Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 452 ff.

[5] BRWW, 2. 115.

[6] BRWW, 1. 235 ff.; EI, 11. 141.

[7] *Dīpavaṁsa*, VI, 15; *Mahāvaṁsa*, V, 39, and XIII, 8.

Greeks, was identified by Cunningham with **Shāhdhērī** in the Rāvalpindī district, Panjāb.[1]

From the commencement of the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura rock-inscriptions we learn that the head-quarters of Aśōka's southernmost province was a place of the name **Suvarṇagiri,** and that his representative there, just as at Ujjayinī, was a royal prince (*āryaputra*). Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura belonged to the district of **Isila,** which was subordinate to the viceroy at Suvarṇagiri. Isila may have been the ancient name of Śiddāpura. Suvarṇagiri is perhaps identical with its synonym **Kanakagiri** in the Nizam's Dominions, south of Maski where an edict of Aśōka has been found, and north of the ruins of Vijayanagara in the Bellary district of the Madras Presidency.[2]

At the beginning of the rock-edict XIII, Aśōka informs us that, when he had been anointed eight years, he conquered the country of **Kaliṅga**[3] on the eastern coast. To this province we have to allot Dhauli and Jaugaḍa in the Purī and Ganjām districts, where copies of the rock-edicts I–X and XIV and of two separate edicts are found. The two separate edicts at Dhauli were addressed to the *Mahāmātras* at **Tōsalī,** who were headed by a royal prince (*kumāra*, sep. ed. II, A). The head-quarters of the district to which the modern Jaugaḍa belonged was called **Samāpā,**[4] and the Jaugaḍa rock had then the name **Khēpiṅgala.**[5]

The second and third cave-inscriptions on the Barābar Hill give the ancient name of this hill as **Khalatika.** The Rummindēī pillar has preserved the designation of the site of Buddha's birth, viz. **Luṁmini,** or, as it is called in Buddhist works, **Lumbinī.**

All the geographical names enumerated so far must have been included in Aśōka's empire. Besides them, the king refers to tribes outside his territories, whom he calls his 'borderers' (*anta*).[6] Several of these are mentioned by name. According to the rock-edict V, J, his western borderers were 'the **Yōnas, Kambōjas,** and **Gandhāras,** the **Raṭhikas** (*Risṭika*, which is probably a clerical mistake for *Rāsṭika*, at Girnār) and **Pitinikas** (also spelt *Pitēnika* or *Pētēṇika*).' As I shall show below (p. xxxix), the Yōnas seem to have formed a small state on the north-west frontier, which was ruled over by a Greek prince. The Kambōjas have to be placed in Kābul.[7] Gandhāra is now included in the North-West Frontier Province; at the time of the *Si-yu-ki*, its capital was **Purushapura,** now **Peshāvar.**[8] The Raṭhikas or Rāsṭikas (= *Rāshṭrika* in Sanskrit) are perhaps the people of Kāṭhiāvāṛ, whose governor bore the title of *Rāshṭriya*.[9] The Pitinikas or Pitēnikas[10] have not yet been localized.

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[1] *Arch. Reports*, 2. 116, and *Ancient Geography*, p. 111.

[2] Cf. Text, p. 177, n. 5.

[3] In a passage which is based on Megasthenes, Pliny (VI, 19) mentions the 'island' of *Modogalinga*, i.e. 'the three Kaliṅgas' (from Telugu *mūḍu*, 'three', + *Kaliṅga*); see IA, 6. 338, and Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar*, Introduction, p. 32 f. In another place (VI, 17) he refers to the Mactocalingae or Maccocalingae as a tribe of Brāhmaṇas. Maccocalinga is probably a corruption of *Mukkaliṅga*, which would be the Tamiḻ form of the Telugu *Mūḍugaliṅga*. For instances of the synonymous Sanskrit expression *Trikaliṅga* see Kielhorn's *List of Northern Inscriptions* (EI, vol. 5, Appendix), p. 117, s. v. The earliest king of Kaliṅga, of whom inscriptions have been preserved, is Khāravēla; see Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* (EI, vol. 10, Appendix), p. 160 f.

[4] See the Jaugaḍa separate edict I, B, and II, B.

[5] See the Jaugaḍa rock-edict I, A.

[6] See Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Bairāṭ, H; Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura, I.

[7] See Text, p. 10, n. 1.

[8] See Beal's BRWW, 1. 97. The Gandhāris are mentioned already in the *Ṛigvēda*, and Gandāra in the inscriptions of Darius; cf. Zimmer's *Altind. Leben*, p. 30 f.

[9] See the Junāgaṛh inscription of Rudradāman, EI, 8. 46, n. 7. For other proposed identifications of the word *Rāshṭrika* see Text, p. 56, n. 21.

[10] The identification of Pitēnika with Pratishṭhāna is phonetically impossible; see Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 262.

According to the rock-edict XIII, Q, Aśōka's borderers to the south were 'the **Chōḍas** and **Pāṇḍyas,** as far as **Tāmraparṇī.**' The two former are the two well-known principal dynasties of the **Tamil̤** country, and Tāmraparṇī is one of the ancient names of the island of **Ceylon.**[1] The Chōḍas or Chōl̤as (*Śōl̤a* in Tamil̤) were known to Ptolemy,[2] the Pāṇḍya king (*Πανδίων*) to the author of the *Periplus* as well, and Tāmraparṇī (*Ταπροβάνη*) already to Megasthenes. The rock-edict II, A, inserts between the Pāṇḍyas and Tāmraparṇī two other borderers, viz. **Satiyaputra** (*Sātiyaputa* at Kālsī) and **Kēralaputra.** The former has not yet been identified successfully.[3] The latter is the king of Kērala or **Malabar,** who is called *Κηρόβοτρος* in the *Periplus*[4] and *Κηρόβοθρος* by Ptolemy.[5]

The two sections in which the Chōḍas, the Pāṇḍyas, and Tāmraparṇī are referred to (II, A, and XIII, Q), mention, along with them, as Aśōka's borderers, the **Yōna** king **Antiyoka** and his four neighbours.[6] The next section of the rock-edict XIII (R) distinguishes from them some tribes 'here in the king's territory' (*iha rāja-vishayē*), viz. 'the **Yōnas** and **Kambōjas,** the **Nābhakas** and **Nābhapaṅktis** (*Nabhiti* at Shāhbāzgaṛhī), the **Bhōjas** and **Pitinikas** (*Pitinikya* at Kālsī), the **Andhras** and **Pārindas.**' The words 'here in the king's territory' distinctly keep the Yōnas of section R apart from the Yōna kings of section Q. Both here and in the rock-edict V, J, they are associated with the Kambōjas and Pitinikas, and in the second place all three of them are stated to have belonged to Aśōka's western borderers. Consequently, these Yōnas seem to have formed a small state on the north-west frontier, which was ruled over by a Greek prince;[7] and the Bhōjas, who are coupled with the Pitinikas in the rock-edict XIII, R, will have to be looked for in the west as well. Perhaps they have to be connected with those Bhōjas whose king (*Bhōjādhirāja*) is mentioned by Kalhaṇa as a contemporary of Śaṅkaravarman of Kaśmīr.[8] Andhra is the old name of the Telugu people on the eastern coast, and also the designation of an ancient dynasty which ruled over a considerable part of the Deccan after the decline of the Maurya empire.[9] Pliny, who borrowed his information from Megasthenes, mentions the *Andarae*, i.e. the Andhras, as a great and powerful race.[10] As the rock-edict XIII, R, couples the Andhras with the Pārindas, these too must have been an eastern tribe.[11] The Nābhakas and Nābhapaṅktis may have to be placed at the Nepalese frontier of Aśōka's empire.[12]

From the preceding list of geographical names we may derive some information about the scheme of Aśōka's administration. Three of the provinces of his empire were

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[1] See Text, p. 3, n. 10.

[2] See Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar*, Introduction, p. 95 f.

[3] See Text, p. 3, n. 7.

[4] ed. Fabricius (Leipzig, 1883), § 54 (p. 94).

[5] See Text, p. 3, n. 8, and cf. Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 99.

[6] See above, p. xxx f.

[7] Lassen (*Ind. Alt.*, 2 (sec. ed.). 256) identified them with the inhabitants of the tract of land to the west of the Indus which Seleucus is reported to have ceded to Aśōka's grandfather Chandragupta; see above, p. xxxiv.

[8] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, V, verse 151; cf. EI, 1. 155. Sir R. Bhandarkar (*Early History of the Dekkan*, sec. ed., p. 11) compares the title *Mahābhōja* in the cave-inscriptions. See also Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 100, and Senart, EI, 7. 50.

[9] See Rapson's *Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, &c., Introduction, p. xv ff.

[10] See IA, 6. 339.

[11] The variant at Kālsī, *Pālada*, might be the same as the Sanskrit *Pārada*, but the Pāradas were probably a people in Gedrosia; see Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, 1 (sec. ed.). 1028.

[12] According to Fa-hian, the mythical Buddha Krakuchchhanda was believed to have been born at Na-pi-ka near Kapilavāstu; see BRWW, 1. xlviii. The *Brahmapurāṇa* (Aufrecht's Oxford Catalogue, p. 19 *b*) assigns Nābhikapura to the territory of the Uttara-Kurus; see Bühler, ZDMG, 40. 138.

entrusted to royal princes (*kumāra* or *āryaputra*), viz. Ujjayinī, Tōsalī, and Suvarṇagiri (above, p. xxxvii f.). The two *Kumāras* were probably sons of the king himself, and the *Āryaputra* perhaps some other relative of his. The rock-edict V, M, refers to the harems of his brothers, sisters, and other relatives, 'both in **Pāṭaliputra** and in all the outlying towns', showing thereby that the tradition according to which he had killed all his brothers but one before ascending the throne [1] is opposed to facts. His sons and 'other queens' sons' are mentioned also in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, DD, and his queens in section CC of the same edict. From the Queen's edict on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar we learn that his second queen had the name **Kāluvākī** and was the mother of **Tīvala.**

Another provincial governor was perhaps the **Yavana** king **Tushāspha** who was governing Girnār in the time of the **Maurya Aśōka.**[2] Each provincial governor was assisted by a body of high officers named *Mahāmātra*,[3] or, as they seem to be called in one place, *Prādēśika*.[4] Other *Mahāmātras* were placed in charge of the districts which were included in each province. Thus the *Mahāmātras* at **Isila** were subordinate to the prince and the *Mahāmātras* at **Suvarṇagiri.**[5] In two places [6] we hear of a council (*parishad*) of the *Mahāmātras* or 'ministers', which was responsible only to the king and received its orders directly from him. The Kauśāmbī edict was addressed to the *Mahāmātras* at **Kōsambī,** the Sārnāth edict perhaps to those at **Pāṭa[liputra]**, and the Queen's edict to 'the *Mahāmātras* everywhere', i.e. to those of all districts. The technical term *āhāla* (= *āhāra* in Sanskrit), 'a district', occurs in the Rūpnāth edict, L, and in the Sārnāth edict, I, where it is opposed to the 'territories surrounding forts' (*kōṭṭa-vishaya* in section J), i.e., apparently, tracts which were not yet fully pacified, but were held by military posts, such as the 'forests' (*aṭavī*) mentioned in the rock-edict XIII, M. The *Mahāmātras* at **Tōsalī** and **Samāpā** were exercising judicial functions in the city (*nagara-vyavahāraka* or *nāgaraka*).[7] At the same time they had the control of the king's borderers who were yet unconquered,[8] i.e. they were what is called in the first pillar-edict (section F) *Anta-mahāmātras* or 'superintendents of the borderers'. A new class of *Mahāmātras* was created by Aśōka when he had been anointed thirteen years, viz. the *Dharma-mahāmātras* or 'superintendents of morality',[9] whom he employed for converting his subjects to his moral creed. Other special *Mahāmātras* had to supervise Buddhists, Brāhmaṇas and Ājīvikas, Nirgranthas, and other sects.[10] Even the control of women was entrusted to separate officers (*stry-adhyaksha-mahāmātra*, rock-edict XII, M). In Buddhist literature the word *Mahāmātra* is frequently used in the sense of 'a minister'. In Aśōka's edicts it has evidently a wider meaning.[11]

Another class of high officers were the *Rājūkas* [12] or *Lajūkas*. They were 'placed

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[1] *Mahāvaṁsa*, V, 19 f., 33; *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 299.

[2] See the Junāgaṛh rock-inscription of Rudradāman, EI, 8. 47.

[3] See the Dhauli separate edict II, A, and the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura rock-inscriptions, A.

[4] See Text, p. 5 and n. 3.

[5] See the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura edicts, section A.

[6] See the rock-edict III, E, and VI, F.

[7] See the first separate edict at Dhauli, A and Y, and at Jaugaḍa, B and Z.

[8] See the second separate edict at Dhauli, F, and at Jaugaḍa, G.

[9] See the rock-edict V, I, and XII, M; the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, P, Y, AA.

[10] See the same pillar-edict, Z.

[11] Thomas (JRAS, 1914. 387) suggests the translations 'official' or 'dignitary'.

[12] See the Girnār rock-edict III, C.

in charge of many hundred thousands of men',[1] and 'either rewards or punishments were left to their discretion'.[2] Bühler has shown that the two dialectical forms *Rājūka* and *Lajūka* are derived from **Rajjūka*, and that this is an abbreviation of *rajju-gāhaka*, 'rope-holder', which occurs in the *Jātaka*.[3] The *Rajjūka* originally 'held the rope' in order to measure the fields of the ryots and to assess the land-tax. Thus the word became the designation of a revenue settlement officer, just as in British India the chief administrative officer of a district is still called 'collector', because his special duty is the collection of the revenue.[4]

Along with the *Rājūka* and the *Prādēśika*, the rock-edict III, C, mentions the *Yutas* or 'secretaries', who correspond to the *Yuktas* of the *Kauṭilīya*.[5] The last section (E) of the same edict suggests that they were employed for codifying royal orders in the office of the *Mahāmātras* or ministers.

The rock-edict XIII, S, refers to 'those to whom the envoys (*dūta*) of *Dēvānāṁpriya* do not go'. It may be concluded from this that Aśōka maintained ambassadors not only in the frontier states enumerated in section R, but at the foreign courts named in section Q, viz. those of the five Greek kings, the Chōḍas and Pāṇḍyas, and the island of Ceylon. Similarly, Dionysius may have been the ambassador of Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt at Aśōka's court.[6]

From Indian literature we know that at all times kings used to entertain spies (*chāra* or *gūḍha-purusha*).[7] It seems probable that these are meant by the word *Purusha* in the pillar-edicts I, IV, and VII, and I have followed V. A. Smith in translating it by 'agents'. These agents were graded into 'high ones, low ones, and those of middle rank' (I, E), were acquainted with the king's wishes, controlled the *Lajūkas* (IV, G), and were 'placed in charge of many people' (VII, M). A similar class of officers, which was created by Aśōka himself, were the 'reporters' (*prativēdaka*), who were posted everywhere, as he says, 'in order to report to me the affairs of the people at any time, while I am eating, in the harem, in the inner apartment, even at the cowpen, in the palanquin, and in the parks'.[8] It is worth noting that this list does not include vehicles drawn by horses or bullocks, instead of which palanquins were employed in the time of Aśōka. Horses are mentioned only in the pillar-edict V, K. Section I of the same edict refers to the elephant-park (*nāga-vana*) of the king. As Bühler (ZDMG, 46. 78) remarked on the authority of Mēdhātithi,[9] the taming and the sale of elephants used to be a royal monopoly. According to Megasthenes (IA, 6. 239),

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[1] See the pillar-edict IV, C, and VII, N.

[2] See the pillar-edict IV, D and J.

[3] See ZDMG, 47. 466 ff.

[4] Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. *Collector*. Megasthenes (IA, 6. 238) speaks of high officers (ἄρχοντες) who 'superintend the rivers, *measure the land*, as is done in Egypt, and inspect the sluices by which water is let out from the main canals into their branches, so that every one may have an equal supply of it. The same persons have charge also of the huntsmen, and *are entrusted with the power of rewarding or punishing them according to their deserts*. They *collect the taxes*, and superintend the occupations connected with land, as those of the woodcutters, the carpenters, the blacksmiths, and the miners.'

[5] See Text, p. 5, n. 1.

[6] See above, p. xxxv.

[7] These are evidently the ἔφοροι or ἐπίσκοποι of Megasthenes (IA, 6. 124). According to Arrian (id., p. 237) 'they spy out what goes on in country and town, and report everything to the king', and according to Strabo (loc. cit.) 'some are entrusted with the inspection of the city, and others with that of the army. The former employ as their coadjutors the courtezans of the city, and the latter the courtezans of the camp [cf. Māgha, V, 27]. The ablest and most trustworthy men are appointed to fill these offices.'

[8] See the Girnār rock-edict VI, D.

[9] Cf. SBE, 25. 323, note.

'a private person is not allowed to keep either a horse or an elephant. These animals are held to be the special property of the king, and persons are appointed to take care of them.' These officers are the *Aśvādhyaksha* and *Hastyadhyaksha* of the *Kauṭilīya* (p. 132 ff.). The *Gōdhyaksha* of the same work (p. 128 ff.) probably corresponds to the *Vracha-bhūmikas* or 'inspectors of cowpens' in the rock-edict XII, M. The king's cowpen is referred to in the rock-edict VI, D.

At the end of the set of rock-edicts (XIV, E) Aśōka uses the word *lipikara*, 'a writer', the formation of which is taught by Pāṇini (III, 2, 21). The three Mysore edicts were drafted by one of this class, who wrote at the end of his signature the instrumental case *lipikareṇa* in Kharōshṭhī characters,[1] showing thereby that he had been transferred from North-Western India.[2] The word *lipi*, 'a rescript or inscription', occurs six times in the rock-edicts. The commentary on the *Uṇādisūtras* (IV, 119) derives *lipi* from the root *lip*, 'to smear'. This is impossible because the two Kharōshṭhī versions use instead of *lipi* the form *dipi*, which is found in the Achæmenidan inscriptions.[3] Besides, the participles *likhita*, *lekhita*, *likhāpita* are replaced at Shāhbāzgaṛhī by *nipista*, *nipesita*, *nipesapita*,[4] which cannot be derived from the Sanskrit root *nish-pish*, 'to crush', but must be connected with the Ancient Persian *ni-pish*, 'to write'.[5] The words *ayi dhrama-dipi nipista*, 'this rescript on morality has been written', at Shāhbāzgaṛhī, V, O, and XIII, X, remind one most strongly of the cuneiform inscriptions. Thus Darius says at Behistan, column 4, section 15:— *[tu]vam kā hya aparam imām dipim vaināhy tyām adam niyapi[sha]m*, 'O thou who shalt see this inscription in the future which I have written';[6] and Xerxes says at Van: —*yanaiy dipim naiy nipishtām akunaush pasāva adam niyashtāyam imām dipim nipishtanaiy*, 'where [Darius] did not cause an inscription to be written; afterwards I commanded to write this inscription'.[7] The conclusion is irresistible that neither *dipi* nor *nipista* are genuine Indian words, but that they have been taken over from the Ancient Persian language before Pāṇini's time, when the provinces of **Sindhu** and **Gandhāra** belonged to the Persian empire.[8] The Kharōshṭhī alphabet[9] and the Persepolitan capital[10] came to India from the same source. The preamble of many of Aśōka's edicts: 'king *Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus', is evidently a reminiscence and modification of the Achæmenidan formula: *θātiy Dārayavaush* (*Xshayārshā*, *Artaxshaθrā*) *xshāyaθiya*, 'says Darius (Xerxes, Artaxerxes) the king'. Tushāspha, the name of the Yavana king who was Aśōka's governor of Girnār,[11] seems to be a Persian word like Vishtāspa, Keresāspa, &c., and suggests that Aśōka enlisted Īrānians in his service.

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[1] Brahmagiri, l. 13; Śiddāpura, l. 22; Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara, l. 22.

[2] Bühler, EI, 3. 135.

[3] Cf. Westergaard's *Zwei Abhandlungen*, p. 33 f.

[4] See JRAS, 1913. 654.

[5] See id., 1914. 97.

[6] See Tolman's *Ancient Persian Lexicon* (Nashville, 1908), p. 28 f.

[7] See id., p. 53 f.

[8] The provinces of Hindu and Gandāra are mentioned in the inscriptions of Darius at Persepolis and Naqsh-i-Rustam, and Herodotus (VII, 65 f.) names the Ἰνδοί and Γανδάριοι among the tribes composing the army of Xerxes.

[9] See Bühler's *Ind. Pal.*, § 8.

[10] See the Indices to Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, revised by Burgess and Spiers, 2. 515, and to V. A. Smith's *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 513.

[11] See above, p. xl and n. 2.

CHAPTER IV. ASOKA'S CONVERSION

FROM Buddhist literature we learn that Aśōka became a convert to and patron of Buddhism. The Kaśmīr historian Kalhaṇa also reports that Aśōka 'adopted the religion of Jina (i.e. Buddha)' and built many *Stūpas*.[1] According to the *Dīpavaṁsa* (VI, 55), he became a Buddhist lay-worshipper (*upāsaka*), and the accounts of the *Mahāvaṁsa* (V, 72) and of the *Samantapāsādikā* (p. 303) imply the same fact. His conversion took place three full years, i.e. in the fourth year, after his *abhishēka*.[2] He is believed to have built no less than 84,000 *Vihāras* in as many towns, besides the *Aśōkārāma* at Pāṭaliputra, and to have consecrated all these buildings after three years, i.e. in the seventh year of his reign.[3]

Aśōka's inscriptions fully corroborate the tradition that he favoured Buddhism, and show that he was intimately acquainted with its tenets, legends, and literature. This will be clear from the subjoined references.

(1) In the Calcutta-Bairāṭ rock-inscription the king pays his respects to the *Saṁgha* or clergy, gives expression to his reverence to and faith in the Buddha, the *Dharma* or doctrine, and the *Saṁgha*, and recommends to monks and nuns, to laymen and to laywomen, the study of seven 'expositions of the *Dharma*' selected by himself. These seven texts have been actually traced in the Buddhist canon.[4]

(2) In the Kauśāmbī, Sāṁchī, and Sārnāth pillar-edicts he orders heretical monks and nuns to be expelled from the *Saṁgha*. This order of the king is known to the tradition of the Southern Buddhists.[5]

(3) The rock-edict VIII, C, states that when he had been anointed ten years, he paid a visit to **Saṁbōdhi,** i.e. Bōdh-Gayā, the place where the Buddha had attained to perfect knowledge. According to the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 393), Aśōka visited **Bōdhi** in the company of the *Sthavira* Upagupta and distributed there 100,000 (gold pieces).

(4) The same sum he is said to have spent at **Lumbinī-vana,** the site of Buddha's birth (id., p. 389 f.). His visit to it is confirmed by the Rummindēī pillar, which was erected by him when, having been anointed twenty years, he came himself to the village of **Luṁmini** and worshipped the spot where the Buddha Śākyamuni was born.

(5) The Nigālī Sāgar pillar records that when he had been anointed fourteen years, he enlarged the *Stūpa* of the (mythical) Buddha Kōnākamana to the double (of its original size), and that when he had been anointed [twenty] years, he came himself and worshipped that spot.

(6) The Kālsī and Dhauli rocks bear the figure of an elephant with the labels 'the best elephant' and 'the white (elephant)'.[6] On the Girnār rock the elephant has been destroyed, but the existing label implies that the missing figure represented the Buddha, who is believed to have entered his mother's womb in the shape of a white

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[1] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, I, 102. According to I, 106, and VIII, 3391, Aśōka seems to have had the surname *Śāntāvasāda*.

[2] See *Dīpavaṁsa*, VI, 18, 24; *Mahāvaṁsa*, V, 34; *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 300.

[3] According to the *Mahāvaṁsa*, V, 209, in his sixth year; but see IA, 20. 233, n. 18.

[4] See Text, p. 174, n. 1.

[5] See Text, p. 160, n. 5.

[6] See Text, p. 50, n. 3, and p. 92, n. 1.

elephant;[1] cf. the *Nidānakathā* of the *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 50, and the representation of the 'descent of the Blessed one' on the Bharaut *Stūpa*.[2]

These six references raise a strong presumption in favour of the view that Aśōka had adopted the Buddhist religion in the course of his reign. Further undeniable evidence is supplied by the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāṭ, Maski, and the three Mysore rock-inscriptions, which will have now to be considered at some length. These records, or proclamations (*śrāvaṇa*) as Aśōka calls them himself, were issued 'two and a half years and somewhat more' after he had become a **Buddhist** (*Śākya* at Rūpnāth, *Buddha-Śākya* at Maski, section B) or a lay-worshipper (*upāsaka*, Sahasrām, &c.), and 'a year and somewhat more' after he had approached the *Saṁgha* (Rūpnāth, &c., section D). Section B confirms the statement of the *Dīpavaṁsa* that Aśōka became a Buddhist *upāsaka* (above, p. xliii). In section D the word 'approached' (*upēta*) is ambiguous. Bühler, who first edited these inscriptions, took it in the sense of 'entered'; and, by adding thirty-two and a half years (which were derived from the misreading *aḍhitisāni* at Rūpnāth) and one further year to the traditional date of Aśōka's conversion (three years), he arrived at the conclusion that the Rūpnāth edict was issued shortly before his death (IA, 6. 153). After Oldenberg had shown that *aḍhitisāni* was a misreading for *aḍhatiyāni*, 'two and a half',[3] Bühler was obliged 'to give up the assumption that the statements of the inscription regarding the time of Aśōka's conversion to Buddhism agree with those of the Buddhist tradition' (EI, 3. 137). As Aśōka is known to have reigned thirty-seven years,[4] Fleet, who followed Bühler in assigning the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts to the last years of the king's life, assumed that he abdicated before the end of it in order to turn a Buddhist monk. But literary tradition knows nothing of such an abdication, unless we can find some reminiscence of it in the fact that 'the *Divyāvadāna* relates that Aśōka died destitute of power and possessions, having given everything that he could give to the Buddhist *Saṁgha*'.[5] Moreover, an ex-king could not have issued commands (*āṇapayati*, Brahmagiri edict, B) to his former officers. Besides, the Rūpnāth and Sahasrām edicts must be considered the earliest of all the Aśōka inscriptions for two reasons:—(1) they speak of inscriptions on rocks and pillars as a task which it was intended to carry out, and not as a *fait accompli*;[6] (2) they, and the three Mysore records, contain the first elements of Aśōka's *Dharma*, which we find more fully developed in his rock- and pillar-edicts. Bühler (EI, 3. 141) believed that, as the Rūpnāth edict contrasts the words 'since I have approached the *Saṁgha*' with the words 'since I am a (Buddhist) lay-worshipper', the former cannot convey any other meaning but 'that he had entered the *Saṁgha*, and had become, at least nominally, a monk; compare the Sanskrit phrases *yajñam*, *vratam*, or *brahmacharyam upa-i*'. But the only other testimony for such a *pabbajjā* is that of the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing, who mentions an image of Aśōka dressed in the garb of a Buddhist monk;[7] and the expression *saṁgham upa-i* for the precise idea of 'entering into the monastic order' is, as Senart (IA, 20. 163) reminds us, 'vague and not sanctioned by the ordinary terminology, necessarily fixed at an early date in such a matter; besides, this situation of a king, who, while preserving his royal prerogatives and his royal life, enters into a religious order, is far removed from the idea which we are accustomed to

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[1] See Text, p. 27, n. 2.

[2] Cunningham's *Stūpa of Bharhut*, plate 28, and IA, 21. 235, No. 98: *Bhagavato ūkraṁti* (read thus instead of *okraṁti* and see Bühler's *Ind. Pal.*, § 16, section C, No. 6).

[3] See Text, p. 167, n. 17.

[4] See *Dīpavaṁsa*, V, 101; *Mahāvaṁsa*, XX, 6.

[5] Fleet in JRAS, 1913. 657.

[6] See Senart, IA, 20. 236.

[7] See Fleet, JRAS, 1908. 496.

form with regard to Buddhist monachism in the ancient period.' These considerations induce me to accept the view of Senart, who takes the word *upēta* in the sense of 'visited' and finds in it a reference to a state visit paid by the king to the *Saṁgha*.[1] Aśōka's *first* visit to the *Saṁgha* is placed by the *Dīpavaṁsa* (VI, 78), *Mahāvaṁsa* (V, 76), and *Samantapāsādikā* (p. 303) in the very year of his conversion to Buddhism. Senart compares the visit recorded in the Rūpnāth and connected edicts with the festival of the consecration of Aśōka's 84,000 *Stūpas*, which is alleged to have been celebrated three years later, and at which the king is stated to have 'stood in the midst of the *Saṁgha*'.[2]

As stated above (p. xliv), the Rūpnāth edict informs us that, when issuing it, (1) Aśōka had been a Buddhist for more than two and a half years (section B), and (2) more than a year had passed after his visit to the *Saṁgha* (section D). The word *sumi*, 'I am', in section B of the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Maski edicts proves that the two and a half years of Aśōka's *upāsakatva* did not precede the single year which followed his visit to the *Saṁgha*, but included the second period.[3] Instead of section C of the Rūpnāth and Sahasrām edicts, the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura edicts read: 'but indeed I had not been very zealous for one year'. This more precise statement implies that the period of somewhat more than two and a half years has to be subdivided into one year with, no doubt, a little more, followed by one year with the balance of the whole period. During this second year, Aśōka, having visited the *Saṁgha*, showed himself very zealous.[4] In section E of the Sahasrām edict he states that, in consequence of his zeal, 'men in Jambudvīpa (i.e. in India), being during that (i.e. in the preceding) time unmingled with the gods, have (now) been made (by me) mingled with the gods'. This passage has been much discussed and interpreted in various ways. I have suggested that the 'gods' (*dēva*) may be compared with the 'divine figures' (*divyāni rūpāṇi*) of the rock-edict IV, B, where the king claims to have exhibited 'representations of aerial chariots, representations of elephants, masses of fire, and other divine figures', evidently in order to induce his subjects to lead moral lives and thereby to qualify for heaven.[5] The 'festive meetings' (*samāja*) which were approved of by him in the rock-edict I, E, are probably identical with those religious shows instituted by him.

I now pass to the knottiest problem of all those which the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts propound to posterity, viz. the meaning and application of the word *vivāsa* at the end of the Rūpnāth edict. This substantive may be expected to be derived from the same root as, and to be connected in meaning with, the verb *vivaseti* in a preceding section (L). The same verb occurs as *vivāsayati* in section I of the Sārnāth edict. As I have shown elsewhere,[6] this section adds nothing new to the king's order, but contains further provisions for ensuring a still wider circulation to it, and we have to translate *vivāsayati* at Sārnāth and, along with it, *vivaseti* at Rūpnāth by 'causing to leave home, causing to start on tour, despatching (messengers)'.[7] Consequently the substantive *vivāsa* seems to mean 'staying away from home, remaining on tour'. A comparison of the wording of section M at Rūpnāth with section J at Sahasrām yields the result that the edict was

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[1] See IA, 20. 234, and cf. JA (11), 7. 435 ff.

[2] *Dīpavaṁsa*, VII, 3; *Mahāvaṁsa*, V, 185; *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 304.

[3] This point was first recognised by Senart in 1892; see JA (8), 19. 481, and cf. my remarks in JRAS, 1910. 144 f., and Senart in JA (11), 7. 436.

[4] See Rūpnāth, D; Maski, C; Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura, E.

[5] See JRAS, 1913. 652 f.

[6] See Text, p. 163, n. 10, and JRAS, 1912. 1053 ff.

[7] Cf. Thomas, JA (10), 15. 518.

issued by a person on tour, who can be no other but Aśōka himself,[1] when he had spent 256 nights[2] on tour. It follows that Aśōka had started on tour a few months after visiting the *Saṁgha*, which he had done more than a year before issuing the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāṭ, Maski, and the three Mysore edicts.

The Rūpnāth and cognate edicts do not specify the years of Aśōka's reign in which his conversion and his visit to the *Saṁgha* took place; but they furnish a few de ails which enable us to fix their time with great probability, viz.:

(*a*) Aśōka became a Buddhist *upāsaka*.
(*b*) He visited the *Saṁgha* one year after (*a*).
(*c*) He started on tour.
(*d*) He issued the Rūpnāth edict, &c., more than two and a half years after (*a*), more than one year after (*b*), and 256 nights after (*c*).

On p. xxxvi I gave a conspectus of the regnal dates which Aśōka's inscriptions contain. Of these I here repeat the following ones in tabular form:

No. 1	Rock-edict XIII	8 years after the *abhishēka*	Conquest of Kaliṅga.
„ 2	„ „ VIII	10 „ „ „	Visit to Saṁbōdhi.
„ 3	Pillar-edict VI	12 „ „ „	Publication of rescripts on morality.
„ 4	Rock-edict IV	„ „ „ „	Institution of public shows of edifying subjects.

On p. xliv I gave two pieces of evidence to show that (*d*) the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts must be considered the earliest of all. No. 3 places them twelve years after Aśōka's *abhishēka*, i.e. in the thirteenth year of his reign.[3] If we suppose that they belong to the second half of the thirteenth year, we may combine No. 2 with (*a*) and assume that Aśōka's visit to Saṁbōdhi in the eleventh year of his reign was connected with his conversion to Buddhism. In this case (*b*) would fall in his twelfth year and (*c*) about the end of the same year. No. 1 explains the conversion by mentioning the circumstances which occasioned it. The king confesses that the Kaliṅga war was the turning-point in his religious career, and that his grief at the enormous loss of human life made him repent of his conquest and aspire henceforth to the 'conquest by morality'.[4] Herewith we may compare the *Mahāvaṁsa*, V, 189:

'Before, he had been known as Chaṇḍāśōka (i.e. the fierce Aśōka) on account of his evil deeds; afterwards he became known as Dharmāśōka (i.e. the pious Aśōka) on account of his virtuous deeds'.[5]

The *Mahāvaṁsa* places this change of name and character in the seventh year of Aśōka's reign and his conversion already in the fourth year (above, p. xliii). These dates cannot be reconciled with the epigraphical ones and must be erroneous.[6] But the fact that the Buddhist chronicles agree with the inscriptions in recording a change in Aśōka's policy and principles of government about the time of his conversion proves that their accounts are not purely imaginary, but are based on contemporaneous tradition.

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[1] See Text, p. 169, n. 8.

[2] The discovery of the word *lāti*, 'a night', which had escaped the attention of scholars for thirty-three years, is due to Thomas; see JA (10), 15. 520.

[3] This view is confirmed by section E of the Rūpnāth edict, which alludes to the same shows as No. 4.

[4] See the rock-edict XIII, P and U.

[5] The same statement is made in the *Divyāvadāna*, p. 382.

[6] Cf. Senart's remarks, IA, 20. 235.

At the same time they furnish in this manner another piece of evidence in favour of the correctness of Prinsep's identification of Aśōka with the *Dēvānāṁpriya* who issued the edicts published in this volume.

A few words have to be added concerning the 256 nights which the king had spent on tour when he published his first religious proclamations. Aśōka's tours are referred to and their object specified in the rock-edict VIII, in which he states that, after he had gone to Saṁbōdhi (i.e. after his conversion to Buddhism), he commenced to undertake 'tours of morality' (*dharma-yātrā*) for 'visiting Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas and making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality'. This edict was probably not issued before the rock-edict V which records the appointment of *Dharma-mahāmātras* thirteen years after the *abhishēka*. As the tour during which Aśōka issued the Rūpnāth edict had been undertaken in his twelfth year when he commenced to be 'very zealous', it may be concluded that it was his first *dharma-yātrā*. When he issued his proclamation in the second half of his thirteenth year, he had been in camp 256 nights. The special reason which induced him to acquaint us with this figure is not apparent. Fleet has shown that it does not mark any division or total of subdivisions of the year, either lunar or solar;[1] but, as I believe I have shown that the Rūpnāth and other records are not the last, but the earliest of the edicts, I am unable to accept his ingenious suggestion that the 256 nights had been spent in worship because they corresponded to an equal number of years which had then elapsed since Buddha's Nirvāṇa.[2]

It must still be noted that the Calcutta-Bairāṭ rock-inscription or 'letter to the *Saṁgha*' seems to be earlier than all the other rock- and pillar-edicts. The references to a few Buddhist tracts in this inscription suggest that after his visit to the *Saṁgha*, and before starting on tour, he was engaged in studying the sacred literature. This would place the inscription in the twelfth year of his reign.

The Kauśāmbī, Sāṁchī, and Sārnāth edicts cannot be earlier than the six first pillar-edicts, because the first of them is engraved on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar in a position which shows it to have been a subsequent addition.[3]

CHAPTER V. ASOKA'S DHARMA

In the last chapter I trust to have proved that Aśōka had already embraced Buddhism when he commenced to issue 'proclamations on morality' (*dharma-śrāvaṇa*) or 'rescripts on morality' (*dharma-lipi*) in order to convert his subjects. He tells us himself (pillar-edict VII, J–L):

'The following occurred to me: I shall issue proclamations on morality (and) shall order instruction in morality (to be given). Hearing this, men will conform to (it), will be elevated, and will (be made to) progress considerably by the promotion of morality.'

The date of this propaganda is given in the pillar-edict VI, B:

'(When I had been) anointed twelve years, rescripts on morality were caused to be written by me for the welfare and happiness of the people, (in order that), not

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[1] JRAS, 1911. 1097. [2] id., 1910. 1307 f. [3] See above, p. xix.

transgressing those (rescripts), they might attain a promotion of morality in various respects.'

As shown above (p. xliv), Aśōka's first proclamations (*śrāvaṇa*)[1] were the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts. When issuing them, he ordered that his views should be made public by inscribing them on rocks and pillars.[2] In the same year he directed his officers to carry on the propaganda on their quinquennial circuit (rock-edict III, C):

'Everywhere in my dominions the *Yuktas*, the *Rājūka*, and the *Prādēśika* shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years for this very purpose, (viz.) for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business.'[3]

In the next year of his reign he created special '*Mahāmātras* of morality' (*Dharma-mahāmātra*, rock-edict V, I), whom I have mentioned before (p. xl). A fresh set of six edicts was engraved on pillars twenty-six years after the *abhishēka*, and the seventh pillar-edict at Delhi-Tōprā was added in the next year.

European analogies might lead us to expect that Aśōka's conversion to Buddhism would have induced him to persecute the votaries of other religions. In reality the Hindūs have been at all times extremely tolerant to other creeds, and have allowed everybody to try to attain salvation in his own fashion. Among the six orthodox schools of philosophy they count the pantheistic Vēdānta and the atheistic Sāṁkhya, and epigraphical and literary records show that Hindū kings considered it their duty to build temples and to make grants to other gods and denominations than their own. The same tolerance was practised by Aśōka. As a pious Hindū he acknowledged the 'debt' (*ṛiṇa*) which every king owes to his subjects in return for the revenue (*shaḍbhāga*) levied from them, and which consists in affording them protection (*pālana*):

'Whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).'[4]

In the same spirit he says:

'All men are my children. As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided by me with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, even so is my desire on behalf of all men.'[5]

This principle is further specified in the pillar-edict VI, C–E:

'(Thinking): "thus the welfare and happiness of the people (will be secured)", I am directing my attention not only to (my) relatives, but to those who are near and far, in order that I may lead them to happiness, and I am instructing (them) accordingly. In the same manner I am directing my attention to all classes. And all the sects have been honoured by me with honours of various kinds.'

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[1] Rūpnāth, H, M; Sahasrām, H, J; Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura, I, K.

[2] Rūpnāth, J, K; Sahasrām, L, M; Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, P.

[3] Cf. also the Dhauli separate edict I, Z—CC.

[4] See the rock-edict VI, L, and cf. the second separate edict at Dhauli, H, and at Jaugaḍa, I. On the other hand, the king reminds the *Mahāmātras* that they owe him the debt of obedience in return for the salary received from him; see id., L and M, respectively, and the first separate edict, Q and R, U and V, respectively.

[5] See the first separate edict at Jaugaḍa, F, G, and the second, E, F.

Accordingly he directed his *Dharma-mahāmātras* to busy themselves with Brāhmaṇas and Ibhyas (i.e. Vaiśyas, rock-edict V, K), and with ascetics and householders (pillar-edict VII, Y), placed special officers in charge of the Buddhist clergy, of the Ājīvikas,[1] Nirganthas (i.e. Jainas), and other sects (id., Z), and permitted all sects to reside in any place they liked (rock-edict VII, A). In the very remarkable rock-edict XII, which does him the greatest credit, he gives expression to his impartial consideration for all sects[2] and entreats them in their own interest to respect each other:

'For whosoever praises his own sect or blames other sects,—all (this) out of devotion to his own sect, (i.e.) with the view of glorifying his own sect,—if he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect very severely' (section H).

Hence the king recommends to all sects concord (*samavāya*, section I) and the guarding of speech (*vachō-gupti*, section D).

There is nothing specifically Buddhistic in those benefactions to which the second rock-edict refers. Aśōka arranged for medical treatment of men and cattle not only in his own dominions, but among his borderers, and caused medicinal herbs, roots, and fruits to be cultivated. Along the roads he had trees planted and wells dug for the benefit of cattle and men.[3] The Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, which was issued twenty-seven years after the *abhishēka*, states that he planted banyan-trees and mango-groves along the roads, that at intervals of eight *kōs* he had wells dug and flights of steps (for descending into the water) built, and that he established numerous places for the supply of drinking-water to cattle and men (sections R–T). When twenty-six years had elapsed after his *abhishēka*, he had ordered the release of prisoners twenty-five times (pillar-edict V, L). This suggests that he used to proclaim an amnesty to criminals at almost every anniversary of his coronation. The fourth pillar-edict records that the king left rewards and punishments to the discretion of his *Lajūkas*, in order to ensure impartiality in judicial proceedings, and that he granted three days' respite to prisoners on whom the sentence of capital punishment had been passed. The fifth rock-edict (L) and the first separate edict (Dhauli, J, K, Y; Jaugaḍa, K, L, Z) also testify to his regard for innocent prisoners.

All these measures were certainly prompted by his care for his subjects, but they do not characterize him as a Buddhist reformer. If we turn to an examination of what he tells us about the nature of his *Dharma*, it appears that the latter is in thorough agreement with the picture of Buddhist morality which is preserved in the beautiful anthology entitled *Dhammapada*, i.e. 'words of morality'. Here we find Buddhism *in statu nascendi*. 'From the definitions or descriptions which the king gives us, it follows that to him *Dharma* ordinarily implies what we call the sum of moral duties.'[4] 'The ideas and the language which are brought to light, from a religious point of view, in our inscriptions, cannot be considered as an isolated expression of individual convictions or conceptions.' The *Dhammapada* 'lays before us an equivalent sufficiently exact to allow

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[1] The Barābar Hill inscriptions record a grant of caves to the Ājīvikas, but it is not absolutely certain whether the donor was identical with Aśōka.

[2] Cf. also the pillar-edict VI, E, and VII, Y.

[3] Megasthenes speaks of officers who 'construct roads, and at every ten *stadia* set up a pillar to show the by-roads and distances' (IA, 6, 238), and of the 'royal road' (ὁδὸς βασιλική = *rāja-patha* in Sanskrit) leading from the western frontier to the capital Pāṭaliputra, which 'has been measured by *schoeni* (1 σχοῖνος = 40 *stadia*), and is in length 10,000 *stadia*' (id., p. 126).

[4] Senart, IA, 20. 260.

us to consider that they correspond to a certain state of Buddhism, earlier than that which has found expression in the majority of the books which have come down to us.'[1]

The word *Dharma* is first mentioned in the Maski edict (section E). It is defined thus in the second portion of the Brahmagiri record (sections M–Q):

'Moreover, *Dēvānāṁpriya* speaks thus: Obedience must be rendered to mother and father, likewise to elders; firmness (of compassion) must be shown towards animals; the truth must be spoken: these same moral virtues (*dharma-guṇa*) must be practised. In the same way the pupil must show reverence to the master, and one must behave in a suitable manner towards relatives. This is an ancient rule, and this conduces to long life. Thus one must act.'

The rock-edicts repeat or amplify the same injunctions:

'Meritorious is obedience to mother and father. Liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas (i.e. Buddhist monks) is meritorious. Abstention from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious' (III, D).

'Abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, obedience to mother (and) father, (and) obedience to the aged' (IV, C).

'Proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas' (IX, G).

'Proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to mother (and) father, liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, (and) abstention from killing animals' (XI, C).

'Obedience to those who receive high pay, obedience to mother and father, obedience to elders, proper courtesy to friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives, to slaves and servants, (and) firm devotion' (XIII, G).

Finally, the pillar-edict VII, section HH, speaks of a progress 'in obedience to mother and father, in obedience to elders, in courtesy to the aged, in courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, to the poor and distressed, (and) even to slaves and servants'.

A noteworthy point in the above extracts is the equal respect which the king paid to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas.[2] As Senart (IA, 20. 263) has shown, the *Dhammapada*, though a professedly Buddhist work, does exactly the same. There are, however, two edicts in which Aśōka denounces Brāhmaṇical usage. In the ninth rock-edict he condemns 'many and various vulgar ("offensive" at Shāhbāzgaṛhī) and useless ceremonies' which women are practising 'during illness, at the marriage of a son or a daughter, at the birth of a son, and when setting out on a journey', and recommends in their stead the practice of morality.[3] Secondly, in the first rock-edict, section B, he directly prohibits the killing of animals at sacrifices. At the end of the same edict, however, he naïvely confesses that he had not yet been able to carry out fully the 'abstention from killing animals' which formed part of his moral code, and that three animals were still being killed daily in his kitchen; but he promises that even this

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[1] Senart, IA, 20. 26

[2] Megasthenes mentions the Βραχμάναι and Σαρμάναι as two kinds of φιλόσοφοι; see IA, 6. 243.

[3] Cf. the *Maṅgala-sutta* (*Khuddaka-pāṭha*, V; JRAS, 1870. 312 ff.) or *Mahāmaṅgala-sutta* (*Suttanipāta*, II, 4), in which the Buddha himself declares what he considers 'the highest *maṅgala*'.

slaughter would be discontinued in future. Along with animal sacrifices he prohibited festive meetings (*samāja*, sections C, D), perhaps because some of them, like the Spanish bull-fights, consisted of contests of animals,[1] and substituted another kind of festive meetings (section E), viz. the edifying shows alluded to in the fourth rock-edict and in the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts (above, p. xlv).

Among Aśōka's 'good deeds' the second pillar-edict (E) gives prominence to various benefits conferred on animals. This statement is explained by the fifth pillar-edict, which contains a detailed list of animals that were declared inviolable either permanently or on certain days, among them the well-known fast-days (*posatha*).[2] From the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII it appears that this limitation of the general principle of *ahiṁsā* was a concession which Aśōka, though a convinced Buddhist, was obliged to make to the majority of his subjects:

'Now this progress of morality among men has been promoted (by me) only in two ways, (viz.) by moral restrictions and by instruction.[3] But among these (two), those moral restrictions are of little consequence; by instruction, however, (morality is promoted) more considerably. Now moral restrictions indeed are these, that I have ordered this, (that) certain animals are inviolable . . . . . By instruction, however, the progress of morality among men has been promoted more considerably, (because it leads) to abstention from hurting living beings, (and) to abstention from killing animals' (sections JJ–NN).

One of the items in the lists of virtues which constituted Aśōka's *Dharma* was liberality or charity (*dāna*). He not only practised it on his 'tours of morality' (above, p. xlvii), but organized the distribution of his own gifts and of those of his relatives through his officers; see the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, sections CC, DD:

'Both these and many other chief (officers) are occupied with the delivery of the gifts of myself as well as of the queens, and among my whole harem [they are reporting] in divers ways different worthy recipients of charity both here and in the provinces. And others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the delivery of the gifts of (my) sons and of other queens' sons, in order (to promote) noble deeds of morality (and) the practice of morality.'

According to the next section (EE) 'noble deeds of morality and the practice of morality (consist in) this, that (morality), viz. compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity, gentleness, and goodness, will thus be promoted among men'; while the pillar-edict II (B, C) says:—'What does morality include? (It includes) few sins, many virtuous deeds, compassion, liberality, truthfulness, (and) purity.' These two lists remind us of verse 224 of the *Dhammapada*, where it is stated that the practice of truthfulness, absence of anger, and charity leads to the gods:

Sachchaṁ bhaṇe na kujjheyya dajjā appasmi yāchito |
etehi tīni ṭhānehi gachchhe devāna santike ||

With the words 'few sins, many virtuous deeds' in the pillar-edict II, C, Senart (IA, 20. 262) compares verse 183 of the Dhammapada:

Sabbapāpass' akaraṇaṁ kusalass' ūpasampadā |
sachittaparyodapanam etaṁ Buddhāna sāsanaṁ ||

[1] See Thomas, JRAS, 1914. 392 ff.

[2] Cf. Kern's *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 99 f., and *Vinaya Texts*, part 1 (SBE, 13), p. x. The Buddhist fast-days are mentioned also in the Sārnāth pillar-edict, H.

[3] This, and not 'conversion', seems to be the actual meaning of *nijhati*. Cf. *Suttanipāta*, II, 8, verses 5 and 7.

In the fourth rock-edict Aśōka remarks that 'the practice of morality is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct' (*aśīlasya*, section H), and exhorts his descendants to be 'abiding by morality (and) by good conduct' (*dharmē śīlē tishṭhantaḥ*, F). In the *Dhammapada* we read in verse 217:

Sīla-dassana-sampannaṁ dhammaṭṭhaṁ sachchavādinam ।

and in verse 84:

sa sīlavā paññavā dhammiko siyā ॥

Aśōka's remark: *sukaraṁ hi pāpaṁ*, 'for sin is easily committed' (Girnār edict V, G), reminds us of *sukarāni asādhūni* in verse 163 of the *Dhammapada*, and the words: *dupaṭivekhe chu kho esā*, 'now this (evil deed of mine) is indeed difficult to recognise' (pillar-edict III, D), of verse 252:

Sudassaṁ vajjam aññesaṁ attano pana duddasaṁ ।

and of verse 50:

Na paresaṁ vilomāni na paresaṁ katākataṁ ।
attano va avekkheyya katāni akatāni cha ॥

The lists of evil passions (*āsinava-gāmīni*, pillar-edict III, F) and dispositions (*jātāni*)[1] do not tally with the *āsavas* and *kilesas* of the Buddhists.[2] To counteract these dispositions, Aśōka recommends 'the absence of anger and the avoidance of hurry'[3] and continues:

'Whoever is fatigued in the administration (of justice), will [not] move and rise; but one ought to move, to walk, and to advance in the administration (of justice)' (Jaugaḍa, Q).

This maxim reminds one of verse 168 of the *Dhammapada*:

Uttiṭṭhe nappamajjeyya dhammaṁ sucharitaṁ chare ।

Already Aśōka's earliest proclamations have zeal (*parākrama* or *prakrama*) for their subject.[4] He returns to it in the sixth rock-edict, which dwells on the necessity of exertion (*utthāna*, sections H, J) or zeal (*parākrama*, N) in conducting public business. Similarly, the *Dhammapada* recommends *uṭṭhāna* (verses 24, 25, 280), *parakkama* (verses 23, 383), and *appamāda* (verses 21–32). In two of his sermons on 'zeal' Aśōka appeals to all his subjects, not only to those in high positions, but to those in humble life as well; see the Rūpnāth edict, sections G, H:

'And this cannot be reached by (persons of) high rank (alone), (but) even a lowly (person) is able to attain even the great heaven if he is zealous. And for the following purpose has (this) proclamation been issued, (that) both the lowly and the exalted may be zealous.'

Compare with this the rock-edict X, sections E, F:

'But it is indeed difficult either for a lowly person or for a high one to accomplish this without great zeal (and without) laying aside every (other aim). But among these (two) it is indeed (more) difficult to accomplish for a high (person).'

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[1] See the first separate edict at Dhauli, M, and at Jaugaḍa, N.
[2] See Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*.
[3] See the first separate edict at Dhauli, O, and at Jaugaḍa, P.
[4] Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Bairāṭ, F–H; Brahmagiri and Siddāpura, G–I.

A similar sentiment occurs in the seventh rock-edict, section E:

'But even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control, purity of mind, gratitude, and firm devotion, is very mean.'

The eleventh rock-edict (B) and the ninth (J) state that 'there is no such gift as the gift of morality' (*dharma-dāna*). Senart (IA, 20. 62) compares verse 354 of the *Dhammapada*:

Sabbadānaṁ dhammadānaṁ jināti.

Spiritual insight (*chakkhu*), which Aśōka claims to have spread in many ways,[1] is alluded to in the *Dhammapada*, verse 273:

virāgo seṭṭho dhammānaṁ dipadānaṁ cha chakkhumā ॥

According to the thirteenth rock-edict (L) '*Dēvānāṁpriya* thinks that even (to one) who should wrong (him), what can be forgiven is to be forgiven'.[2]

This remark reminds us of the noble verse 223 of the *Dhammapada*:[3]

Akkodhena jine kodham asādhuṁ sādhunā jine ।
jine kadaryaṁ. dānena sacchenâlikavādinaṁ ॥

The thirteenth rock-edict (sections M–O) continues thus:

'And even (the inhabitants of) the forests which are (included) in the dominions of *Dēvānāṁpriya*, even those he pacifies (and) instructs.[4] And they are told of the power (to punish them) which *Dēvānāṁpriya* (possesses) in spite of (his) repentance, in order that they may be ashamed (of their crimes) and may not be killed. For *Dēvānāṁpriya* desires towards all beings abstention from hurting, self-control, (and) impartiality in (case of) violence.'

This is the 'conquest by morality' (*dharma-vijaya*) which Aśōka substitutes for the conquest by arms, and which he claims to have won even among his neighbours (sections P–U). He requests his descendants that they 'should not think that a fresh conquest ought to be made, (that) if a conquest does please them they should take pleasure in mercy and light punishments, and (that) they should regard the conquest by morality as the only (true) conquest' (section X).

In one important point Aśōka's inscriptions differ from, and reflect an earlier stage in the development of Buddhist theology or metaphysics than, the *Dhammapada*: they do not yet know anything of the doctrine of *Nirvāṇa*, but presuppose the general Hindū belief that the rewards of the practice of *Dharma* are happiness in this world and merit in the other world. See the rock-edict IX, M, N (Kālsī); X, C; XI, E; XIII, W, Y, AA; the Dhauli separate edict I, F; II, E, G, K; the pillar-edict I, C; III, H; IV, E, M, N; VII, PP. Cf. the *Dhammapada*, verse 219 f.:

Chirappavāsiṁ purisaṁ dūrato sotthim āgataṁ ।
ñātimittā suhajjā cha abhinandanti āgataṁ ॥
Tath' eva katapuññaṁ pi asmā lokā paraṁ gataṁ ।
puññāni patigaṇhanti piyaṁ ñātiva āgataṁ ॥

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[1] See the pillar-edict II, D.
[2] Cf. the Dhauli separate edict II, G.
[3] The same verse occurs both in the *Jātaka* and in the *Mahābhārata*; see Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, p. xxvii, and Franke, VOJ, 20. 320 ff.
[4] See above, p. li, n. 3.

Instead of 'merit in the other world' Aśōka often uses the term 'heaven' (*svarga*). See Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Bairāṭ, G; Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura, H; the rock-edict VI, L; IX, K, L (Girnār); the Dhauli separate edict I, S, U; II, L. The *Dhammapada* (verse 126), however, distinguishes *Nirvāṇa* from *Svarga:*

saggaṁ sugatino yanti parinibbant' anāsavā ||

* * * * *

At the end of this survey of the contents of Aśōka's inscriptions we have still to consider the fourteenth rock-edict, in which the author of the preceding edicts states that he caused them to be written 'either in an abridged (form), or of middle (size), or at full length. For the whole was not suitable everywhere'. The words 'at full length' must apply to the complete sets of fourteen edicts at Girnār, Kālsī, Shāhbāzgaṛhī, and Mānsehrā. These four versions are practically identical, with the exception of the end of edict IX, where the three last of them (Kālsī, &c.) differ, for reasons which are not apparent, from Girnār, Dhauli, and Jaugaḍa.[1] The words 'in an abridged (form)' may refer to the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts, and the words 'of middle (size)' to Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, where two separate edicts were substituted for the rock-edicts XI–XIII. These, or at least the third of them, were 'not suitable' here because Dhauli and Jaugaḍa formed part of the newly conquered country of Kaliṅga and required different treatment and special orders to the administrative officers. It can be shown that the two separate edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa were contemporaneous with the thirteenth rock-edict of the other versions: The words 'that *Dēvānāṁpriya* will forgive them (viz. his unconquered borderers) what can be forgiven; that they may (be induced) by me (to) practise morality; (and) that they may attain (happiness in) this world and (in) the other world' in section G of the Dhauli separate edict II correspond to sections L and M of the thirteenth rock-edict at Shāhbāzgaṛhī:

'And *Dēvānāṁpriya* thinks that even (to one) who should wrong (him), what can be forgiven is to be forgiven. And even (the inhabitants of) the forests which are (included) in the dominions of *Dēvānāṁpriya*, even those he pacifies (and) instructs.'[2]

Another point of contact exists between the first separate edict and the third rock-edict, which Aśōka issued twelve years after his *abhishēka*, and in which he ordered the officers of all districts of his empire to undertake quinquennial tours for inspection and propaganda purposes. The first separate edict at Dhauli must have been drafted in the same year because in its sections Z and CC the king speaks of the quinquennial circuit of the *Mahāmātras* as a measure which he was about to introduce. At the same time triennial tours were instituted in the provinces of Ujjayinī and Takshaśilā; see sections AA, BB of the same edict.

I now add a classified list of all the Aśōka inscriptions.

I. Buddhist Inscriptions.

(1) Calcutta-Bairāṭ rock-inscription.
(2) Rummindēī and Nigālī Sāgar pillars.
(3) Kauśāmbī, Sāṁchī, and Sārnāth pillar-edicts.

II. Proclamations or 'rescripts on morality'.

(1) Early edicts.
(*a*) Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāṭ, and Maski.
(*b*) Brahmagiri, Śiddāpura, and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara.

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[1] See Text, p. 39, n. 1.

[2] See above, p. liii and n. 4.

(2) Rock-edicts.

(*a*) Edicts I–XIV at Girnār, Kālsī, Shāhbāzgaṛhī, and Mānsehrā.

(*b*) Edicts I–X, XIV, and two separate edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa.

(3) Pillar-edicts.

(*a*) Edicts I–VI at Delhi-Mīraṭh, &c.

(*b*) Edicts I–VII at Delhi-Tōprā.

III. Donative inscriptions.

(1) Barābar Hill cave-inscriptions.

(2) Queen's pillar-edict.

CHAPTER VI.

GRAMMAR OF THE GIRNAR ROCK-EDICTS

A.—PHONETICS

I. Vowels.

The vowel *a* is replaced by *u* in *osuḍha* (=Skt. *aushadha*, II, 5). This change is due to the influence of the *o* in the preceding syllable; cf. *udupāna*=Skt. *udapāna* in the Māgadha dialect.[1]

The *e* of *eta* (=**itra*?) seems to be developed from an original *i*; see Johansson, *Shāhb.*, § 21.

As in Pāli, Skt. *u* is represented by *a* in *garu* (XIII, 6), while the form *guru* occurs three times. The *a* may have been introduced from the comparative *garīyas* and the superlative *garishṭha*; see Michelson, IF, 23. 260, n. 1. In *kho* (=Skt. *khalu*) the *a* is lost by syncope, the *l* is assimilated to the preceding *kh*, and Skt. *u* is represented by *o*. The form *kho* is used also in Pāli, while the literary Prākṛits have *khu* (for **khlu*, an enclitic form of *khalu*) instead of it.[2]

In the foreign name *Aṁtiyaka*=Ἀντίοχος, *ŏ* is expressed by *a*. In [*A*]*ṁt*[*ek*]*ina*=Ἀντίγονος, *e* and *i* correspond to *i* and *ŏ*, and in *Turamāya*=Πτολεμαῖος, *u* and *a* to *ŏ* and *ĕ*.

The Girnār dialect has lost one of the Sanskrit vowels, viz. *ṛi*, which became *i* (after the stress accent) in *etārisa*, *tārisa*, *yārisa* (=Skt. *ētādṛiśa*, &c.), and *u* (after labials) in *paripuchhā* and *vuta* (=*vṛitta*, X, 2), but generally *a*:—*ānaṁṇa* (=*ānṛiṇya*), *kacha* (=*kṛitya*), *kata*, *daḍha*, *bhata*, *bhataka*, *maga*, *magavyā*, *mata* (=*mṛita*, XIII, 1), *vistata*, *vyāpata*, *suhadaya*[3] (IX, 7), *v*[*a*]*dhi* (=*vṛiddhi*, IV, 11). In *vaḍhi* (=*vṛiddhi*, XII, 2, 8, 9) and *usaṭa*[4] the *ṛi*, which became *a*, has caused the lingualization of the following dental. In *vrachha* (=*vṛiksha*, II, 8) the vowel *ṛi* is represented by the syllable *ra*, and in *sruṇāru* (XII, 7) by *ru* through the influence of other forms of the root *śru*.

Of diphthongs, *ai* is found only in *thaira*, *traidasa*, and *samachaira*, the genesis of which will be explained below (p. lvii f.), and *au* is always changed to *o*:—*dvo*, *pāralokika*, *potra*, *prapotra*, *osuḍha*, *-opaga* and *-opaya*.

Short vowels are lengthened in *ānaṁtaraṁ*[5] (=Skt. *anantaram*, VI, 8), *āchāyi*[*ke*][6] (=*ātyayikam*, VI, 7), *mādhūratā* (=*madhuratā*, XIV, 4), *ñātīsu* (IV, 1), *abhīkāra* (=**abhikāra*, V, 7), *abhīramaka* (VIII, 2), *paṭīvesiya* (=*prativēśya*, XI, 3), *paṭībhā*[*g*]*a* (XIII, 4), *saṁpratīpati* (= Skt. *saṁpratipatti*, IV, 2; also spelt *saṁpratipati* and *saṁpaṭipati*), *vīvāha*[7] (=*vivāha*, IX, 2), *vījaya* (XIII, 10; also *vijaya*), *bahūhi* (=*bahubhiḥ*, IV, 4), and at the end of words in *tatrā* (XIII, 1), *paratrā* (VI, 12), *sarvatrā* (II, 6), *etamhī* (IX, 2), *paṁthesū* (II, 8).

Initial *ā* is shortened in *aropitaṁ*, and final *ā* in *tatha* (=*tathā*, XII, 6), [*Yo*]*na-rāja* (XIII, 8) = *Yona-rājā* (II, 3), and in the enclitic *va*, which is far more frequent than its original form *vā*. The three forms *āradho*,[8] *āradhī* (i.e. **āraddhi*), and *aparadha* are perhaps to be derived from the root *radh*

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[1] I use the term 'Māgadha dialect' for designating the language of the province to which Aśōka's capital belonged. It must not be confused with the Māgadhī of the Prākṛit grammarians; cf. Michelson, AJP, 30. 284.

[2] S. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 148, and cf. Michelson, IF, 23. 269 f.

[3] This word is used in the sense of Skt. *suhṛid*, 'a friend'. Cf. *suhajja* in the *Dhammapada*.

[4] This participle corresponds in form to Skt. *utsṛita*, but its meaning agrees with that of Prākṛit *ussiya* (Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 64)=Skt. *uchchhrita*. In other words, the Girnār form seems to be due to a false popular etymology of *uchchhrita* from the root *sṛi* instead of *śri*.

[5] The length of the initial *ā* may be due to the fact that the word is a translation of the Māgadha *ānaṁtaliyaṁ*; see the Dhauli and Jaugaḍa versions, VI, 4.

[6] Kālsī, Dhauli, and Jaugaḍa have *atiyāyike*, Pāli both *achchāyika* and *achcheka* (i. e. **achchayika*).

[7] Cf. Böhtlingk's *Wörterbuch*, s. v. *vīvāha*, and Pāṇ. VI, 3, 122.

[8] Cf. *āraddha-chitta* in the *Dīghanikāya*, translated by Franke, p. 144, n. 2.

used in the same sense as *rādh*. The short *a* of *etarisaṁ* (= *ētādṛiśam*), *etārisani* (= *ētādṛiśāni*), *dana* (= *dānam*) is probably due to clerical mistakes. Final *ī* is shortened in the nom. sing. of masculine bases in *-in*:—*Priyadasi, hasti.*

The initial *a* of the enclitic *api* is dropped everywhere except in *evam-api* (II, 2). The initial *i* of *iti* is generally preserved, but it is dropped in *-nisrito ti* (V, 8) and in the compound *kiṁti* or *kiti*.

II. Simple Consonants.

Greek χ and γ are expressed by *k* in *Aṁtiyaka* = 'Αντίοχος and [*A*]*ṁt*[*ek*]*ina* = 'Αντίγονος. In *-opaga* and *-opaya* we seem to have a change of *g* into *y*; cf. Franke, VOJ, 9. 345 ff. Skt. *gh* has become *h* in *lahuka.*

In *vacha* (VI, 3; XII, 9), *ch* corresponds to the *j* of Skt. *vraja*; cf. *vrachaṁti* = Skt. *vrajanti* at Shāhbāzgaṛhī.

Skt. *ṇ* is preserved in *kalāṇa* (= *kalyāṇa*), *gaṇanā, charaṇa, prakaraṇa* and *pakaraṇa, prāṇa* and *pāṇa, vinikhamaṇa* (from *vinish-kram*), *sramaṇa* and *samaṇa* (= *śramaṇa*). In terminations, however, dental *n* is not, as in Sanskrit, lingualized after *r* and *sh*:—*agena* (= *agrēṇa*), *parākramena, putrena* and *putena, mitrena, abhīramakāni, rūpāni, sahasrāni, Gaṁdhārānaṁ, gurūnaṁ, thairānaṁ, manusānaṁ* and *mānusānaṁ* (= *mānushāṇām*). On the other hand, lingual *ṇ* is newly developed after *r* in *prāpuṇati* (from Skt. *prāpnōti*), *darsaṇa* and *dasaṇa* (= *darśana*), *saṁtīraṇā* (from *tīrayati*), and without apparent reason in *Yoṇa* (V, 5), while *Yona* (with dental *n*) occurs four times.

As stated above (p. lvi), dentals are lingualized after the vowel *ṛi* in *usaṭa* and *vaḍhi*, and *d* becomes *r* before an original *ṛi* in *etārisa*, &c. Similarly, *dh* has turned to *ḍh* through the influence of the preceding *sh* in *osuḍha* (= Skt. *aushadha*), and *t* becomes *ṭ* after *r* in the preposition *paṭi* (ten times), while the original form *prati* occurs four times in *pratipati* and *saṁpratipati.* In *lipi* (= *dipi* in Ancient Persian; see above, p. xlii) *d* has become *l*. In *idha* the Girnār dialect has preserved the ancient form of Skt. *iha*; cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 266.

The labial aspirate *bh* has become *h* in the instrumentals *bahūhi* (= *bahubhiḥ*), *tehi* (= Vēdic *tēbhiḥ*), *paṭīvesiyehi, satehi*, and in some forms of the root *bhū*, viz. *hoti* (= *bhavati*), *aho* (= *abhavat*), and *ahuṁsu*, while *bh* is preserved in *bhavati, bhave, bhūta.*

The semivowel *y* is developed out of *i* in *Aṁtiyaka* = 'Αντίοχος, and Πτολεμαῖος becomes *Turamāyo.* Initial *y* is lost in *ā* = Skt. *yā* (II, 2) and *āva* = Skt. *yāvat*. In the dative *athā* (XII, 9) = Skt. *arthāya* the whole syllable *ya* seems to be dropped. In causatives the characteristic affixes *aya* and *ayi* sometimes remain unchanged. More frequently both are changed to *aï* (*aya* by Saṁprasāraṇa, and *ayi* by the elision of *y*) and contracted to *e*. Thus Skt. *prativēdayata* becomes *paṭivedetha*, while e.g. *pūjayati* remains unaltered, and Skt. *hāpayishyati, ārādhayitum, rōchayitavya, a-rōchayitvā* are converted to *hāpesati, ārādhetu, lochetavya,* [*a*]*-lochetpā*, while *ayi* remains in *dasayitpā* = Skt. *darśayitvā.* Similarly, Skt. *mayūra* becomes first **maūra* and then *mora* (I, 11). In two instances an original *aya* is not represented by *e*, but by *ai*: **trayadaśa* (= Skt. *trayōdaśa*) becomes *traidasa* (V, 4), and Skt. **sama-charya*, having passed through the intermediate stages **samachariya* and **samacharia*, becomes *samachaira* (XIII, 7) through metathesis.[1]

Lingual *ḍ* corresponds to Sanskrit *l* in *mahiḍā*, and to Tamil *ḷ* in *Choḍa.* The *l* of *lochetavyā* and [*a*]*-lochetpā*, which corresponds to Skt. *r*, is due to the influence of the Māgadha dialect; see Text, p. 8, n. 3. Greek λ is represented by *r* in *Turamāyo* = Πτολεμαῖος. This word proves that the Girnār and Shāhbāzgaṛhī versions are translations from the Māgadha dialect, where the λ of the Greek original is preserved (*Tulamaye* at Kālsī).[2] Another instance in which *r* corresponds to *l* is **ārabhate*, 'to kill', = Skt. *ālabhatē*; see below, p. lxvi.

The semivowel *v* is developed out of *u* in *vuta* (= Skt. *ukta*, IX, 6; XIV, 4). As *aya* to *aï* and *e*, *ava* is changed by Saṁprasāraṇa to *aü* and *o*. In this way *bhavati, abhavat, avarōdhana,* **avavāditavya* become *hoti, aho, orodhana, ovāditavya.* The contracted form *hoti* and its original,

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[1] Cf. Geiger's *Pāli*, § 27, and *puñña* (XI, 4), which goes back to Skt. *puṇya* and presupposes the intermediate forms **puṇiya* and **puinya.*

[2] If my explanation of *supadālaye* at Kālsī, Dhauli, and Jaugaḍa (Text, p. 33, n. 3) is right, *supadarave* at Mānsehrā would be another wrong translation from the Māgadha dialect.

bhavati, are about equally frequent in the Girnār text. In *thaira* = Skt. *sthavira*, *v* is elided and *aï* contracted to *ai*.

As in most Prākṛits, the two sibilants *ś* and *sh* have become *s* throughout: e.g. *pasu* = Skt. *paśu*, *dosa* = *dōsha*.

As in all other Prākṛits, final consonants are dropped. Hence the ablative singular of masculines and neuters in *-a* ends in *-ā* (= *-āt*); Skt. *tat*, *ētat*, *yat*, and *yāvat* become *ta*, *eta*, *ya*, and *āva*; Skt. *bhavēt*, *abhavat*, *vasēyuḥ* become *bhave*, *aho*, *vaseyu*; and the nom. plur. of masculines in *-a* and of feminines in *-ā* ends in *-ā* (= *-āḥ*). But *ā* is shortened in the dative-genitive *imāya dhaṁmānusastiya* (III, 3), in the nom. plur. fem. *chikīchha* (II, 4), and in the 3. sing. optative *tisṭeya* (for **tishṭhēyāt*). Final *as* generally becomes *o* (e.g. *yaso* = Skt. *yaśaḥ*, *rāño* = *rājñaḥ*, *tisṭaṁto* = *tishṭhantaḥ*, *Devānaṁpriyo* = *Dēvānāṁpriyaḥ*); but in some instances the corresponding Māgadha form in *-e* is improperly used (e.g. *Devānaṁpiye*, XII, 1), and in others we have *-ā* (*Magā*, XII, 8; *sā* = Skt. *saḥ*, XIII, 10; *esā* = *ēshaḥ*[1]) or *-a* ([*A*]*ṁt*[*ek*]*ina*, XIII, 8, *bhuya* = *bhūyaḥ*, VIII, 5, and *esa*). Final *is* becomes *i* in *apachiti*, *rati*, *hīni*, but *ī* in *lipī*, &c.

While thus all final consonants are dropped, a word may end not only in a simple vowel, but in a nasalized vowel, i.e. in a vowel + Anusvāra, and Sanskrit words ending in *m* and *n* substitute Anusvāra for these two nasals; e.g. Skt. *dānam* becomes *dānaṁ*, and *karuṁ* (XII, 4) is formed from Skt. *karōti* on the analogy of Skt. *kurvan*. Just as in modern Hindī, Anusvāra is, however, omitted frequently in writing; see *ida* (XI, 3), *katavya* (= Skt. *kartavyam*, IX, 6), *dana* (= *dānam*, IX, 7), *phala*, *mata* (= *matam*, XIII, 2, and = *mṛitam*, XIII, 1), *mādava*, *vinikhamaṇa*, *saka* (= *śakyam*), *ki* (IX, 9), *kiti* and *kīti* (= *kīrtim*), *chhāti* (= *kshāntim*), *v*[*a*]*dhi* (= *vṛiddhim*), *susuṁsera* (= *śuśrūshēran*), *karu* (for *karuṁ*), *ārādhetu* (= *ārādhayitum*), *eva* (= *ēvam*, IX, 1).[2]

A long nasalized vowel is generally shortened (e.g. *gaṇanāyaṁ*, *bhūtānaṁ*, *yesaṁ*, *ñātīnaṁ*, *gurūnaṁ*, *anuvataraṁ*); but it is preserved in *bhūtānāṁ* (XIII, 7), *pūjāṁ*, *yātāṁ*, *anuvidhiyatāṁ*. Anusvāra is omitted in *pū*[*jā*] (= Skt. *pūjām*, XII, 2), *mahāthāvah*[*ā*], *susru*[*ṁ*]*sā*, *susrusatā*. The long vowel is shortened and Anusvāra is omitted at the same time in *tesa* (= *tēshām*, XIII, 4) and *saṁtīraṇāya* (loc. sing. of *saṁtīraṇā*, VI, 9), unless the latter is a genitive used in the sense of the locative.

III. Sandhi.

In the last paragraphs it was shown that at the end of words consonants are as a rule dropped and nasals converted into Anusvāra. In *tad-opayā* (VIII, 5) and *tad-aṁñathā* (XII, 5) the final consonant of the base *tad* is preserved in composition,[3] and final *m* remains before an initial vowel in *evaṁ-api* (II, 2) and *katavyaṁ-eva* (IX, 3). Similarly, hiatus is prevented by nasalizing the first of two vowels in [*a*]*ñam-aṁñasa* (= Skt. *anyōnyasya*, XII, 7) and *bhatam-ayesu* (= *bhṛitāryēshu*, V, 5; cf. Text, p. 10, n. 4).

In the majority of cases, *a* + *ā* are, as in Sanskrit, contracted into *ā*; e.g. *nāsti*, *dhaṁmānusāsanaṁ*, *prāṇāraṁbho*. But the first *a* is elided before *a* in *dhaṁm-avāyo* (XIII, 1), *dham-anugaho* (IX, 7), *dhām-adhisṭānāya* (V, 4), *et-ayaṁ* (= **itra* + *ayam*, VIII, 3); before *e* in *etāy-eva* (III, 3), *ch-eva* (IV, 7; XIV, 3), *ch-esā* (XIII, 4), *ta*[*t-e*]*ta* (= *tatraitat*, IX, 4), *ten-esā* (VIII, 3); before *o* in *m*[*a*]*nus-opagān*[*i*] (II, 5), and *u* before *o* in *pas-o*[*pa*]*gāni* (II, 6). The result of *ī* + *a* is *ī* in *ithījhakha* (= *stry-adhyaksha*, XII, 9).

IV. Groups of Consonants.

The Girnār dialect has preserved a number of combined consonants which would have been assimilated in the later Prākṛits. As remarked by Bühler (*Ind. Pal.*, § 16, last section), there are among them some ligatures in which the second consonant is placed first for the sake of convenience in writing. As this point is of importance because it affects the transcription of the Girnār alphabet, I subjoin a list of such combinations of consonants.

(a) *tp* (written *pt*) in *ārabhitpā*, *dasayitpā*, [*a*]*-lochetpā*, *-hitatpā*, *tadātpano*(*ne*), *chatpāro*, *ātpa-*.

(b) *vy* (written *yv*) in *vyaṁjanato*, *vyasanaṁ*, *vyāpatā*, *apa-vyayatā*, *divyāni*, *magavyā*, *katavya*, *vatavyaṁ*, *prajūhitavyaṁ*, *ovāditavyaṁ*, *vijetavyaṁ*, *lochetavyā*, *paṭ*[*i*]*vedeta*[*v*]*yaṁ*.

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[1] Cf. Text, p. 15, n. 7.

[2] It deserves to be noted that in the Ṛigvēda *ēva* is used nearly throughout in the sense of *ēvam*.

[3] Cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 341.

(c) *sṭ* (written *ṭs*) in *anusasṭi, sesṭe, tisṭaṁto, tisṭeya, sṭitā, -adhisṭānāya, usṭāna, nisṭānāya.*

Although in the words given under (*a*) *tp* is written as *pt*, their Sanskrit prototypes suggest that we have to pronounce and transcribe *tp*. Michelson (JAOS, 31. 235 f.) supports this view by referring to *dbādasa* = Skt. *dvādaśa* (III, 1; IV, 12): 'There is no question but that *db* represents the correct order of the letters. Now if Indic *dv* becomes *db*, then Indic *tv* surely should become *tp*. Hence gerunds in *-tpā* (Skt. *-tvā*) are to be read as such. This settles the reading *ātpa-* (Skt. *ātma-*) without further arguments.'

The same holds good for (*b*) *vy* which is written *yv*. Dr. Michelson writes to me:—'It is inconsistent to transcribe *divyāni, vyasanaṁ*, but *-tayva*, as the same symbol is used in all cases. *yvasanaṁ* would be unpronounceable. Bühler's argument from Pāli that *yv* is correct from the analogy of *yh* from Skt. *hy* is useless, as *vy* does not become *yv* but *bb* (or remains) in Pāli.' See also JAOS, 31. 235.

On the same analogy (*c*) *ṭs* has been transcribed by *sṭ*, although Franke (*Gurupūjākaumudī*, p. 26, note) thinks that *ṭs* represents the actual pronunciation.

The fact that the Girnār alphabet marks the letter *r* in combination with several consonants was discovered independently by Senart (*Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, 1. 25 f.) and by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji (IA, 10. 106 and note). Although the *r* is generally placed at the top of the other consonant, nobody has ever doubted that it was in most cases pronounced after it, and that we must transcribe *kr, tr, pr, br*, and not *rk, rt, rp, rb*. The symbol *rs*, however, does duty for both *sr* and *rs*, and *rv* for *vr* and *rv*. The former must certainly be read *sr* in *sahasra, sruṇāru, bahu-srutā, susrūsā, srāvāpakaṁ, -sramaṇānaṁ, -nisrito, a[pa]-parisrave*, but it cannot be meant for anything but *rs* in *vimāna-darsaṇā* (IV, 3) and *dasa-varsābhisito* (VIII, 2). Likewise the symbol *rv* may be read *vr* in *vrachhā* (II, 8), but must be intended for *rv* in *sarva* and *sarvata* or *sarvatra*. The spelling *bhūta-pruva* (V, 4; VI, 2) would be, in the opinion of Michelson (JAOS, 31. 228), the result of an erroneous translation of the Māgadha form *-puluva* which the writer found in the original draft of the edicts. I consider it more likely that the writer wanted us to pronounce *-purva*, but committed the mistake of connecting the *r* with the *p* instead of inserting it before the *v*; cf. the same spelling in the Shāhbāzgaṛhī and Mānsehrā versions.

A large number of combined consonants are not preserved unchanged, but have been assimilated. In later Prākrit inscriptions, as in the British Museum plates of Chārudēvī and in the plates of Vijaya-Dēvavarman (EI, 8. 144, and 9. 57), the double consonant which is the result of such an assimilation is written in full. The inscriptions of Aśōka and of the Andhra kings, however, express every double consonant by a single letter; e.g. *aggi* = Skt. *agni* is written *agi*, *attha* = *artha* becomes *atha*, *laddha* = *labdha* becomes *ladha*, *gabbha* = *garbha* becomes *gabha*, and *nijjhatti* = **nidhyapti* is spelt *nijhati*. In double nasals both ways of spelling are in use; e.g. *dhaṁma* and *dhama* = *dharma*, *aṁña* and *aña* = *anya*.

At the beginning of words an assimilated group is simplified in all Prākrits; e.g. *ñāti* = Skt. *jñāti*, *ti* = *tri*, *pāṇa* = *prāṇa*, *bhātrā* = *bhrātrā*, *chhuda* (i.e. *chhudda*) = *kshudra*. Also in the interior of words an assimilated group may be simplified and the preceding vowel lengthened; see *kāsati* (also *kasati*, i.e. *kassati*) = **karshyati*, *dhāma* (also *dhaṁma*) = *dharma*, *vāsa* (also *varsa*) = *varsha*, *chikīchhā* = *chikitsā*, *rājūka* (from *rajju* or *rajjū*; see Text, p. 5, n. 2).

In a few cases a long vowel preceding a group of consonants is shortened; see *anusasṭi* = Skt. *anuśāsti*, *ayesu* (i.e. *ayyesu*) = *āryēshu*, *kiti* (i.e. *kitti*) = *kīrti*, *digha* (i.e. *diggha*) = *dīrgha*, *puva* (i.e. *puvva*) = *pūrva*. Even a long vowel preceding a simple consonant may be shortened and the consonant itself doubled; cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 90 f. Thus the short vowel in *bhuya* (= Skt. *bhūyaḥ*), *anuvidhiyare* and *anuvidhiyatāṁ* (from Skt. *anuvidhīyatē*) suggests that these words have to be read *bhuyya*, *anuvidhiyyare* and *anuvidhiyyatāṁ*, and that consequently *tisṭeya* (VI, 13) may be meant for *tisṭĕyya* with doubled *y* and short *e*, as in the corresponding Pāli form of the 3. sing. opt. act.[1] But, as a rule, a long vowel preceding a group remains unchanged; see *asamāt[a]ṁ* (= Skt. *asamāptam*), *āchāyi[ke]* (= *ātyayikam*), *āñapayāmi* (= *ājñapayāmi*), *ātpa-* (= *ātma-*), *tadātpano(ne)*, *nāsti*, *parākrama*, *brā[m]haṇa* and *bāmhaṇa* (also *bramhaṇa* and *bamhaṇa*), *bhātrā*, *mahāmāta* and *mahāmātra*, *mādava* (= *mārdava*), *mahāthāvaha* (= *mahārthāvaha*), *rāña*

[1] Similarly *nichā* may represent **nichchā*, into which *nīchā* has been changed on the analogy of *uchchā*; see SPAW, 1914. 844.

(= *rājñā*), *Ri*(*Rā*)*sṭika* (= *Rāshṭrika*), *sūpāthāya* (= *sūpārthāya*), *ithījhakha* (= *stry-adhyaksha*), *kīti* (= *kīrti*), *tī*[*v*]*o* (= *tīvraḥ*), *sāmīp*[*aṁ*] (= *sāmīpyam*).

A long nasalized vowel is shortened before consonants, as it is frequently at the end of words (see above, p. lviii), in *Taṁbapaṁṇī* (= Skt. *Tāmraparṇī*) and *Devānaṁpriya*, while Anusvāra is suppressed after a long vowel in *atikrāta* and *atikāta* (= *atikrānta*), [*ā*]*paratā* (= *āparāntāḥ*), *chhāti* (= *kshānti*), [*n*]*iyātu* (= *niyāntu*), *Pāḍā* (= *Pāṇḍyāḥ*), *bhāḍa* (= *bhāṇḍa*), *karote* (for **karoṁte*, IX, 3), *karoto* (for **karoṁto*), *pāti* (read *hoti*, for **hoṁti*). In *avihīsā* (IV, 6) *ī* has taken the place of the *iṁ* of *vihiṁsā* (IV, 1). Conversely in *susru*[*ṁ*]*sā*, *susuṁsā*, *susuṁsera* the short nasalized vowel *uṁ* is substituted for the *ū* of *susrūsā* (III, 4), and in *susrusā* and *susrusatā* the Anusvāra of *uṁ* is omitted.[1] There are several other instances in which Anusvāra is omitted after a short vowel:—*magala* (IX, 3) = *maṅgala*, the two 3. pers. plur. *ichhati* (VII, 2) and *prāpuṇati* (XIII, 4), *saṁbadha* (XI, 1) = *saṁbandha*, *sastuta* (twice) = *saṁstuta*, *sachhāya* (XIV, 5) = *saṁkśāya*, *pāsaḍa* (twice) = *pāshaṇḍa*, *sayama* = *saṁyama*, *savaṭa* (also *saṁvaṭa*) = *saṁvarta*, *kich*[*i*] (also *kiṁchi*) = *kiṁchit*, *kiti* (also *kiṁti*) = *kiṁiti*. In the first six of them the omission of Anusvāra may be due either to clerical mistakes or to the faint articulation of the nasal sound. The form *pāsaḍa* (= Skt. *pārshada*) is a recognised variant of *pāsaṁḍa* (passim); cf. *prashaḍa* and *prashaṁḍa* at Shāhbāzgaṛhī. In *sayama*, which occurs four times, and in *savaṭa* the nasal may have been assimilated to the following semi-vowel; cf. Pāṇini, VIII, 4, 59. The forms *kichi* and *kiti* occur again in other Aśōka inscriptions and are perhaps defective spellings for *kichchi* and *kitti* = **kid*+*chid* and **kid*+*iti*; see Johansson, *Shāhb.*, § 90.

So far we have seen that the Girnār dialect either preserves groups of consonants or assimilates them. A third mode of disposing of them is the development of an auxiliary vowel (*svarabhakti*) between two consonants. This vowel is *a* in *garahati* and *garahā* (= Skt. *garhati* and *garhā*), *i* in *paṭīvesiya* (= *prativēśya*), *puñña* (for **puṇiya* = Skt. *puṇya*), *samachaira* (for **samachariya* = Skt. **sama-charya*), and *u* after a labial in *prāpuṇati* (3. plur. ind. pres. act. of Skt. *prāpnōti*). Similarly, an auxiliary *i* is prefixed to an initial group in *ithī* (i.e. *itthī*, = Skt. *strī*).

I now subjoin an alphabetical list of Sanskrit groups with their Girnār equivalents.

kt becomes *t* (i.e. *tt*) in *abhisita*, *bhati*, *yuta*, *vatavyaṁ*, *vutaṁ*.

ky becomes *k* (i.e. *kk*) in *saka*.

kr remains in *atikrāt*[*a*]*ṁ* (VI, 1), *parākramāmi*, *parākramena*, but becomes *k* in *atikātaṁ*, *pari*(*rā*)*k*[*a*]*mate* (X, 3).

kś becomes *chh* in *sachhāya* (XIV, 5); see Bühler, ZDMG, 40. 142.

ksh becomes *kh* in *ithījhakha*, *saṁkhit*[*e*]*na*; *chh* in *chhaṇati*, *achhatiṁ*, *chhamitave*, *chhāti*, *chhudaṁ*, *chhudakeṇa*, *vrachhā*.

khl becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

gn becomes *g* in *agi*.

gr becomes *g* in *agena*, *-anugaho*.

jñ becomes *ññ* or *ñ* in *kataṁññatā*, *rāñā*, *rāño*, *āñapayāmi*, *āñapayisati*, *āñapitaṁ*, *ñāti*, *ñātika*.

ḍy becomes *ḍ* in *Pāḍā* (= Skt. *Pāṇḍyāḥ*).

ṇy becomes *ṁṇ* in *ānaṁṇaṁ*, *hiraṁṇa*; *ṁñ* or *ñ* in *apuṁñaṁ* and *puñaṁ*.[2]

tm becomes *tp* in *ātpa-*. Cf. *tp* = *tv*, below.

ty becomes *ch* in [*a*]*pachaṁ*, *āchāyi*[*ke*], *ilokachasa*, *ekachā*, *kachaṁ*, *parichajitpā*, *prachaṁtesu*. Other instances of palatalization are *j* = *dy*, *jh* = *dhy*, *chh* = *ts*, *kś*, *ksh*.

tr remains or becomes *t*; see e.g. *trī* and *tī*, *tatra* and *tata*, *añatra* and *añata*, *sarvatra* and *sarvata*, *putra* and *puta*, *mitra* and *mita*, *mahāmātra* and *mahāmāta*.

tv becomes *tp* in *chatpāro*, *ārabhitpā*, [*a*]-*lochetpā*, *dasayitpā*, *parichajitpā*, *tadātpano*(*ne*), *-hitatpā*. Cf. *db* = *dv* in *dbādasa*.

ts becomes *chh* in *chikīchhā*; *s* in *usaṭena*.[3]

tsth becomes *sṭ* in *usṭāna* for **ut-sthāna*,[4] while the corresponding Sanskrit word is *utthāna*.

dy becomes *j* in *aja*, *paṭipajetha*; *y* in *uyānesu*.

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[1] Perhaps *susrusā* is meant for *susrussā*, as *bhuya* for *bhuyya*; see above, p. lix. Cf. also Geiger's *Pāli*, § 6.

[2] For the epenthesis of *i* see above, p. lvii, n. 1.

[3] See above, p. lvi, n. 4.

[4] Cf. *ṭhāṇa* = Skt. *sthāna* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 309.

dr becomes *d* in *chhudaṁ*, *chhudakena*.

dv remains in *dvo*, *dve*, but becomes *db* in *dbādasa*.

dhy becomes *jh* in *ithījhakha*, *nijhatī*, *majhamena*.

dhr remains in *dhruvo*, [*A**]*ṁdhra*.

ny becomes *ṁñ* or *ñ* in *aṁña* and *aña*, *maṁñate* and *mañate*, *ñayāsu*. Cf. *apuṁña* = Skt. *apuṇya*.

pt becomes *t* in *gutī*, *nijhatī*, *asamāt*[*a*]*ṁ*, *saṁkhit*[*e*]*na*, *Turamāyo* (= Πτολεμαῖος).

pn becomes *puṇ* in *prāpuṇati* (from Skt. *prāpnōti*).

py becomes *p* in *sāmīp*[*aṁ*].

pr remains or becomes *p*; see e.g. *prakaraṇa* and *pakaraṇa* (IX, 8), *prāṇa* and *pāṇa* (IX, 5), *Devānaṁpriya* and *Devānaṁpiya*, *Priyadasi* and *Piyadasi*, *pratipatī* and *paṭipajetha* (XIV, 4), *saṁpratipatī* and *saṁpaṭipatī* (IV, 6).

bdh becomes *dh* in *ladhesu*.

br remains in *brā*[*m*]*haṇa* (IV, 2) and *bramhaṇa* (IV, 6), but becomes *b* in *bāmhaṇa* and *bamhaṇa* (IX, 5).

bhy becomes *bh* in the passive forms *ārabhare*, *ārabhisu*, *ārabhisare*.

bhr becomes *bh* in *bhātrā* or *bhāt*[*ā*].

my remains in *samya-*.

mr becomes *ṁb* (through the intermediate stage **mbr*) in *Taṁbapaṁṇī*.

rg becomes *g* in *svaga*.

rgh becomes *gh* in *dighāya*.

rṇ becomes *ṁṇ* in *Taṁbapaṁṇī*.

rt becomes *t* in *katavya*, *kiti* or *kīti*, *anuv*[*a*]*tare*, *anuvataraṁ*, *anuvatisare*; *ṭ* in *saṁvaṭa* or *savaṭa*.

rth becomes *th* in *atha*.

rd becomes *d* in *mādava*.

rdh becomes *dh* in [*pra**]*vadhayisaṁti* (IV, 9); *ḍh* in *vaḍhayati* (XII, 4), *vaḍhayisati* (IV, 7), *vaḍhita*. Cf. *ṭ* for *rt* in *saṁvaṭa*.

rbh becomes *bh* in *gabhāgāramhi*.

rm becomes *ṁm* or *m* in *kaṁma* (= Skt. *karman*), *dhaṁma* and *dhama*.

ry becomes *y* in *ayesu*,[1] but is represented by *riy* in *samachairaṁ*, which presupposes the form **samachariyaṁ* (= Skt. **sama-charyam*); see above, p. lvii.

rv remains or becomes *v* in *sarva* or *sava*. Instead of Skt. *pūrva* we have *puva* in IV, 5, while *pruva*, which is probably meant for *purva*, occurs in two places; see above, p. lix.

rś becomes *rs* in *vimāna-darsaṇā*, but *s* in *hasti-da*[*sa*]*ṇā*, *dasaṇe*, *dasayitpā*, *Priyadasi*; *daspanaṁ* (VIII, 4) is probably a clerical mistake for *darsanaṁ*.

rsh becomes *rs* in *varsa* (VIII, 2), but *s* in *vāsa* (= Skt. *varsha*).

rshy becomes *s* in *kāsati*, *kāsaṁti*, *kasa*[*ṁ*]*ti*.

rh becomes *rah* in *garahati*, *garahā*.

lp becomes *p* in *apa*, *kapā*.

ly becomes *l* in *kalāṇa*.

vy remains in *vyaṁjanato*, *-vyayatā*, *vyasanaṁ*, *vyāpatā*, *divyāni*, *magavyā*, and in the affix *-tavya* (seven instances), but becomes *y* in *pūjetayā* (XII, 4).

vr becomes *v* in *tī*[*v*]*o*, [*pa*]*vajitāni*, *vacha* (VI, 3; XII, 9) = Skt. *vraja*.

śch becomes *chh* in *pachhā*. Other instances in which a sibilant causes aspiration are *kh* = *sk*, *shkr*, *ksh*; *chh* = *ts*, *kś*, *ksh*; *th* = *str*.

śy becomes *s* in *pasati*, but *siy* in *paṭivesiyehi* (XI, 3).

śr becomes *sr* in *sramaṇa*, *susrūsā*, *susru*[*ṁ*]*sā*, *susrusā*, *susrusatā*, *bahu-srutā*, *srāvāpakaṁ*, *nisrito*, but *s* in *samaṇa*, *susuṁsā*, *susuṁsera*, *sesṭe* (= Skt. *śrēshṭham*).

śv becomes *sv* in *sveto*.

shk becomes *k* in [*du*]*kataṁ*, *dukaraṁ*.

shkr becomes *kh* in *vinikhamaṇa*.

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[1] The 3. plur. imper. act. [*n*]*iyātu* (III, 3) need not be derived from *nir-yā*, but may stand for *niyāntu*; cf. *ñayāsu* (VIII, 1) from *ni-yā* used in the sense of *nir-yā*.

shtr becomes *sṭ* in *Ri(Rā)sṭika.*

shṭh loses its aspiration and becomes *sṭ* in *sesṭe, tisṭeya, tisṭaṁto, nisṭānāya, -adhisṭānāya.* Cf. the Māgadhī forms *śusṭu* = Skt. *sushṭhu* and *kosṭāgālaṁ* = *kōshṭhāgāram* (Hēmachandra, IV, 290, and Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 303), and at Girnār *sṭita* = Skt. *sthita, usṭāna* = **ut-sthāna, Ri(Rā)sṭika* = *Rāshṭrika, anusasṭi* = *anuśāsti.*

shy becomes *s* in *manusa, āñapayisati,* and in other futures.

sk becomes *kh* in *agi-kh[a]ṁdhāni.*

st remains in *asti, nāsti, hasti, saṁstuta, vistata*; it becomes *sṭ* in *anusasṭi.*

str becomes *th* in *ithī.*

sth becomes *th* in *thaira, st* in *gharastāni*,[1] and *sṭ* in *sṭitā.*

sm becomes *mh* in the locatives in *-amhi.*

sy becomes *s* in the genitives in *-asa,* and in the optatives *asa, asu* of root *as.*

sr remains in *sahasra* and *a[pa]-parisrave,* but becomes *s* in *parisave* (X, 3).

sv remains in *svaga, svāmikena, svayaṁ,* but becomes *s* in *sarasake* (XIII, 11).

hm becomes *mh,* as in Prākṛit, in *bamhaṇa* and other equivalents of the Sanskrit and Pāli word *brāhmaṇa.*

B.—DECLENSION

I. Bases in *-a.*

(1) Masculines and neuters in *-a.*

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	masc. *jano,* &c. } neut. *dānaṁ,* &c.	Masc. *morā,* &c.; neut. *phalāni,* &c.
Acc.	masc. *janaṁ,* &c. } neut. *dānaṁ,* &c.	Masc. *yute, athe;* neut. *divyāni, rūpāni.*
Instr.	*janena,* &c.	*paṭīvesiyehi, satehi.*
Dat.	*athāya,* &c.	
Abl.	*kapā, -hitatpā, pachhā.*	
Gen.	*janasa,* &c.	*thairānaṁ,* &c.
Loc.	(a) *athamhi,* &c.; (b) *kāle,* &c.	*thairesu,* &c.

Nom. sing.—In a few neuters the final Anusvāra is missing, viz. *phala, mata, mādava* (acc.), *vinikhamaṇa.* In many instances the Māgadha termination *-e* is used; (a) masculines:—*parisave*,[2] *a[pa]-parisrave, Devānaṁpiye* (XII, 1), *prādesike, bhā[g]e, rājūke, sakale, sayame*; (b) neuters:—*āchāyi[ke], kaṁme, -charaṇe, tārise, dasaṇe, dāne, -puve, bahuvidhe, maṁgale, -mate, mah[ā]-phale, mahālake, mūle, yārise, vaḍhite, vip[ul]e, sesṭe.* The wrong form *-paṭividhāno* (VIII, 4) is probably due to the fact that the clerk who drafted the Girnār version thoughtlessly replaced the *-e* of the Māgadha neuter *paṭividhāne* by *-o,* as in the masculine *jano,* &c. = Māgadha *jane,* &c. The foreign name *[A]ṁt[ek]ina* (XIII, 8) has no termination, while *Magā* lengthens its final *a.*

Dat. sing.—The form *athā* (XII, 9) for *athāya* is found also in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII; cf. Text, p. 22, n. 3, and Michelson, JAOS, 31. 240.

Loc. sing.—In *pravāsaṁmhi* (IX, 2) the *m* is doubled. The termination *-e* occurs also in *pakaraṇe, prakaraṇe, Pāṭalipute, vijaye, vijite, sarasake*; *tadātpano* is a mistake for *tadātpane.*[3]

The acc. plur. masc. uses the termination *-āni,* which, as shown by Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 992 ff.), is peculiar to the Ardhamāgadhī dialect, in four instances:—*agi-kh[a]ṁdhāni* (IV, 4) and *sava-pāsaṁḍāni cha [pa]vajitāni cha gharastāni cha pūjayati* (XII, 1).

The acc. plur. neut. has the termination *-ā* instead of *-āni* in *vimāna-darsaṇā cha hasti-da[sa]ṇā cha* (IV, 3).

Gen. plur.—The long vowel is preserved before Anusvāra in *bhūtānāṁ* (XIII, 7).

Loc. plur.—The final *u* is lengthened in *paṁthesū* (II, 8).

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[1] In accordance with Vararuchi, IV, 32, and Hēmachandra, II, 144, Skt. *gṛiha* is replaced by *ghara.*

[2] The corresponding Pāli word *parissaya* is not a neuter, as Childers thought, but a masculine; see Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 1004 and n. 5.

[3] Cf. *-paṭividhāno* for *-paṭividhāne* in the nom. sing.

(2) Feminines in *-ā*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. *ichhā*, &c.	(a) *katā* (II, 4); (b) *mahiḍāyo.*
Acc. *pūjāṁ, yātāṁ.*	
Instr. *pūjāya*, &c.	
Loc. *gaṇanāyaṁ, parisāyaṁ.*	

Acc. sing.—The final Anusvāra is omitted in *pū[jā]* (XII, 2), *mahāthāvah[ā]* (X, 1), *susru[ṁ]sā* (X, 2).

Loc. sing.—In *saṁtīraṇāya* (VI, 9) the final Anusvāra is omitted, or it may be a genitive used in the sense of the locative.

Nom. plur.—In *chikīchha* (II, 4) the long *ā* of the first of the two different terminations is shortened. The second termination is identical with *-āo* in the Prākṛits; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 376.

II. Bases in *-i*.

(1) Masculines in *-i*.

Nom. plur. *trī, tī.*
Gen. plur. *ñātīnaṁ.*
Loc. plur. *ñātīsu.*

The nom. plur. in *-ī* is common in Prākṛit; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, p. 380.

(2) Feminines in *-i* and *-ī*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. *lipī*, &c.	*aṭaviyo.*
Acc. *Saṁbodhiṁ*, &c.	
Instr. *-anusastiyā, bhatiyā.*	
Dat. *-anusastiya* (with final *ā* shortened).	

Nom. sing.—The final *ī* remains short in *apachiti, rati, hīni.*

Acc. sing.—The final Anusvāra is omitted in *kiti* (X, 2), *kīti* (X, 1), *chhāti* (XIII, 11), *v[a]dhi* (IV, 11).

III. Bases in *-u*.

Besides the gen. plur. masc. *gurūnaṁ* we have three forms of the neuter base *bahu*, viz. nom. sing. *bahu*, nom. and acc. plur. *bahūni*, and instr. plur. *bahūhi.* The nom. sing. *sādhu* is the same in all three genders.

IV. Bases in *-ṛi*.

Instr. sing. masc. *pitā* (for *pitrā*), *bhātrā* or *bhāt[ā]*.
Loc. sing. *pitari, mātari* and *mātr[i]*.

V. Bases in Consonants.

As in other Prākṛits, bases ending in consonants have a tendency to follow the analogy of the *a*-declension. Thus the feminine base *parishad* becomes *parisā* (III, 6) and forms the loc. sing. *parisāyaṁ* (VI, 7). The present participle *sat* forms the nom. sing. masc. *saṁto.* Of bases in *-an*, *panthan* forms the loc. plur. *paṁthesū*, and the neuter *karman* the Māgadha nom. sing. *kaṁme* and the dat. sing. *kaṁmāy[a]*.

The original consonantal declension survives in the subjoined incomplete paradigms.

(1) Present participles in *-at*.

Nom. sing. masc. *karuṁ* or *karu.*
Nom. plur. masc. *tisṭaṁto.*

The nom. sing. *karuṁ* is derived from the Sanskrit verb *karōti.* In *karu* the Anusvāra is omitted. Two other forms of the same case, *karoto* (for **karoṁto*) and *saṁto* (from root *as*) follow the analogy of the *a*-declension.

(2) Masculines and neuters in *-an*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. *rājā*.	*rājāno*.
Acc. neut. *nāma*.	
Instr. *raññā*.	
Gen. *rañño*.	

In the nom. sing. masc. [*Yo*]*na-rāja* (XIII, 8) the final *ā* is shortened, while II, 3 has *Yona-rājā*.

(3) Masculines in *-in*.

Nom. sing. *Priyadasi*, *hasti*.
Instr. sing. *Priyadasinā*.
Gen. sing. *Priyadasino*.

(4) Neuters in *-as*.

Acc. Sing. *yaso*, *bhuya* (= Skt. *bhūyaḥ*).

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Nom. sing. *ahaṁ*.
Instr. sing. *mayā*.
Gen. sing. *mama*, *me*.

(2) Base *ta*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. *so* } neut. *ta*.	Masc. *te*.
Acc. } neut. *ta*.	
Instr. *tena*.	
Dat. *tāya*.	*tehi*.
Gen. *tasa*.	*te*[*sa*]*ṁ*, *tesa*.
Loc. *tamhi*.	

Nom. sing. fem. *sā*.

In *pīti-raso sā* (XIII, 10) the nom. sing. masc. ends in *-ā*. The neuter *ta* (= Skt. *tat*) occurs twice (X, 3; XIII, 2) as pronoun and frequently as conjunction. Its Māgadha equivalent *se* is taken over unchanged in I, 10.

(3) Base *na*.

Acc. plur. masc. *ne*; neut. *nāni*.

For this pronoun see Hēmachandra, III, 70, 77.

(4) Base *ēta*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. *esa* (X, 3),[1] *esā*; neut. *eta*, *etaṁ*, *esa*.	Masc. *ete*.
Acc. neut. *eta* (XI, 3).	
Dat. *etāya*, *etakāya*.	
Gen. *etasa*.	
Loc. *etamhī*.	

Nom. sing. fem. *esā* (VIII, 3).

With the nom. sing. masc. *esā* (VIII, 5;[2] XIII, 4) cf. *sā* (= Skt. *saḥ*, XIII, 10) and *Magā* (XIII, 8). The neuter *eta* (= Skt. *ētat*) occurs twice, and *etaṁ* once (X, 4), while the masculine

[1] Cf. above, p. lxii, n. 2.

[2] See Text, p. 15, n. 7.

form *esa* is employed three times as neuter and was known as such to Hēmachandra (III, 85), who quotes *esa siraṁ* (= Skt. *ētachchhiraḥ*). Cf. the Māgadha nom. sing. *se*, which is used both as masculine and as neuter (= Skt. *saḥ* and *tat*), and see Pischel's *Grammatik*, p. 299.

(5) Demonstrative *idam*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. *ayaṁ*; neut. *idaṁ*, *ayaṁ*.	Masc. *ime*.
Acc. neut. *idaṁ*.	
Instr. *iminā*.	
Gen. *imasa*.	
Loc. *imamhi*.	

Nom. sing. fem. *iyaṁ*, *ayaṁ*.
Dat. sing. fem. *imāya*.

The Anusvāra of the neuter *idaṁ* is omitted in *ida* (XI, 3). The masculine *ayaṁ* is employed instead of it three times, and instead of the feminine *iyaṁ* (I, 1) five times. In Pāli only *ayaṁ* is used as feminine.

(6) Interrogative Pronoun.

The nom. sing. neut. *ki* (for *kiṁ*) occurs in IX, 9, and *kaṁ*, used as an indefinite, in XIV, 3. Of the indefinite base *kiṁchid* we have the nom. sing. masc. *kochi* (XII, 5) and the neuter *kiṁchi* or *kich*[*i*] (X, 3). The compound *kiṁti* or *kiti* (XII, 2) is used in the sense of 'that, in order that'.

(7) Relative Pronoun.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. *yo*; neut. *ya*.	Masc. *ye*; neut. *yāni*.
Acc. neut. *ya*, *ya*[*ṁ*].	
Gen. *yasa*.	*yesaṁ*.

Nom. plur. fem. *yā*.

The acc. sing. neut. *ya*[*ṁ*] is found only in X, 3, while *ya* (= Skt. *yat*) occurs ten times.

(8) Base *anya*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. *aṁñe*; neut. *añ*[*a*], *añe*.	Masc. *a*[*ṁ*]*ñ*[*e*], *añe* } *neut. añāni*.
Acc.	Acc.
Dat. *añāya*.	
Gen. [*a*]*ñamaṁñasa*.	
Loc. *añamhi*.	

The nom. sing. masc. and neut. *aṁñe* (VIII, 5) and *añe* (IV, 7) are Māgadha forms,[1] while *añ*[*a*] (IX, 5) is the regular equivalent of Skt. *anyat*.

(9) Base *sarva*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. and acc. sing. neut. *sarvaṁ*, *savaṁ*.	Masc. *save*.
Loc. *sarve*, *s*[*a*]*ve*.	[*sa*]*vesu*.

(10) Base *ēkatara*.

Loc. sing. *ekataramhi*.

(11) Base **ēkatya*.

Nom. plur. masc. *ekachā*.[2]

[1] Cf. above, p. lxii.
[2] The corresponding Pāli form is *ekachche*; see Childers, s. v., and Geiger's *Pāli*, § 113.

D.—NUMERALS

One.

Nom. sing. masc. *eko*.

Two.

Nom. masc. *dvo*; fem. *dve*.

These two are the only dual forms preserved in the Girnār dialect.

Three.

Nom. masc. *trī*, *tī*.

Four.

Nom. masc. *chatpāro*.

Five.

Loc. *paṁchasu*.

Ten, twelve, thirteen.

dasa, *dbādasa*, *traidasa*.

Hundred.

Acc. plur. *satāni*; instr. *satehi*.

Hundred thousand.

Nom. plur. *sata-sahasrāni*.

E.—CONJUGATION

I. Present.

(1) *Bases*.

First Sanskrit class.

Root *kram*: *parākramāmi*, *pari(rā)k[a]mate*. The active form *kramati* occurs also in the epics, while classical Sanskrit has *krāmati* in the active and *kramatē* in the middle.

Root *gam*: *gachheyaṁ*.

Root *garh*: *garahati*.

Root *dṛiś*: *pasati* (i.e. *passati* = Skt. *paśyati*).

Root *bhū*: *bhavati* and *hoti*.

Root *labh*. The absolutive *ārabhitpā* and the passive forms *ārabhare*, *ārabhisu*, *ārabhisare* presuppose the present **ārabhate*, 'to kill' (= Skt. *ālabhatē*).

Root *vas*: *vaseyu*.

Root *vṛit*: *anuv[a]tare*.

Root *sthā*: *tisṭeya*.

Second Sanskrit class.

Root *as*: *asti*.

Root *yā*: *[n]iyātu*.

Root *han* follows the analogy of the ninth class: *upahanāti*.

Third Sanskrit class.

The gerundive *prajūhitavyam* presupposes the present **jūhati* = Pāli *juvhati* (for **juhvati*); see Pischel, GGA, 1881. 1324.

Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root *pad*: *paṭipajetha* (= Skt. *pratipadyēta*).

Root *man*: *maṁñate* (= Skt. *manyatē*).

Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root *āp* follows the ninth class: *prāpuṇati* (for °*ṇaṁti*).[1]
Root *śru* follows the ninth class and forms the 3. plur. imperative active *sruṇāru*.

Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root *ish*: *ichhati*.

Seventh Sanskrit class.

Both *bhuj* (*bhuṁj*[*a*]*mānasa*, VI, 3) and *yuj* (*yujaṁtu*, IV, 11) follow the *a*-conjugation.

Eighth Sanskrit class.

Root *kṛi*: *karoti*.
Root *kshaṇ* follows the *a*-conjugation: *chhaṇati*.

Tenth Sanskrit class and causatives.

(a) With *aya*: *pūjayati*, *dasayitpā*, *dīpayema*, *ārādhayaṁtu*, *vaḍhayati*. The character *aya* is contracted into *e* in *paṭivedetha*, *paṭ*[*i*]*vedeta*[*v*]*yaṁ*, *pūjetayā*, *ārādhetu*, *lochetavyā*, [*a*]-*lochetpā*.

(b) With *paya*: *hāpesati* and the derivative *dāpaka*. The long vowel of the root *jñā* is shortened, as it is optionally in Sanskrit, before *paya* in *āñapayāmi*. With this agrees the Prākṛit *āṇavedi*, while Pāli has *āṇāpeti* with long *ā*; cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 8.

(c) With *āpaya*: *likhāpayisaṁ*, *sukhāpayāmi* (which is, properly speaking, a denominative of *sukha*), and the derivatives *khānāpita*, *lekhāpita*, *hārāpita*, *srāvāpaka*. In *lekhāpita* the vowel *i* of the root *likh* is strengthened by Guṇa, while in *likhāpayisaṁ* it remains unchanged.

(d) With *pāpaya*: *ropāpita*.

(2) *Moods*.

(a) Indicative.

Active.

1. sing. *parākramāmi*, *karomi*, *āñapayāmi*.

3. sing. *garahati*, *pasati*, *bhavati* and *hoti*, *asti*, *upahanāti*, *ichhati*, *karoti*, *chhaṇati*, *pūjayati*, *vaḍhayati*.

3. plur. *pāti* (read *hoti*, XIII, 6), *ichhati* (VII, 2), *prāpuṇati* (XIII, 4). In these three forms we would have expected the termination -*ṁti* instead of -*ti*.

Middle.

3. sing. *pari*(*rā*)*k*[*a*]*mate*, *maṁñate* or *mañate*, *karote*, which follows the analogy of the active *karōti*, while Sanskrit has the weak form *kurutē*.

3. plur. *karote* (IX, 3) for **karoṁte*. The termination is -*re* in *anuv*[*a*]*tare* (XIII, 9), in the future *anuvatisare*, in the two passives *anuvidhiyare* and *ārabhare*, and in the future passive *ārabhisare*. The same termination is known from Vēdic Sanskrit, Prākṛit, and Pāli; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 458.

(b) Subjunctive.

Active.

1. sing. *sukhāpayāmi* (VI, 12), which has the termination of the indicative, but must be explained as a subjunctive because it is co-ordinated with the optative *gachheyaṁ* and the imperative *ārādhayaṁtu*.

3. sing. *maṁñā* (XIII, 11) from *maṁñate*. Cf. *paśyāt* and many other Vēdic forms.

(c) Optative.

Active.

1. sing. *gachheyaṁ*.

3. sing. *asa* (= Pāli *assa* for **asyāt* from root *as*), *bhave*, *tisṭeya*. Pāli, too, has both the terminations -*e* and -*eyya*.

1. plur. *dīpayema*.

3. plur. *asu* (= Pāli *assu* for **asyuḥ*), *vaseyu*.

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[1] Cf. the Ardhamāgadhī form *pāuṇanti* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 504.

Middle.

3. sing. *paṭipajetha* (XIV, 4). The termination *-tha* (= Skt. *-ta*) is the same in Pāli; see Geiger's *Pāli*, § 129.

3. plur. *susuṁsera* (desiderative of *śru*) with the termination *-ra* for Pāli *-raṁ* = Skt. *-ran*.

(d) Imperative.

Active.

2. plur. *paṭivedetha* (VI, 5). As in Prākṛit and Pāli, the termination of the corresponding person of the indicative is transferred to the imperative.

3. plur. *yujaṁtu*, *ārādhayaṁtu*, [*n*]*iyātu* (with *-tu* for *-ṁtu*), *sruṇāru* (XII, 7) from **sruṇāti* = Skt. *śṛiṇōti*. With the termination *-ru* cf. the middle termination *-re* in the indicative, the optative *susuṁsera*, and the imperative *anuvataraṁ*.

Middle.

3. sing. *anuvidhiyatāṁ* (passive) and *susrusatā* (desiderative).

3. plur. *anuvataraṁ* (VI, 14). Pischel (GGA, 1881. 1331) compared the Vēdic imperative *duhrām*. The middle termination *-raṁ* (for *-rām*) corresponds to Skt. *-ntām*, as the active termination *-ru* to Skt. *-ntu*, and as the indicative middle termination *-re* to Skt. *-ntē*. In the optative middle the Sanskrit termination *-ran* agrees with Girnār and Pāli.

(e) Imperfect.

3. sing. act. *aho* for **abhot* = Skt. *abhavat*; see Johansson, *Shāhb.*, § 30, last section.

II. Aorist.

3. plur. act. *ñayāsu* (VIII, 1) = Skt. **nyayāsuḥ* from root *yā* with the preposition *ni* in the sense of *nis*; cf. Michelson, JAOS, 31. 245. The form *ahuṁsu* (VIII, 2) seems to be based on the 3. sing. *ahu* (= Skt. *abhūt*), as Pāli *āsiṁsu* on *āsi* (= Skt. *āsīt*). In *ārabhisu* (I, 9), which must be connected with the passive *ārabhare* (I, 11) = Skt. *ālabhyantē*, the *bh* is a defective spelling for *bbh*.

III. Perfect.

3. sing. act. *āha*. The form *ayāya* (VIII, 2) has been generally explained as an imperfect of root *yā*. It may be as well a perfect of root *i*, = Skt. *iyāya*, but with modified reduplication.

IV. Future.

Active.

1. sing. *likhāpayisaṁ* (XIV, 3) has the same termination as in Prākṛit and Pāli.

3. sing. *āñapayisati*, *vaḍhayisati*, *hāpesati*, *kāsati* (= Pāli *kāhati*) from **karshyati*.

3. plur. [*pra**]*vadhayisaṁti*, *anusāsisaṁti*, *kāsaṁti* and *kasa*[*ṁ*]*ti* from root *kṛi*.

Middle.

3. plur. *anuvatisare* (V, 2). In the passive *ārabhisare* (I, 12) the *bh* is a defective spelling for *bbh*; cf. the remark on the aorist *ārabhisu*, above, section II.

V. Passive.

The forms which occur in the Girnār text are all derived from the two Sanskrit passives *ālabhyatē* and *anuvidhīyatē*:

3. plur. indicative *ārabhare*, *anuvidhiyare* are defective spellings for *ārabbhare*, *anuvidhiyyare*; see above, p. lix.

3. sing. imperative *anuvidhiyatāṁ*.

3. plur. aorist *ārabhisu*.

3. plur. future *ārabhisare*.

VI. Desiderative.

The 3. plur. optative *susuṁsera* (XII, 7) and the 3. sing. imperative *susrusatā* (X, 2) are derived from Skt. *śuśrūshatē*.

VII. Participles.

(1) Present participle.

Active.

Root *sthā*: nom. plur. masc. *tisṭaṁto*.
Root *as*: nom. sing. masc. *saṁto*.
Root *kṛi*: nom. sing. masc. *karoto*, *karuṁ*, *karu*.

Middle.

Root *bhuj*: *bhuṁj*[*a*]*māna*.

(2) Past passive participle.

(a) In *-ta*: *mata* (= Skt. *mata*, XIII, 2, and = *mṛita*, XIII, 1), *kata* (= *kṛita*), *vyāpata* (= *vyāpṛita*), *vistata* (= *vistṛita*), *usaṭa* (= *utsṛita*), *nisrita* (= **niśrita*), *sṭita* (= *sthita*), *atikrāta* (VI, 1) or *atikāta* (= *atikrānta*), *vuta* (= *ukta*), *samāta* (= *samāpta*), *saṁkhita* (= *saṁkshipta*), *ladha* (= *labdha*), *ñāapita*, &c. The participles *vijita* and *vinīta* (VI, 4) are used as substantives.

(b) The only participle in *-na* is *prasaṁna*.

(3) Future passive participle.

(a) In *-tavya*: *katavya* (= Skt. *kartavya*), *vatavya* (= *vaktavya*), *prajūhitavya* (from **jūhati* = Pāli *juvhati*), *ovāditavya* (from Pāli *ovadati*), *vijetavya* (from *vi-ji*), *pūjetaya* (= *pūjayitavya*), *lochetavya* (= *rōchayitavya*), *paṭ*[*i*]*vedeta*[*v*]*ya*.

(b) In *-ya*: *kacha* (= Skt. *kṛitya*, IX, 8), *saka* (= *śakya*).

VIII. Infinitive.

(a) Accusative: *ārādhetu* (= Skt. *ārādhayitum*).

(b) Dative: *chhamitave* from root *ksham*; cf. Vēdic forms like *charitave*, and *gantave*, &c., in Pāli.

IX. Absolutive.

(a) In *-tpā* (= Skt. *-tvā*): *ārabhitpā*, *parichajitpā* (from root *tyaj*), *dasayitpā* (from causative of *dṛiś*), [*a*]*-lochetpā* (= *a-rōchayitvā*).

(b) The only absolutive in *-ya* is *sachhāya* from *saṁ-kśā* (= *saṁ-khyā*).

F.—SUFFIXES

Under this heading I note a few remarkable formations which differ from Sanskrit.

(1) *Kṛit* suffixes.

(a) *-anā*: *saṁtīraṇā* from Skt. *tīrayati*.

(b) *-ti*: *nijhati* = **nidhyapti*, *anusasti* = Skt. *anuśāsti* (Böhtlingk's *Wörterbuch*, 5. 991), while Pāli *anusiṭṭhi* agrees with Skt. *anuśishṭi*.

(c) *-ni*: *hīni* (IV, 11) from root *hā* on the analogy of the participle *hīna*.

The first member of the compound *vachi-guti* (XII, 3) is not a fossilized locative, as Michelson (JAOS, 31. 230) thinks, but must be connected with Ardhamāgadhi *vaī* or *vaï* = **vāchī*; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 413.

(2) *Taddhita* suffixes.

(a) *-ka*: *rājūka* (from *rajju*; see Text, p. 5, n. 2), and often pleonastic: *etaka*, *y*[*ā*]*vata*[*k*]*a*, *tāvataka*, *sarasaka*, *ñātika*.

(b) *-ālaka*: *mahālaka* (from Skt. *mahat*) = Prākṛit *mahālaya* and *mahallaya* (Pischel's *Grammatik*, pp. 402, 404).

(c) *-ika*: *ilokika* and *pāralokika* (XIII, 12).

(d) *-tya*: *ilokacha* (XI, 4), *ekacha* (I, 6). The first component of *ilokacha* and *ilokika* is the pronominal base *i*, from which Skt. *itara*, *itas*, and *iha* (for *idha*) are derived; see Franke in GN, 1895. 535.

(e) *-tara*, added to participles and substantives: *bāḍhataraṁ*, *katavyataraṁ*, *kaṁmataraṁ* from Skt. *karman*.

(f) *-tvana*: *tadātpano*(*ne*); see Text, p. 18, n. 8.

G.—SYNTAX

Here also I do not aim at completeness, but note only a few particular constructions.

To denote time, several cases are used: the accusative in *atikātaṁ aṁtaraṁ*, 'in times past' (IV, 1; V, 3; VI, 1; VIII, 1), the instrumental in *bahūhi v[āsa]-satehi*, 'for many hundreds of years' (IV, 4), the dative in *dighāya*, 'in the distant (future)' (X, 1), and the locative in *paṁchasu paṁchasu vāsesu*, 'every five years' (III, 2), *sarve kāle*, 'at any time' (VI, 3, 8), and *tadātpano(ne)*, 'at the present time' (X, 1).

The nominative absolute occurs in XI, 4:—*so t[a]thā karu*, 'if one is acting thus', and the genitive absolute in VI, 3:—*bhuṁj[a]mānasa me*, 'while I am eating'.

The genitive is employed in connexion with *bhavati* (IV, 10) and *nāsti* (VII, 3), and instead of the instrumental with *kaṭa* (= *kṛita*, II, 4), *sādhu-matā* (I, 6 f.), and *kaṭavya-mate* (VI, 9).

The 3. sing. *asti* is the predicate of a nominative plural in I, 6, and *nāsti* in three places (II, 6, 7; XIII, 5); cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, p. 350. In XIV, 1 f., *asti* is used as a particle in the sense of *vā*. In IX, 1, it opens a sentence, as frequently in the *Pañchatantra*; cf. Speyer's *Sanskrit Syntax* (Leyden, 1886), p. 234, n. 2. For instances from Prākṛit literature see Pischel, op. cit., p. 294.

CHAPTER VII.

GRAMMAR OF THE KALSI ROCK-EDICTS

A.—PHONETICS

I. Vowels.

THE vowel *a* becomes *i* through the influence of a neighbouring *y* in *majhima* (= *madhyama*), *vaḍhiyati* (= *vardhayati*), *vaḍhiyisati*, and *u* after a labial in *muta*,[1] *munisa* (= *manushya*), *uchāvucha*. In *gih[i]tha* (= *gṛihastha*, XIII, 37) and *ud[u]pāna* (= *udapāna*) the vowel of the second syllable is assimilated to the first. In *Alikyashudale* (XIII, 8) the *u* is perhaps due to a popular etymology deriving the foreign name Ἀλέξανδρος from *alika*, 'the forehead', and *sundara*, 'beautiful'.

The *e* of *heta* or *hetā* (= **itra*) perhaps goes back to an original *i*; see above, p. lvi. In *edisa* and *heḍisa* the vowel *e* corresponds to the *ī* of Skt. *īdṛiśa*.[2]

The *a* of *galu* corresponds to Skt. *u*; cf. above, p. lvi. In *munisa* (II, 6) the *u* of Skt. *manushya* has become *i* through the influence of the palatal *y* in the next syllable; cf. the form *manuśa* (i.e. *manuśśa*) at Shāhbāzgaṛhī and Mānsehrā, in which the *y* has palatalized the preceding *sh*.[3] In *kho* (= Skt. *khalu*) Skt. *u* is represented by *o*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

As in other Prākṛits, the Skt. vowel *ṛi* is lost. It becomes *a* in *[a]naniya* (= Skt. *ānṛiṇya*), *[u]shaṭa*, *kaṭa*, *dukaṭa*,[4] *gahatha* (= *gṛihastha*, XII, 31), *dakhati*, *bhaṭa*,[5] *bhaṭaka*, *maṭe*, *vataṁ* (= *vṛittam*, X, 27), *vadhi* and *vaḍhi* (= *vṛiddhi*), *vithaṭa*, *viyāpaṭa*; *i* in *edisa* and *heḍisa*, *tādisa*, *[ā]disa* (= *yādṛiśa*), *kiṭanāt[ā]* (= *kṛitajñatā*), *gih[i]tha*, *diḍha*, *panātikya* (= **praṇaptṛika*), *pitisu*, *bhātinā*, *mige*, *migaviyā*; *u* in *ushuṭa*,[6] *shune[y]u*,[7] and after a labial in *a[gabhu]t[i]*, *palipuchhā*, *ni[v]uti* (= *nirvṛitti*), *vutaṁ* (= *vṛittam*, XIII, 11), *vuḍha* (= *vṛiddha*). It will be observed that in some of these words the original *ṛi* has caused the lingualization of the following dentals, and in *heḍisa* = Skt. *īdṛiśa* it has lingualized the preceding *d*. In *[lu]kha* (II, 6) the syllable *lu* corresponds to the syllable *vṛi* of Skt. *vṛiksha*; cf. Greek λύκος = Skt. *vṛika*, and see Wackernagel's *Altind.*

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[1] The same form occurs in Pāli; see Geiger, § 18.

[2] Pāli has *edisa* and *erisa*, Prākṛit *īdisa* and *erisa*; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 121.

[3] Michelson (AJP, 32. 441) thinks that the vocalization of *munisa* may have followed the analogy of Māgadha *pulisa* = Skt. *purusha*. But the apparent resemblance of the two words is due chiefly to the defective spelling of *munisa*, which stands for *munissa*.

[4] Cf. Skt. *vikaṭa* (for *vikṛita*), *utkaṭa*, *saṁkaṭa*.

[5] This Prākṛit word is used also in Sanskrit.

[6] Cf. the assimilation of the second vowel to the first in *ud[u]pāna* = Skt. *udapāna*.

[7] Here the *u* is due to the analogy of other forms of the root *śru*.

Grammatik, vol. 1, § 184, b). The Girnār equivalent *vrachha* disproves the etymology advocated by Pischel (*Grammatik*, § 320), who derived Prākṛit *rukkha* from Skt. *ruksha* (*Ṛigvēda*, VI, 3, 7), to which Roth (*VIIth Oriental Congress, Aryan Section*, p. 3) had assigned the meaning 'a tree', although the traditional meaning 'bright' gives a satisfactory sense.

The diphthongs *ai* and *au* are both lost. The former becomes *e* in *ni[che]* (perhaps = Skt. *nīchaiḥ*, VII, 22) and in the feminine case-termination *-e*; the second becomes *o* in *papotā* (XIII, 15), *pa[la]lokikya* or *palalokiya*, *-opaga* and *-opa[ya]*.

Short *a* is lengthened in *a[ṭiyāyike]* (= Skt. *ātyayikam*), *uyāma* (= *udyama*), *lāti* (= *rati*, VIII, 23), and at the end of a few bases in *-a*, viz. *uchāvuchā-* (VII, 21), *kiṭanā-* (= *kṛitajña*, VII, 22), *v[i]yā-* (= *vyaya*, III, 8), *śālā-* or *sh[ā]lā-* (= *sāra*), *shāvā-* (= *sarva*, XII, 31), *samanā-* (= *śramaṇa*, XI, 29). The lengthening of *a* is very frequent at the end of words; e.g. *ajā* (= *adya*), *atā* (= *atra* and *yatra*), *anatā* (= *anyatra*), *asā* (= *yasya*), *āhā*, *evā* or *vā*, *chā*, *janasā*, *tasā* (= *tasya*), *tenā*, *dānenā*, *nā*, *nāmā*, *nikhamithā*, *Piyadasisā*, *mamā*, *hidā* (= *iha*), *hetā* (= **itra*).

Long *i* and *u* are nowhere distinguished in writing from the corresponding short vowels except in *osadhīn[i]* (II, 5), *Pi[ya]dasī* (I, 2), *s[ī]lasi* (IV, 12), *[chū]* (I, 4), *majūl[ā]* (I, 4), *laj[ū]k[e]* (III, 7).

Similarly, *ā* is often represented by *a*. Although in some cases this defective spelling is perhaps due to the negligence of the writer, the subjoined list will not be considered superfluous.

(1) At the beginning: *akāla(le)na*, *anam[ta]l[i]yenā*, *[a]naniyaṁ*, *apalaṁtā*,[1] *ayatiye*, *alaṁbhiyisu*, *alabhi[yaṁ]ti*, *alābhi[y]isa[ṁ]ti*, *av[āha]si*, *ahā*[2] (= Skt. *āha*, V, 13).

(2) In the interior of words: *adisha* (= *yādriśam*, XI, 29), *anathesu* (= *anāthesu* at Dhauli), *apavahe* (= Skt. *apavāhaḥ*), *ava* (= *yāvat*, IX, 25), *ava[ta]ke*, *kala* (VI, 17), *Devanampiyem* (X, 28), *pa[la]lokikya* or *palalokiya* (= *pālalokika* in the two separate edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa), *paśaḍa* (= Skt. *pāshaṇḍa*, XII, 31), *baḍhaṁ* (XII, 32), *madhuliyāye*, *lajā*, *lajāne*, *lajinā*, *vijinamane*, *v[i]dh[a]na[ṁ]*, *vimana-*, *viyapaṭā* (V, 15), *vividh[aye]*, *shav[i]bhage*.

(3) At the end: *a* (= Skt. *ā*, XIII, 6), *anatha* (= *anyathā*), *abaka-* (= *ambikā*), *[e]sh[a]* (XIII, 37), *ma* (XIII, 16), *maha-phalā* (XIII, 14), *māta-pitisu* (III, 8), *lāja* (IV, 11), *va* (twice = *vā*), *hi[da]lokika* (XIII, 18).

Initial *a* is dropped in *pi* (= *api*) and *hakam* (for *ahakam* = *aham*); *i* in *ti* (= *iti*), also in *kiṁti* (only XII, 33) and *kiti*; *e* in *va* (only IX, 26) and *vā*, besides which the full forms *eva* and *evā* are also employed.[3]

II. Simple Consonants.

The Kālsī dialect agrees with the Māgadha one in replacing the semivowel *r* by *l*, and the two nasals *ṇ* and *ñ* by dental *n*, throughout.

The two gutturals *k* and *g* were often palatalized through the influence of the preceding vowel *i*. This pronunciation is expressed in writing by the groups *ky* and *gy*, of which the latter occurs three times in the word *Kaligya* (= Skt. *Kaliṅga*), and the former in *[n]iky[ā]y[ā]* (XII, 34), *Alikyashudale* (XIII, 8), and in the affixes *-ka* and *-ika* of *akālikу[e]*, *-thitikyā* and *-ṭhitikyā*, *nātikya*, *panātikyā*, *pālaṁtikya*, *Pitinikye[sh]u*, *-bh[u]mikyā*, *sh[a](shu)vāṁ[i]kyena*, *sa[ṁ]sayikye*, *hidalokikya* and *pa[la]lokikya* (XIII, 18). Instead of the two last words we find also the forms *hi[da]lokika* and *palalokiya* (XIII, 17 f.), which suggest that *-ika* became *-iya* through the intermediate stage *-ikya*. In the same way Franke (VOJ, 9. 347, n. 2) explains *nilathiya*, which corresponds at Kālsī (IX, 24) to *niratha* at Girnār.[4] Another instance of the change of *k* to *y* after *i* would be *diyaḍha* (XIII, 35), which Pischel (*Grammatik*, § 230) derived from **dvikārdha*. To this may be added the affix *-ālaka* or *-ālaya* in *mahālaka* and *supadālaya* (V, 14); see below, p. lxxxiv.[5] The Kālsī

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[1] Dhauli reads *āpalaṁtā*, and Girnār *[ā]parātā*. Cf. the adjective *Āparāntaka* in the *Kauṭilīya*, p. 81, l. 5.

[2] This may be an unreduplicated perfect, as in the pillar-edicts; see Michelson, IF, 23. 244.

[3] Instead of *no* at XIII, 16, we have perhaps to read *yo*, as at Shāhbāzgaṛhī. For *yo* = Prākṛit *yeva* see below, p. lxxxv.

[4] Cf. also *ata-patiya* in the pillar-edict IV, and *aṭha-bhāgiya* on the Rummindēī pillar.

[5] In Turkish the guttural ك (*kyaf*) is liable to a similar palatalization and change to *y*; thus from كوپك (*kyöpek*), 'a dog', is formed كوپكى (pronounced *kyöpeyi*), 'his dog'.

dialect, like the Girnār dialect, furnishes an instance of the development of *y* from *g* in *-opaga* (II, 5) and *-opa[ya]* (VIII, 23). From the form *Kaligya*, which, as stated on p. lxxi, occurs three times at Kālsī, it may be inferred that the intermediate stage was **-opagya*. Greek γ is expressed by *k* in *Aṁteki[ne]* and *Makā*, and χ by *g* in *Aṁtiyoga*. Skt. *gh* has become *h* in *lahu* and *lahuka*.

Of palatals, *ch* has been aspirated in *kechha* (= Skt. *kēcha*, XII, 32) and *kichhi* (= **kid+chid*). In *vacha* (VI, 18; XII, 34) *ch* corresponds to the *j* of Skt. *vraja*. The letter *j* has become *d* in *palitiditu* (X, 28), the absolutive of Skt. *parityajati*. Cf. Kuhn (*Pāli-Grammatik*, p. 36), who quotes from *Dhammapada*, p. 144 [l. 13], the aorist *parichchadi*; E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 25; Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 215.

Dentals are lingualized in *duvāḍasa*; before *ṛi* in *heḍisa*; after *ṛi* in *[u]shaṭa* and *ushuṭa*, *kaṭa*, *dukaṭa*, *kiṭanāt[ā]*, *bhaṭa*, *bhaṭaka*, *maṭe*, *vithaṭa*, *viyāpaṭa*; after *ra* in the preposition *paṭi* (= Skt. *prati*). Dental *t* is palatalized in *chiṭhit[u]* (IV, 12), the absolutive of Prākṛit *chiṭṭhadi*[1] (= Skt. *tishṭhati*). It is replaced by *d* in *dose* (VI, 19) and *hida-sukhāye* (V, 15).[2] In *tatopa[yā]* (= *tadopayā* at Girnār and Dhauli) it looks as if *t* had taken the place of *d*. But the first member of the compound might be, not *tad*, but *tata* (= Skt. *tatra*); cf. Senart's *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, 1. 194. In *hida* (= *idha* at Girnār) the *d* apparently corresponds to an original *dh*; but Johansson (*Shāhb.*, § 57) may be right in connecting *hida* with Vēdic *idā*, 'now'.

The labial aspirate *bh* has become *h* in the instrumental and dative plural in *-hi*, in *hoti*, *hotu*, *aho*, *huveyu*, *husu*, and in the participle *huta* (= Skt. *bhūta*), while *bhuta* is used as substantive.

The semivowel *y* has become *j* in *majūla* (= Skt. *mayūra*, I, 4); *v* in *visava* (= *vishaya*, XIII, 9) and *vas[e]vu* (= *vasēyuḥ*, VII, 21); *h* in *ye[haṁ]* (VI, 20).[3] Initial *y* is lost in *aṁ* (= Skt. *yat*), *asā* (= *yasya*), *e* (= *yaḥ*, *yat*, *yē*), *at[a]* (= *yatra*), *athā* (= *yathā*), *[ā]disa* (= *yādṛiśa*), *āva* (= *yāvat*), *ava[ta]ke* (XIII, 39). In *apavuḍha* (= *apōḍha*) *v* was developed out of *ū*.

The syllable *ya* becomes *i* in *palitiditu*, the absolutive of Skt. *parityajati*, and in *[a]pa-v[i]yātā* (= *apa-vyayatā* at Girnār), and *vā* becomes *u* in the absolutives in *-tu* (= Skt. *-tvā*).

In *t[e]dasa* (= **trayadaśa*) *aya* is contracted to *e*. The causative affixes *aya* and *ayi* either remain unchanged (in *dasayitu*, &c.) or are contracted (in *pujeti*, *pujetav[i]ya*, &c.); in *vaḍhiyati* and *vadhiyisati* the second *a* is changed to *i* through the influence of the palatal *y* which follows it. In the 3. sing. optative *nivaṭey[ā]* (= Skt. *nirvartayēt*) the *e* corresponds to an original *aye*.[4] For *ava* we have *o* in *olodhana*, *hoti*, *hotu*, *aho*.

Cases of Cockneyism are *hida* (= Skt. *iha*), *heḍisa* (= *īdṛiśa*), *heta* (= **itra*), *hevaṁ*, and perhaps the conjunction *haṁche* (IX, 26), which is identical in meaning with Pāli *sache*, 'if'. Johansson (*Shāhb.*, 1. 66) derives it from Pāli *yaṁche* (Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, p. 603, *a*) through the intermediate form **aṁche*, while Senart (IA, 21. 88) traces it directly to *sache*.

In the edicts I–IX the Kālsī dialect agrees with the Girnār one in replacing the two sibilants *ś* and *sh* by *s*.[5] From edict X the writer employs, besides *s*, the signs for *ś* and *sh*. In a few cases, *sh* is used where Sanskrit would require it; see *eshe*, *[va]sha* (= *varsha*, XIII, 35), *pāshaṁḍa*, *manu[shāna]ṁ*, *teshaṁ*, *yeshaṁ*, *ateshu* (= *antēshu*), *Kaṁbojeshu*, *Kali[ṁ]geshu*, *nātikeshu*, *Nābhapaṁtishu*, *Pitinikye[sh]u*, *pitishu*, *Y[o]nesh[u]*, *ladhesha(shu)*, *manishu*. But in the majority of instances both *sh* and *ś* are phonetically and etymologically impossible; see e.g. *taśa* and *tasha* (= Skt. *tasya*), *dāśa* and *dāsha* (= *dāsa*), *śaṁthuta* and *shaṁthuta* (= *saṁstuta*), *ś[a]va* and *shava* (= *sarva*), *śālā-* and *sh[ā]lā-* (= *sāra*), *śiyāti* and *shiyāti* (= *syāt*), *[ś]e* and *she*, *shaha[ś]a* and *shahasha* (= *sahasra*). To explain this state of matters, we have to suppose that the writer spoke a dialect which knew no sibilant besides *s*, and that he used the letters *ś* and *sh* indiscriminately for expressing the same sibilant.[6] In other words, the letters *ś* and *sh* at Kālsī are purely graphical, and in the sequel it is tacitly assumed that every *ś* and *sh* is a vicarious symbol expressing dental *s*.

As in the Girnār dialect, all final consonants are dropped. The preceding vowel is sometimes lengthened; see *s[a]myā-* or *shamyā-* (= Skt. *samyak*, Pāli *sammā*), *palisā* (= Skt. *parishad*), *puna*

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[1] Cf. Singhalese *siṭinu* or *hiṭinu*, 'to stand', in Geiger's *Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen*, p. 47, l. 3 f.

[2] Cf. below, p. lxxxv and n. 4.

[3] For similar forms of the 1. sing. optative see below, p. lxxxii.

[4] For similar contracted forms see below, p. lxxxii.

[5] But *ś* occurs twice in edict IV, l. 13 (*vaśa* = Skt. *varsha*, and *Piyadaśinā*).

[6] Cf. Senart's *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, 1. 37, and Bühler's *Ind. Pal.*, § 14, last section.

and *punā* (= *punar*), *āva, ava, avā* (= *yāvat*). It is nasalized in *avaṁ* (XIII, 8). The termination *-ās* generally becomes *-ā* (e.g. *putā*), but the *ā* is shortened in a few cases; see below, p. lxxvi. Final *-as* becomes *-e*; e.g. *jane* (nom. sing.), *natāle* (= Skt. *naptāraḥ*), *lājine* (gen. sing.), *lajāne* (nom. plur.), *bh[u]ye* (= *bhūyaḥ*), *ne* (= *naḥ*), *se* (= *saḥ*), *ye* or *e*, *aṁne*, *eke*, *[p]ule* (= Pāli *pure*, Skt. *puraḥ*), *[m]u[kha]t[e]*, *viyaṁjanat[e]*. But *o* is found instead of *e*, as at Girnār, in *Sātiyaputo*, *Ke[lala]puto, jani[yo], lā[j]āno, yaso* or *yasho, tato*; *ā* in *Makā*; *a* in *vadha* (XIII, 36), *hidalokikya* (XIII, 17), *esh[a]* (XIII, 38), *va[cha]-* (XII, 31).

Sanskrit words ending in *m* and *n* substitute Anusvāra for these two nasals; e.g. *dhaṁmaṁ*, *dānaṁ*, and the two present participles *saṁtaṁ* and *kalaṁtaṁ* (XII, 33), which correspond to Skt. *san* and *kurvan*. The Anusvāra is, however, frequently omitted; see *kala[ṁta]* (XI, 30) and *kalata* (XII, 32) for *kalaṁtaṁ*, *anata* (XI, 30) for *anaṁtaṁ*, *adisha* (= Skt. *yādṛiśam*, XI, 29), *pāshaṁḍa*, *pāshaḍa*, and *pāśaḍa*, *bāḍha* (XIII, 36), *madava* (= *mārdavam*, XIII, 4), *vijay[a]* and *vijayataviya* (XIII, 16), *[sha]va* (= *sarvam*, X, 28), *heva* (= *ēvam*, XII, 32), and the accusatives feminine *-anusa[th]i* (XIII, 12), *kiti*, *khaṁti*, *vadhi*, *Saṁbodhi*, *sudhi*, *hini*. In other instances the Anusvāra is dropped and preceding *a* lengthened; see *[ā]disā* (= Skt. *yādṛiśam*, IV, 10), *kaṁ-[ma]talā* (= **karmataram*, VI, 20), *khudā* (= *kshudram*, IX, 24), *dosā* (I, 2), *nilathiyā* (IX, 24), *pāśaḍā* (XII, 32), *punā* (thrice = *puṇyaṁ*), *bahuk[ā]* (I, 2), *maha-phalā* (= *mahā-phalam*, XIII, 14). As a rule, the nom. sing. of neuters in *-a* follows the analogy of the nom. sing. masculine and ends in *-e*; see *se*, *she*, *ese*, *eshe*, *ye*, *e*, *aṁne*, *save*, *shave*, *i[ta]le*, *dāne*, &c. The acc. sing. neut. has the same termination in *dāne* (XII, 31), *bāḍhatale* (XII, 33), and in the particles *e* (XIII, 38), *se*, *she*.

Words ending in long nasalized vowels are treated in three different ways. Long *ā* is generally shortened; e.g. *pānānaṁ*, *tānaṁ* (XIII, 38), *teshaṁ* (XIII, 37), *nāti[naṁ]* (IV, 10), *bhā[tina]ṁ* (V, 16). In other instances the Anusvāra is dropped; see the genitives plural *[ba]ṁbha-nānā* (XI, 29), *nātinā* (IV, 9), *bh[agi]ni[nā]* (V, 16), *gulunā* (IX, 25), and the accusatives singular *pujā* (XII, 31), *-daṁḍatā* (XIII, 17), *dishā* (XIV, 23), *[ma]hathāvā* (X, 27), which is perhaps a clerical mistake for *mahathāvahā* (= Skt. *mahārthāvahām*). Thirdly, the Anusvāra may be dropped and the long vowel shortened at the same time; see *pajāva* (= Skt. *prajāvān*, V, 15), *pāśaḍāna* (XII, 31), *m[a]nushān[a]* (XIII, 39), *i[d]āni* (= *idānīm*, I, 3).

III. Sandhi.

Final *m* is preserved before the particle *ēva* in *tam-eva*, *t[ā]nam-ev[ā]*, *[e]vam-evā*, *pālaṁtikyam-eve(va)*. Hiatus is prevented by nasalizing the first of two vowels in the two compounds *aṁnam-anashā* (= Skt. *anyōnyasya*, XII, 33) and *bhatam-ayesu* (V, 15).

a + *a* are contracted into *ā* in *etāyāṭhāye* (XII, 34), *[kaṭābhikā]le*, *kuvāpi* (= Skt. *kvāpi*), *gabhā-gāla*, *-vasābhisita*, *dhaṁmānusa[th]i* (XIII, 12) or *dhaṁmānushathi* (twice), &c., but into short *a* in *dhaṁmanusathi* (thrice), *dhamma[vāy]e* (XIII, 35), *li[p]ikalapalādhena* (XIV, 23), and before an original group of consonants in *a[ta]tā* (twice = Skt. *yatra yatra*), *apalaṁtā* (= *āparāntāḥ*, V, 15), *tenatā* (= *tēnātra*, VIII, 23), *diyaḍha* (= **dvikārdha*, XIII, 35), *nathi* (= *nāsti*), *supaṭhāy[e]* (= *sūpārthāya*, I, 3).

a + *ā* becomes *ā* in *pā[nā]laṁbhe* (IV, 9) and *[ma]hathāvā* (= Skt. *mahārtha* + *āvahām* (?), X, 27).

ā + *a* becomes *a* before an original group in *[ma]hatha* (= *mahā* + *artha*, X, 27).

ā + *u* becomes *o* in *pajopadāne(ye)*, on which see below, p. lxxv, n. 1.

a is elided before *i*, *e*, *o* in *baṁbhan-ibhesu* (V, 15), *ch-eva*, *manus-opagāni* (II, 5),[1] and before *u* in *chu*, 'but',[2] which corresponds to *chō* (= *cha* + *u*) in Buddhist *gāthās*.[3]

i + *a* are contracted into *i* in *ithidhiyakha* (= *stry-adhyaksha*, XII, 34).

u is elided before *o* in *pas-opagāni* (II, 5).

a is dropped after *e* in *e-yaṁ* (V, 15), *tā[ye-th]ā[ye]* (VI, 19), *etā[y]e-ṭhāye* (VI, 20).

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[1] For *tatopayā* see above, p. lxxii.

[2] Michelson (IF, 23. 261) considers *chu* a contamination of *tu* and *cha*.

[3] See Kern's translation of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (SBE, vol. 21), Introduction, p. xvii.

IV. Groups of Consonants.

Combined consonants are either assimilated, or an auxiliary vowel is developed between them. The only groups which occasionally remain unchanged are *tv*, *dhr*, *my*, *vy*, *sv*. For the two groups *ky* and *gy* see above, p. lxxi.

Long *ā* preceding a group of consonants is generally shortened; see *ata-* (= Skt. *ātman*), *a[tiyāyike]* (= *ātyayikam*),[1] *anap[a]yisaṁti* (III, 8), *anusathi* (= *anuśāsti*), *asamati* (= *asamāpti*), *ayesu* (= *āryēshu*), *āladhe* (= **ārāddham*), *gadhā* (= **gāddhā*), *tadatvāye*, *palakamāmi*, *palakamātu*, *palakamenā*, *pasavati* (= *prasāvyatē*), *ma[g]a* (= *mārga*, II, 6), *madava* (= *mārdava*, XIII, 4), *mahāmata* (= *mahāmātra*). But the length is preserved in *ānapayite* and *mahāmāta*. Long *ī* preceding a simple consonant is shortened and the consonant itself doubled in *tiṁni* (= *trīṇi*, I, 3). Similarly, *bh[u]ye*, *vedaniya*, *anuvidhiyaṁa* (read °*yaṁti*) may be meant for *bhuyye*, *vedaniyya*, *anuvidhiyyaṁti*; cf. above, p. lix. Short *a* preceding a group is lengthened in *ānatā* (= *anyatra*, XIII, 38), *panātikya* (= **praṇaptṛika*, IV, 11), and *shāvā-* (= *sarva-*, XII, 31). In *pālaṁtikya* (twice = *pāratrika*) the short *a* preceding the group *tr* has been nasalized.[2]

A long nasalized vowel is shortened before consonants, as it is often at the end of words (see above, p. lxxiii), in *atikaṁtaṁ* (= *atikrāntam*), *khaṁti* (= *kshānti*, XIII, 16), *Taṁbapaṁni* (= *Tāmraparṇī*), *Paṁḍiyā* (= *Pāṇḍyāḥ*), *baṁbhana* (= *brāhmaṇa*), *[bha]ṁ[ḍa]* (= *bhāṇḍa*, III, 8), *sa[ṁ]sayikye* (= *sāṁśayikam*, IX, 26). In *b[ā]bhanā* (XIII, 37), *Devānāpiye* (twice), and in the third persons plural *pāpunāta(ti)*, *palakamātu*,[3] *lochetu* (XIII, 17), *[paṭi*]vedetu* (VI, 18), the Anusvāra is dropped.

As at the end of words (see above, p. lxxiii), there are many cases in the interior of words where the Anusvāra is omitted after a short vowel; see *Atiyoge* (XIII, 6), *ateshu* (= *antēshu*), *anata* (= *ananta*), *anubadh[ā]* (= *anubandhāt*), *abaka-* (= *ambikā*), *alabhi[yaṁ]ti* (cf. the aorist *alaṁbhisu*, I, 3), *Alikyashudale* (= Ἀλέξανδρος), *Kaligya* (= *Kaliṅga*), *pāsaḍa* and *pāshaḍa* (= *pāshaṇḍa*),[4] *magala* (= *maṅgala*), *vihisā* (= *vihiṁsā*), *shaṁbadh[e]* (= *saṁbandhaḥ*), *shav[i]bhage* (= *saṁvibhāgaḥ*), *sayama* and *saṁyama* (IX, 25), *vashati* (= *vasanti*), and *manatu* (3. plur. imperative of root *man*).

While most groups of consonants are assimilated, others are avoided by developing an auxiliary vowel in the middle of them. This vowel is *a* in *ga[la]hati* (= Skt. *garhati*), *galahā*, *Alikyashudale* (= Ἀλέξανδρος); *u* before or after labials in *kuvāpi*, *duve*, *duvāḍaśa*, *puluva* (= *pūrva*), *suvāmika*, *pāpunāta(ti)*; and frequently *i*; see *lājinā* (= *rājñā*), *lājine* (= *rājñaḥ*), the future passive participles in *-taviya*, *-adhiyakha* (= *adhyaksha*), *[a]naniya* (= *ānṛiṇya*), *apatiye*, *alabhi[yaṁ]ti*, *[e]katiyā*, *Paṁḍiyā*, *paṭivesiya*, *madhuliya* (= *mādhurya*), *viyaṁjana*, *viyāpaṭa* (= *vyāpṛita*), *[shamacha]liya* (= **sama-charya*), *shinehe* (= *snēhaḥ*), *siyā* (= *syāt*). Similarly, an auxiliary *i* is prefixed to the group *str* in *ithi* (= *strī*).

It is unnecessary to quote examples of the groups *kr*, *gr*, *tr*, *dr*, *pr*, *br*, *bhr*, *śr*, *sr*, which have become *k*, *g*, *t*, *d*, *p*, *b*, *bh*, *s*, *s* throughout. The remaining groups and their equivalents are given in the subjoined list.

kt becomes *t* in *Nābhapaṁti*, &c.

kv becomes *kuv* in *kuvāpi*.

ksh becomes *kh* in *-adhiyakha*, *khaṁti* (= Skt. *kshānti*), *khuda* (= *kshudra*), *dakhati*,[5] *[lu]kha* (= *vṛiksha*), *mokha*, *su(saṁ)khita* (= *saṁkshipta*); *chh* in *chhanati*.

khy becomes *kh* in *shaṁkheye* (read *saṁkhāya*).

khl becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

gn becomes *g* in *agi*.

jñ becomes *n* in *kiṭanāt[ā]* (= Skt. *kṛitajñatā*), *nāti*, *ānapayite*, but *jin* in *lājinā* (= *rājñā*) and *lājine* (= *rājñaḥ*).

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[1] *atiyāyika* presupposes an intermediate form **aṭyāyika*, in which the initial *ā* was shortened before the group *ty*.

[2] Cf. *vaṁka* = Skt. *vakra*, *suṁka* = Skt. *śulka*, &c., in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 74.

[3] For these two forms see below, p. lxxxii.

[4] The form *pāshaḍa* may be derived from Skt. *pārshada*; see above, p. lx.

[5] Pischel (*Grammatik*, § 554) derives this form from **dṛikshati*, which is preserved in *īdṛiksha*, *tādṛiksha*, &c.

dy becomes *ḍiy* in *Paṁḍiyā*.

ṇy becomes *ṁn* or *n* in *hilaṁna*, *punā* (thrice = Skt. *puṇyam*), but *niy* in [*a*]*naniya* (= *ānṛiṇya*).

tp becomes *p* in *pajopadāne*(*ye*).[1]

tm becomes *t* in *ata-* (= Skt. *ātman*).

ty becomes *tiy* in *apatiye*, *a*[*tiyāyike*], [*e*]*katiyā*; *ky* in *nikyaṁ*.

tv remains in *tadatvāye* (X, 27), where the *ā* of *tadā* has been shortened before the double consonant of the affix *-tva*; but *tv* is assimilated in *chatāli* (= Skt. *chatvāri*, XIII, 7).

ts becomes *s* (or *sh*) in *chikisā*, *chikisakā*, [*u*]*shaṭe*[*na*] and *ushuṭena*.

tsth becomes *ṭh* in *uṭhāna*; cf. *usṭāna* at Girnār.

dy becomes *j* in *aja*, *paṭipajeyā*; *y in* [*u*]*y*[*ānasi*], *uyāma*.

dv becomes *d* in *diyaḍha*, but *duv* in *duve*, *duvāḍasa*.

dhy becomes *jh* in *n*[*i*]*jhati*, *majhimenā*, but *dhiy* in *-adhiyakha*.

dhr remains in *dhruve* (I, 4); but it seems to be assimilated in [*Adha*] (= *Andhra*, XIII, 10).

ny becomes *ṁn* or *n* in *aṁna* and *ana*, *maṁnat*[*i*] and *manati*.

pt becomes *t* in *guti*, *n*[*i*]*jhati*, *asamati*, *su*(*saṁ*)*khitenā*, *natāle* (= Skt. *naptāraḥ*), *panātikyā*, *Tulamaye* (= Πτολεμαῖος).

pn becomes *pun* in *pāpunāta*(*ti*).

bdh becomes *dh* in *ladha*.

bhy becomes *bh* in *-ibhesu*, but *bhiy* in *alabhi*[*yaṁ*]*ti*, *alaṁbhiyisu*, *alābhi*[*y*]*isa*[*ṁ*]*ti*.

my remains in *s*[*a*]*myā-* or *shamyā-* (= Skt. *samyak*).

mr becomes *ṁb* in *Taṁbapaṁni*.

rg becomes *g* in *m*[*a*]*ge*[*s*]*u*, *vagenā*, *svagaṁ*.

rṇ becomes *ṁn* in *Taṁbapaṁni*.

rt becomes *t* in *kiti*, *anuvataṁti*, [*a*]*nuvat*[*a*]*tu*, *nivateti*; *ṭ* in *kaṭaviya*, *anuvaṭisa*[*ṁ*]*ti*, *ni*[*va**]*ṭeti*, *nivaṭey*[*ā*].

rth becomes *ṭh* in *aṭha*; *th* in *atha* and *nilathiyā*; see above, p. lxxi and n. 4.

rd becomes *d* in *madava* (= Skt. *mārdava*).

rdh becomes *dh* in *vadhite*, *vadhiyisati*; *ḍh* in *vaḍhite*, *vaḍhiyati*, [*pa*]*v*[*a*]*ḍhayisaṁt*[*i*], *diyaḍha*.

rbh becomes *bh* in *gabhāgālas*[*i*].

rm becomes *ṁm* or *m* in *kaṁma* (= Skt. *karman*), *dhaṁma* and *dhama*.

ry becomes *y* in *ayesu* (= Skt. *āryēshu*), but *liy* in *anaṁ*[*ta*]*l*[*i*]*ya* (= *ānantarya*), *madhuliya* (= *mādhurya*), [*shamacha*]*liya* (= **sama-charyā*).

rv becomes *v* in *sava*, *nivateti*, *niv*[*u*]*tiyā*, but *luv* in *puluva*.

rś becomes *s* in *dasana*, *dasayitu*, *Piyadasi* (also spelt *Piyadashi* and *Piyadaśi*).

rsh becomes *s* in *vasa* (also spelt [*va*]*sha* and *vaśa*).

rh becomes *lah* in *ga*[*la*]*hati*, *galahā*.

lp becomes *p* in *apa*, *kapaṁ*.

ly becomes *y* in *kayāna*.

vy remains in *divyāni* (IV, 10); but it is assimilated in *pasavati* (= Skt. *prasāvyatē*, IX, 27), and it becomes *viy* in *viyaṁjana*, *viyashanaṁ*, *viyāpaṭā*, *migaviyā*, and in the affix *-taviya*.

vr becomes *v* in *tive*, *pav*[*a*]*jitā*[*n*]*i*, *vacha* (VI, 18; XII, 34) = Skt. *vraja*.

śch becomes *chh* in [*pa*]*chhā*.

śy becomes *siy* in *paṭivesiyenā*.

shk becomes *k* in *dukaṭa*, *dukala*.

shkr becomes *kh* in *nikham*[*aṁ*]*tu*, *nikhamisu*, *nikhamithā*, *vinikhamane*.

shṭ becomes *ṭh* in *aṭha* (XIII, 35); *th* in *nikhamithā*.

shṭh becomes *ṭh* in *seṭhe*, *chiṭhit*[*u*]; *th* in *adhithā*[*nāye*].

shy becomes *s* (or *sh*) in *manusa* and *manusha*, *anap*[*a*]*yisaṁti* and other futures.

sk becomes *k* in *agi-kaṁdh*[*ā*]*ni*, while Girnār has *agi-kh*[*a*]*ṁdhāni* (with *kh*).

st becomes *th* in *athi*, *nathi*, [*ha*]*thini*, *saṁthuta*, *vithaṭenā*, *anusathi*.

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[1] Dhauli and Jaugaḍa read °*dāye*, Mānsehrā °*daye*, but Shāhbāzgaṛhī *pajupadane*, which might correspond to Skt. *prajōtpādane*. At Kālsī the locative of *utpādana* is excluded, because it would end in *-asi*. For *upadā* = Skt. **utpad* see Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 431 f.

str becomes *th* in *ithi* (= Skt. *strī*).

sth becomes *th* in *gahathāni*, *gih*[*i*]*thā*, *chi*[*la*]-*thitikyā* (V, 17), but *ṭh* in *chila-ṭhitikyā* (VI, 20).

sn becomes *shin* in *shinehe*.

sm becomes *s* in the locatives in -*asi*, but *ph* in [*ta*]*phā* (= Skt. *tasmāt*, XIII, 35).

sy becomes *siy* (*śiy* or *shiy*) in *siyā*, *śiyā*, *śiyāti*, *shiyāti* (= Skt. *syāt*), but *s* in *a*[*su*] (3. plur. optative of root *as*) and in the genitives in -*asa*.

sv remains in *svagaṁ* (VI, 20); but it is assimilated in *shayaka* (XIII, 16), which seems to be derived from Skt. *svayam*,[1] and it becomes *suv* in *suvāmika* (IX, 25).

hm becomes *ṁbh* in *baṁbhana*. The form *baṁhmana* (XIII, 39) is intermediate between **bahmana* (= Skt. *brāhmaṇa*) and **bamhana* (*bamhaṇa* at Girnār, IX, 5).

B.—DECLENSION

I. Bases in -*a*.

(1) Masculines and neuters in -*a*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. *jane*, &c.; neut. *dāne*, &c.	Masc. *putā*, &c.; neut. *phalāni*, &c.
Acc. masc. *dhaṁmaṁ*, &c.; neut. *dānaṁ*, &c.	Masc. *yutāni*, &c.; neut. *divyāni*, *lupāni*.
Instr. *dānena* or *dānenā*, &c.	[*sa*]*tehi*.
Dat. *aṭhāye*, &c.	*mahāmat*[*e*]*hi*.
Abl. *anubadh*[*ā*], [*pa*]*chhā*.	
Gen. *jana*[*sa*] (IV, 10) or *janasā*, &c.	*pānānaṁ*, &c.
Loc. *dhaṁmasi*, &c.	*vasesu*, &c.

Nom. sing. masc.—There are two forms in -*o* (*Sātiyaputo* and *Ke*[*lala*]*puto*, II, 4), two in *a* (*vadha*, XIII, 36, and *hidalokikya*, XIII, 17), and one in -*ā* (*Makā*, XIII, 7).

Nom. sing. neut.—In four instances the termination is -*aṁ* (*anaṁtaṁ*, IX, 26, 27, -*anusāsanaṁ* and *kaṁm*[*aṁ*], IV, 12). It is -*a* in *adisha* (XI, 29), and -*ā* in [*ā*]*disā* (IV, 10), *kaṁ*[*ma*]*talā* (VI, 20), *punā* (thrice = Skt. *puṇyam*).

Acc. sing. masc.—The Anusvāra is omitted in -*pāśaḍa* (four times, XII, 32), -*pāshaḍa* and -*pāshaṁḍa* (XII, 33), [*shayama*] (XIII, 4), *vijay*[*a*] and *vijayataviya* (XIII, 16). The termination -*aṁ* is replaced by -*ā* in *ata-pāśaḍā* (XII, 32), *baluk*[*ā*] and *dosā* (I, 2).

Acc. sing. neut.—The termination is -*a* in *madava* (XIII, 4); -*ā* in *maha-phalā* (XIII, 14), *khudā* and *nilathiyā* (IX, 24); -*e* in *dāne* (XII, 31) and *bāḍhatale* (XII, 33).

Nom. plur. masc.—The final *ā* is shortened in -[*nā*]*tikya* (XIII, 38), *pāśaṁḍa* (XIII, 37), -*pāshaṁḍa* (XII, 34), -[*pāsa*]*ṁḍa* (VII, 21), -*puluva* (V, 14), *pujetav*[*i*]*ya* (XII, 32).

Nom. plur. neut.—In *hālāpitā chā lopāpitā chā* (II, B and C), the termination is -*ā* instead of -*āni*. The Sanskrit masculine *vṛiksha* is used as neuter: [*lu*]*khāni* (II, 6).[2]

The remaining instances of the acc. plur. masc. in -*āni* are -*kaṁdh*[*ā*]*ni* (IV, 10), *Kaligyāni* (XIII, 36), -*pāshaṁ*[*ḍān*]*i*, *pav*[*a*]*jitā*[*n*]*i*, *gahathāni* (XII, 31).

Acc. plur. neut.—The termination is -*ā* in *vimana-dasan*[*ā*] (IV, 9).

Gen. plur.—The Anusvāra is omitted in -*pāśaḍāna* (XII, 31) and *m*[*a*]*nushān*[*a*] (XIII, 39). The termination is -*ā* in -[*ba*]*ṁbhanānā* (XI, 29).

(2) Feminines in -*ā*.

Singular.

Nom. *ichhā*, &c.
Acc. *pujā*, &c.
Instr. *puj*[*ā*]*ye*.
Gen. or loc. *saṁtil*[*a*]*nāye*.

Nom. sing.—In *hi*[*da*]*lokika* (XIII, 18) the final *ā* is shortened.

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[1] See Text, p. 49, n. 2.

[2] Cf. *ruchhani* at Mānsehrā, II, 8.

Acc. sing.—In [*-yātaṁ*] (VIII, 22) the nasal of the original termination *-ām* seems to be preserved, and the *ā* to be shortened before it.

Instr. sing.—In *vividh*[*aye*] (XII, 31) the penultimate *ā* seems to be shortened.

II. Bases in *-i*.

(1) Masculines and neuters in *-i*.

Nom. sing. neut. *asamati*.
Nom. plur. neut. *osadhīn*[*i*],[1] *tini*, *tiṁni*.
Gen. plur. *nāti*[*naṁ*], *nātinā*.
Loc. plur. *Nābhapaṁtishu*.

(2) Feminines in *-i* and *-ī*.

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	*lipi*, &c.	*jani*[*yo*].[2]
Acc.	*Saṁbodhi*, &c.	
Instr.	*bhatiyā*, *-anusathiye*.	
Dat.	*-anusathiyā*, *vaḍhiyā*.	
Abl.	*ni*[*v*]*utiyā*, *Taṁbapaṁniyā*.	
Gen.		*bh*[*agi*]*ni*[*nā*].
Loc.	*ayatiye*.	

III. Bases in *-u*.

The nom. sing. *sādhu* or *shādhu* is the same in all three genders.

Nom. and acc. sing. neut. *bahu*.
Nom. and acc. plur. neut. *bahuni*.
Instr. plur. *ba*[*h*]*u*[*hi*].
Gen. plur. *gulunā*.

IV. Masculines in *-ṛi*.

Nom. plur. *natāle* (= Skt. *naptāraḥ*).
Gen. plur. *bhā*[*tina*]*ṁ* (= *bhrātṛīṇām*).
Loc. plur. *pitisu* or *pitishu* (= *pitṛishu*).

The instr. sing. follows the *i*-declension: *pitinā*, *bhātinā*.

V. Bases in Consonants.

(1) Present participles in *-at*.

The nom. sing. masc. has a very curious form; it affixes the termination *-aṁ*, which is evidently derived from Skt. *-an*, to the strong form of the base: *saṁtaṁ* from root *as*, *kalaṁtaṁ* (*kala*[*ṁta*], *kalata*) from root *kṛi*.

(2) Bases in *-vat*.

Nom. sing. masc. *pajāva* (= Skt. *prajāvān*).
Instr. sing. *hetuvatā*.[3]

With the nom. sing. cf. Pāli *guṇavā* = Skt. *guṇavān*.

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[1] The Kālsī dialect has mixed up *osadhi* (= Skt. *ōshadhi*, fem.) with *osadha* (= Skt. *aushadha*, neut.).
[2] From Vēdic *jani*, 'a wife'.
[3] In Sanskrit the corresponding base is not *hētuvat*, but *hētumat*; cf. Pāṇini, VIII, 2, 9, and Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 601.

(3) Masculines and neuters in *-an*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. *lājā*, *lajā*, *lāja*.	*lā*[*j*]*āno*, *lajāne*.
Acc. neut. *nāma*, *nāmā*.	
Instr. *lājinā*, *lajinā*.	
Gen. *lājine*.	

The neuter base *karman* follows the *a*-declension: nom. sing. *k*[*aṁ*]*me* or *kaṁm*[*aṁ*], dat. *kaṁmāye*.

(4) Masculines in *-in*.

Nom. sing. *Pi*[*ya*]*dasī* (I, 2), *Piyadasi*, *Piyadashi*.
Instr. sing. *Piyadasinā*, *Piyadaśinā*.
Gen. sing. *Piyadasine*, *Piyadashine*, *Piyadasisā*.
Acc. plur. [*ha*]*thini* (= *hathīni* at Dhauli, IV, 2).

The gen. sing. *Piyadasisā* follows the analogy of the *a*-declension.

With the acc. plur. masc. [*ha*]*thini* (i. e. *hathīni*), cf. *yutāni*, &c., in the *a*-declension (above, p. lxxvi).

(5) Neuters in *-as*.

Acc. sing. *yaso* or *yasho*, *bh*[*u*]*ye*.

The base *va*[*cha*]- (XII, 31) corresponds to Skt. *vachas*.

(6) Other bases in consonants.

The feminine base *diś* (or *diśā*) forms the acc. sing. *dishā* (for *disāṁ*). The two feminine bases **utpad* and *parishad* also follow the *a*-declension: loc. sing. *pajopadāne*(*ye*) (see above, p. lxxv, n. 1), *palis*[*ā*]*ye*; nom. plur. *palisā*.

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. *hakaṁ*.	
Instr. *mamayā*, *me* (III, 7).	
Gen. [*mama*], *mamā*, *me*.	*ne* (V, 16).

The nom. sing. *hakaṁ* must be derived from *ahakam* (= *ahaaṁ* in Māhārāshṭrī); see Pāṇ. V, 3, 71, and Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 417.

The instr. sing. *mamayā* for Skt. *mayā* is due to the influence of the genitive *mama*. Cf. *mamae*, Hēmachandra, III, 109.

(2) Base *ta*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. *se*, [*ś*]*e*, *she*; neut. *ta*, *se*, [*sh*]*e*.	Masc. *te*.
Acc. masc. *taṁ*; neut. *se*, *she*.	
Instr. *tena*, *tenā*.	*tehi*.
Dat. *tā*[*ye*].	*te*[*hi*].
Abl. [*ta*]*phā*, *t*[*ā*].	
Gen. *taśa*, *tasha*, *tasā*, *tashā*.	*teshaṁ*, *tānaṁ*.
Loc. *taśi*.	

Nom sing. fem. *sā*, *shā*.

As noted by Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 592), the abl. sing. [*ta*]*phā* goes back to *tamhā* (= Skt. *tasmāt*); cf. *aphe* and *tuphe* (= Prākṛit *amhe* and *tumhe*) in the separate edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa. The abl. *t*[*ā*] is used as conjunction (V, 13); cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 425.

(3) Base *ēta.*

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. [*e*]*se* (VIII, 23),[1] [*e*]*she* (X, 28),[2] *esh*[*a*] (XIII, 38); neut. *ese, eshe.*	Neut. *e*[*t*]*āni.*
Instr. *etakenā.*	
Dat. *etāya* (XII, 34), *etāye, dha*(*e*)*ta*[*k*]*āye.*	
Gen. *etishā.*	

Nom. sing. fem. [*e*]*sh*[*a*] (XIII, 37).

With the gen. sing. *etishā* cf. *etisa* at Shāhbāzgaṛhī and Mānsehrā.

(4) Demonstrative *idam.*

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. *ayaṁ, iyaṁ*; neut. *iyaṁ.*	Masc. *ime.*
Acc. neut. *imaṁ.*	
Gen. *imas*[*ā*].	

Nom. sing. fem. *iyaṁ.*
Dat. sing. fem. *imāya.*

The nom. masc. *ayaṁ* is taken from V, 15, where *eyaṁ* perhaps stands for *e*+*ayaṁ* (= Skt. *yō-yam*). The form *iyaṁ* is used as masculine in V, 16; elsewhere as feminine and neuter.

(5) Interrogative pronoun.

The acc. plur. neut. [*kā*]*ni* is used as a demonstrative; see Text, p. 35, n. 12. The indefinite pronoun is formed with *chha* = Skt. *cha* (nom. sing. masc. *kechha*) or *chhi* = Skt. *chid* (nom. and acc. sing. neut. *kichhi*). As at Girnār, the compounds *kiṁti* (XII, 33) and *kiti* are used in the sense of 'that'.

(6) Relative pronoun.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. *ye, e*; neut. *ye, e, a, aṁ.*	Masc. *ye, e.*
Acc. neut. *yaṁ, aṁ, e* (XIII, 38).	
Instr. *yena.*	
Gen. *asā.*	*yeshaṁ.*
Loc.	*yeśu.*

(7) Base *anya.*

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. and neut. *aṁne.*	Masc. *aṁne, ane*; } neut. *aṁnāni.*
Acc.	
Dat. *aṁnāye.*	
Gen. *aṁnamanashā.*	

(8) Base *sarva.*

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. neut. *save, shave,* [*sha*]*va.*	Masc. [*sa*]*ve.*
Acc. masc. *savaṁ*; neut. *savaṁ, shava*[*ṁ*].	
Loc.	*s*[*a*]*ves*[*u*], *shaveshu.*

Nom. sing. fem. *shavā.*

(9)

Nom. sing. neut. *i*[*ta*]*le,* while classical Sanskrit has *itarat.*

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[1] Cf. above, p. lxiv, n. 2.

[2] Cf. id., n. 1.

(10) Base *ubhaya.*

Gen. plur. *ubhaye[sa]ṁ.*

(11) Base *ēkatara.*

Loc. sing. *ekatalash[i].*

(12) Base **ēkatya.*

Nom. plur. masc. *[e]katiyā.*

D.—NUMERALS

One.

Nom. sing. masc. *eke.*

Two.

Nom. masc. *duve.*

This form may be used for all genders in all Prākṛits; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 437.

Three.

Nom. neut. *tini, tiṁni.*

Cf. Prākṛit *tiṇṇi*; Pischel's *Grammatik*, §§ 91, 438.

Four.

The nom. neut. *chatāli* is used with a masculine substantive (XIII, 7). The same irregularity is frequent in Prākṛit; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 439.

Five, six.

Loc. *paṁchasu, shashu* (= Prākṛit *chhasu*).

Eight, ten, twelve, thirteen.

aṭha, das[a], duvāḍasa (with lingual *ḍ*),[1] *t[e]dasa.*

Hundred.

Acc. plur. *satāni*; instr. *[sa]tehi*; loc. *shateshu.*

The ordinal is *shata* (=Skt. *śatatama*); see XIII, 39.

Thousand.

The ordinal is *shah[a]sha* (= Skt. *sahasratama*); see XIII, 39.

Hundred thousand.

Nom. sing. *shat[a]-shaha[ś]e.*
Nom. plur. *[sa*]ta-sahasāni.*

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[1] The *ḍ* has been further changed to *r* in Prākṛit *bārasa* and *bāraha.*

E.—CONJUGATION

I. PRESENT.

(1) *Bases.*

First Sanskrit class.

Root *kram*: *palakamāmi*, *nikham[aṁ]tu*.

Root *garh*: *ga[la]hati*.

Root *ji*: the participle *vijinamane* and the absolutive *vijin[i]tu* (XIII, 36) show that this root first followed the ninth class (Prākṛit *jiṇādi*) and subsequently the *a*-conjugation (Prākṛit *jiṇadi*).[1]

Root *dṛiś*: *dakhati*.[2]

Root *bhū*: *hoti*, *huveyu* (sixth class).

Root *vas*: *vashati*, *vas[e]vu*.

Root *vṛit*: *anuvataṁti*.

Root *sthā*. The absolutive *chiṭhit[u]* (IV, 12) presupposes the Prākṛit present *chiṭṭhadi*.

Second Sanskrit class.

Root *ad* follows the *a*-conjugation: *adamāna*.

Root *as*: *athi*.

Root *i* or *yā*: *yaṁti*.

Root *yā*: *ye[haṁ]*; see below, p. lxxxii.

Root *han*: *up[a]haṁt[i]*.

Third Sanskrit class.

The gerundive *pajohitaviye* (I, 1) is derived from the present **johati*, in which the *ū* of **jūhati* (see above, p. lxvi) is strengthened by Guṇa.

Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root *pad*: *paṭipajeyā*.

Root *man*: *maṁnat[i]* and *manati*.

Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root *āp* follows the ninth class: *pāpunāta(ti)*.

Root *śru* follows the *a*-conjugation: *shune[y]u*.

Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root *ish*: *ichhati*.

Seventh Sanskrit class.

Root *yuj* follows the *a*-conjugation: *yujaṁtu*.

Eighth Sanskrit class.

Root *kṛi*. The 3. sing. *kaleti* follows the analogy of the tenth class, but the 3. plur. *ka[la]ṁti* the *a*-conjugation. Cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 509.

Root *kshaṇ* follows the *a*-conjugation: *chhanati*.

Tenth Sanskrit class.

(a) With *aya*: *dasayitu*, *[d]ipayema*, *ālādhayi(yaṁ)tu*, *a-lochayitu*, *alochayisu*, *[pa]v[a]ḍhayisaṁt[i]*. The character *aya* is changed to *iya* in *vaḍhiyati* (XII, 32) and *vadhiyisati* (IV, 11) and is contracted to *e* in *pujeti*, *pujetav[i]ya*, *lochetu*, *nivateti* and *ni[va*]ṭeti*, *[paṭi*]vedetu*.

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[1] See Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 473.

[2] See above, p. lxxiv, n. 5.

(b) With *āya*: *sukhāyāmi* (VI, 20).

(c) With *paya*: *hāpa[y]i[sat]i*, *[ānapayā]mi*, *anap[a]yisaṁti*, *ānapayite*, *lopita*.

(d) With *āpaya*: *lekhāpeśāmi*, *likhāpita* (without Guṇa of the radical vowel), *khānāpita*, *hālāpita*.

(e) With *pāpaya*: *lopāpita*.

(2) *Moods*.

The terminations of the middle are replaced by those of the active, with the exception of the 3. sing. aorist *nikhamithā* and the two participles present *adamāna* and *vijinamana*.

(a) Indicative.

1. sing. *palakamāni*, *[ānapayā]mi*.

3. sing. *[pa*]lakamati*, *ga[la]hati*, *dakhati*, *hoti*, *athi*, *up[a]haṁt[i]*, *maṁnat[i]* and *manati*, *ichhati*, *kaleti*, *chhanati*, *pujeti*, *nivateti* and *ni[va*]ṭeti*, *vaḍhiyati*.

3. plur. *anuvataṁti*, *vashati* (= Skt. *vasanti*), *yaṁti*, *ichhaṁti*, *ka[la]ṁti*. In *pāpunāta(ti)* the termination *-ti* (for *-nti*) is affixed to the strong base of the ninth class (*pāpunā-*); cf. the 3. sing. *pāpunāti* and the 2. plur. *pāpunātha* in the first separate edict at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa.

(b) Subjunctive.

1. sing. *sukhāyāmi* (with indicative termination).

3. sing. *sushāshātu* (desiderative, with imperative termination).

3. plur. *palakamātu* (with *-tu* for *-ntu*).

(c) Optative.

1. sing. *ye[haṁ]* (for **yeyaṁ*) from root *yā* (VI, 20). Cf. *[pa]ṭi[pāday]ehaṁ* (or *paṭipātayehaṁ*) and *ālabhehaṁ* in the separate edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa. Senart has noted similar forms in the *Mahāvastu* (vol. 1 of his edition of this work, p. 403): *tishṭhehaṁ*, *abhisaṁbudhyehaṁ*, *gachchhehaṁ*.

3. sing. *nivaṭey[ā]*, *paṭipajeyā*, *siyā*, *śiyā*, *śiyāti*, *shiyāti*. The two last forms (= Skt. *syāt*) have the termination of the indicative; cf. Text, p. 71, n. 14. With the contracted form *nivaṭey[ā]* (=Skt. *nirvartayēt*, IX, 26) Senart (*Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, 1. 215) compares Pāli *nibbatteyyaṁ* (for *nibbattayeyyaṁ*) in the commentary on the *Dhammapada*, p. 143 [l. 2]. Cf. also *choreyya* for *chorayeyya* in E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 110, *dāve* = Skt. *dapayēḥ* and *paḍigāhe* = Skt. *pratigrāhayēḥ* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 460.

1. plur. *[d]ipayema*.

3. plur. *a[su]* (cf. above, p. lxvii), *huveyu*,[1] *shune[y]u*, *shushusheyu* (desiderative). The *y* of the optative is replaced by *v* in *vas[e]vu* (VII, 21).

(d) Imperative.

3. sing. *hotu*, *[a]nuva[ta]tu*.

3. plur. *nikham[aṁ]tu*, *manatu*, *yujaṁtu*, *ālādhayi(yaṁ)tu*, *lochetu* (= Skt. *rōchayantu*), *[paṭi*]-vedetu*, *anuvi[dh]iya[ṁ]tu* (passive).

(e) Imperfect.

3. sing. *aho* (from root *bhū*).

II. AORIST.

3. sing. middle *nikhamithā* (from *nish-kram*, VIII, 22). In Pāli and Ardhamāgadhī the termination is *-ittha* and *-itthā*; see E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 115, and Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 517.

3. plur. active *nikhamisu*, *husu* (= *ahuṁsu* at Girnār). The two forms *manishu* (XIII, 16) and *alochayisu*[2] are used as subjunctives.

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[1] Hēmachandra (IV, 320, 323) quotes *huveyya* (= Skt. *bhavēt*) from the Paiśāchī dialect.

[2] See Text, p. 31, n. 7.

III. PERFECT.

3. sing. *āhā, ahā* (V, 13) = Skt. *āha*.

IV. FUTURE.

1. sing. *kachhāmi*,[1] *lekhāpeśāmi*.

3. sing. *kachhati, vadhiyisati, hāpa*[*y*]*i*[*sat*]*i*.

3. plur. *kachhaṁ*[*t*]*i, anuvaṭisa*[*ṁ*]*ti, anusāsisaṁti, anap*[*a*]*yisaṁti,* [*pa*]*v*[*a*]*ḍhayisaṁt*[*i*], and the two passives [*a*]*nuvidhiyisaṁa* (read °*saṁti*) and *alābhi*[*y*]*isa*[*ṁ*]*ti*.

V. PASSIVE.

The terminations are those of the active.

The 3. sing. indicative *pasavati* (= Skt. *prasāvyatē*) occurs three times and is misspelt twice (*pavasati*, IX, 26, and *paśavati*, XI, 30); cf. Text, p. 39, n. 3.

3. plur. indicative *anuvidhiyaṁa* (read °*yaṁti*, = Skt. *anuvidhīyantē*), *alabhi*[*yaṁ*]*ti*.

3. plur. imperative *anuvi*[*dh*]*iya*[*ṁ*]*tu*.

3. plur. aorist *alaṁbhiyisu*.[2]

3. plur. future [*a*]*nuvidhiyisaṁa* (read °*saṁti*), *alābhi*[*y*]*isa*[*ṁ*]*ti* (cf. the Sanskrit aorist passive *alābhi*).

VI. DESIDERATIVE.

3. sing. subjunctive *susushātu*.

3. plur. optative *shushusheyu*.

VII. PARTICIPLES.

(1) Present participle.

Active.

Root *as*: *saṁtaṁ*.
Root *kṛi*: *kalaṁtaṁ* (*kala*[*ṁta*], *kalata*).

Middle.

Root *jñ*: *vijinamana*; see above, p. lxxxi.
Root *ad*: *adamāna*.

(2) Past passive participle.

(a) In *-ta*: *mata* and *muta* (= Skt. *mata*), *maṭa* (= *mṛita*), *kaṭa* (= *kṛita*), *viyāpaṭa* (= *vyāpṛita*), *vithaṭa* (= *vistṛita*), [*u*]*shaṭa* and *ushuṭa* (= *utsṛita*), *nisita* (= **niśrita*), *likhita*, *lekhita*, *likhāpita*, *khānāpita*, *hālāpita*, *lopita*, *lopāpita*, *ānapayita*,[3] *huta* (= *bhūta*), *atikaṁta* (= *atikrānta*), *su*(*saṁ*)*khita* (= *saṁkshipta*), *vuḍha* (= *vṛiddha*), *apavuḍha* (= *apōḍha*), *ladha* (= *labdha*), *āladha* (= **ārāddha*), &c.

(b) In *-na*: *p*[*a*]*sh*[*aṁ*]*na*, *vipahina* (i.e. °*hīna*).

(3) Future passive participle.

(a) In *-tavya*: *kaṭaviya, vataviya, pajohitaviya* (see above, p. lxxxi), *vijayataviya* (for Skt. *vijētavya* under the influence of the substantive *vijaya*), *pujetav*[*i*]*ya*, *paṭi*[*vedeta**]*viya*.

(b) In *-anīya*: *vedaniya*.

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[1] Johansson (*Shāhb.*, § 76, b) explains this form as a future derived from **kajjati* (= **karyati*), and compares the Ardhamāgadhī passive *kajjaï*.

[2] The introduction of the nasal is perhaps due to the influence of the Skt. aorist passive *alambhi* or of the substantive *ālaṁbha* (III, 8, &c.).

[3] This barbarous equivalent of Skt. *ājñapta* and *ājñāpita* retains the causative character *aya* of the present *ānapayati*.

VIII. Absolutive.

(a) In *-tu* (= Skt. *-tvā*): *ālabhitu*, *palitiditu* (from root *tyaj* with Saṁprasāraṇa of *ya* and dentalization of *j*), *chiṭhit[u]* (from the Prākṛit present *chiṭṭhadi*), *vijin[i]tu* (from the present **vi-jinati*; see above, p. lxxxi), *sutu* (from root *śru*), *dasayitu*, *a-lochayitu* (= *a-rōchayitvā*).

(b) In *-ya*: *shaṁkheye* (read *saṁkhāya*) from *saṁ-khyā*.

F.—SUFFIXES

The pleonastic affix *-ka* (or *-kya*) occurs in *hakaṁ* (= Skt. *aham*), *etaka*, *ava[ṭa]ka* (from Skt. *yāvat*), *tāvataka*, *nātika* or *nātikya* (= Skt. *jñāti*), *panātikya* (= *praṇaptṛi*), *suvāmika* (= *svāmin*). The adjective *shayaka* seems to be formed from Skt. *svayam*; see Text, p. 49, note 2.

With the affix *-ālaka* or *-ālaya* is formed *mahālaka*, 'wide' (XIV, 20), 'aged' (V, 16), = Prākṛit *mahālaya* (Pischel's *Grammatik*, p. 402). As suggested in the Text (p. 33, n. 3), *supadālaya* (V, 14) seems to contain the same affix and to signify 'stepping fast'.

The affixes *-tara* and *-tama* are added to substantives in *kaṁ[ma]talā* (i. e. *karmataram*, VI, 20) and *gajatame*, 'the best elephant' (Text, p. 50).

CHAPTER VIII.

GRAMMAR OF THE SHAHBAZGARHI ROCK-EDICTS, WITH NOTES ON THE MANSEHRA VERSION

The Shāhbāzgaṛhī version has received the advantage of a detailed treatment by an accomplished linguist, Professor Johansson:—*Der Dialekt der sogenannten Shāhbāzgarhi-Redaktion der vierzehn Edikte des Königs Açōka.* (*Tiré des Actes du 8e Congrès International des Orientalistes, tenu en 1889 à Stockholm et à Christiania*). [Part 1,] Leide, 1892. Part 2, Upsala, 1894. In the following pages the results of his investigations are utilized for my own inventory of the language of the text, which I had been able to improve by repeated examination of the fresh impressions.

A.—PHONETICS

I. Vowels.

The vowel *a* becomes *u* after a labial in *mut[a]* (= Skt. *mata*, XIII, 8) and *uchavucha*. In *meñati* (= *manyatē*, XIII, 11) the change of *a* into *ĕ* is perhaps caused by the palatal *ñ*.[1]

If the reading *etra* (VI, 15) is correct (the other versions have here *iyaṁ*, *eshe*, &c.), it would correspond to *eta* (Girnār) and *heta* (Kālsī) = **itra*; see above, pp. lvi and lxx. As at Kālsī, the vowel *e* corresponds to Skt. *ī* in *ediśa* (= *īdṛiśa*).

As in Pāli, Skt. *u* is represented by *a* in *pana* (VI, 14, 15) = *puna* (six times, for Skt. *punaḥ*), and in *garuna* (IX, 19) = *guruna* (XIII, 4, for Skt. *gurūṇām*). Michelson suggests that the form *pana* may be due to vowel-assimilation; see IF, 23. 258, n. 1. In *kho* (= Skt. *khalu*) Skt. *u* is represented by *o*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

The vowel *ṛi* is replaced by (1) *a*, (2) *i*, (3) *u*, (4) *ra*, (5) *ri*, (6) *ir*, (7) *ru*, causing at the same time the lingualization of a following dental. See (1) *usaṭena*, *dukaṭaṁ*, *bhaṭa*, *bhaṭaka*, *vaḍhi* (= Skt. *vṛiddhi*), *vapaṭa* and *viyapaṭa* (= *vyāpṛita*), *anaṇiyaṁ*, [*da*]*khati*; (2) *kiṭa*, *s[u]kiṭa[ṁ]*, *ediśa*, *tadiśa*, *yadiśa*, *pranatika*; (3) bases in *-ṛi*: *pitushu*, *bhratuna*, *spasa(su)na* (= *svasṛīṇāṁ*),

[1] With *meñati* Johansson (p. 19) and Wackernagel (*Altind. Grammatik*, vol. 1, p. xx) compare Gothic *ga-mainjan* and German *meinen* (English *to mean*).

and for *ṛi* after a labial: *agrabhuṭi*, *viyapuṭa* (= *vyāpṛita*), *muṭa*, *vutaṁ* and *vuṭaṁ* (= *vṛittaṁ*), *nivuṭa* (= *nirvṛitta*), *nivuṭi* (= *nirvṛitti*), *vuḍha* (= *vṛiddha*); (4) *grahatha* (= *gṛihastha*); (5) [*kr*]*i*[*ṭa*] (II, 4), *driḍha*, *vistriṭena*; (6) *kiṭra* (i. e. *kirṭa*, = Skt. *kṛita*);[1] (7) for *ṛi* after a labial: *pa*[*ri*]*p*[*ru*]*chha*, *mrugo*, *mrugaya* (= *mṛigayā*). In *śruṇeyu* (XII, 7) the *ru* is due to the influence of *śruta*, *śrutu*, &c.

In a few cases the vowel *e*, both if it is inherited from Sanskrit and if it is due to dialectical changes (cf. Johannson, § 23), appears to have become *i*; see *duv*[*i*] = *du*[*v*]*e* at Mānsehrā for Skt. *dvē* (II, 4) and *dvau* (I, 3), *ayi* for **aye* = Skt. *ayam*, *aṁñi* (VIII, 17) for *aṁñe* = Skt. *anyaḥ*, *Aṁtikini* (nom. sing., XIII, 9), *rajani* (nom. plur., XIII, 9).

The two diphthongs *ai* and *au* have become *e* and *o*, respectively; see *niche* (perhaps = Skt. *nīchaiḥ*, VII, 5), [*o*]*sha*[*ḍha*]*ni* (II, 5), *papotra* (XIII, 11), *paralokika*, *-opaka* and *-opaya*.

The Kharōshṭhī alphabet does not mark the length of the three vowels *a*, *i*, *u*, and we must always keep in mind that every *a*, *i*, *u* of the text may be meant for *a* or *ā*, *i* or *ī*, *u* or *ū*, respectively.

Initial *a* is dropped in *pi* (= Skt. *api*); *i* in *ti* (= *iti*) and *kiti* (= **kid*+*iti*); *e* generally in *va*, while *eva* is preserved three times through Sandhi. Besides *va*, the text often uses the two forms *vo* (= Vēdic *ēvō*, i. e. *ēva*+*u*)[2] and *yo*, which Johansson (§ 36) derives from Prākṛit *yeva* (= Skt. *ēva*).[3]

II. Simple Consonants.

The guttural *k* has become *y* in *niraṭhiya* (= *nilathiya* at Kālsī) and *-opaya* (VIII, 17) = *-opaka* (II, 5), instead of which the remaining versions of the rock-edicts (besides Mānsehrā) have *-opaga*. It seems to be dropped altogether in *diaḍha* = **dvikārdha*. Greek χ is expressed by *k* in *Aṁtiyoka*, and γ by the same in *Aṁtikini* and *Maka*. Skt. *gh* has become *h* in *lahu* and *lahuka*.

The palatal *j* has become *y* in *Kaṁboya*, [*p*]*rayuhotave*, *samaya* (= Skt. *samāja*, I, 1, 2), *raya* (= *rājā*), and is represented by *ch* in *vrachaspi*, *vracha-bhumika* (also at Mānsehrā), and in *vrachaṁti*, *v*[*r*]*acheyaṁ*; cf. Prākṛit *vachchaï* (for **vrajyati*?) = Skt. *vrajati*.

Skt. *ṇ* is generally preserved, except in *kshamanaye*, *garana*, *aviprahino*, *pranatika*, *Pitinika* (= *P*[*e*]*teṇika* at Girnār). In terminations, however, dental *n* is never lingualized after *ṛi*, *r*, or *sh*; see *akarena*, *agrena*, *anaṁtariyena*, *khudrakena*, *Devanaṁpriyena*, *parakramena*, *putrena*, *vagrena*, *abhiramani*, *rupani*, *sahasani*, *Gaṁdharanaṁ*, *manuśanaṁ*, *mahamatranaṁ*, *Raṭhikanaṁ*, *guruna*, *garuna*, *pituna*, *bhratuna*, *spasa*(*su*)*na*. On the other hand lingual *ṇ* is newly developed after *r* in *prapuṇati* (from Skt. *prāpnōti*), *saṁtiraṇa* (from *tīrayati*), and wrongly in *Devaṇapriy*[*e*] (I, 1).

Dentals are lingualized after an original *ṛi* (see above, p. lxxxiv), after *ra* in the preposition *paṭi* (eight times) or *praṭi* (twice) for *prati* (five times), and after *sha* in [*o*]*sha*[*ḍha*]*ni* (II, 5), *prashaṁḍa* and *prashaḍa* (for **pārshaṁḍa* and **pārshaḍa* = Skt. *pārshada*). Between vowels *t* is replaced by *d* in *hapeśadi* (= *hapeśati* at Mānsehrā) and, as at Kālsī, in *hida-sukhaye* (V, 12).[4] Here we have the beginning of the process which, later on, every intervocalic *t* underwent in the Śaurasēnī dialect. For *hida* (five times) = *idha* at Girnār, see above, p. lxxii.

As in literary Prākṛit, the labial *p* becomes *v* between vowels in *avatrapeyu* (XIII, 8). Initial *b* is replaced by *p* in *paḍhaṁ* (VII, 5) for *badhaṁ* (XIII, 3). The aspirate *bh* has turned to *h* in *hoti* (only VIII, section E, for the usual *bhoti*), *aho*, and in the termination *-hi* (= Skt. *-bhiḥ*) of *bahuhi* and *śatehi*.

As at Kālsī, *y* becomes *j* in *majura* (= Skt. *mayūra*, I, 3), and *v* in *vishava* (XIII, 9). It is dropped at the beginning of *ava* (five times) for *yava* (IX, 19) = Skt. *yāvat* and of [*e*] (XIII, 5) for *ye* = Skt. *yat*, and between two vowels in *Priadraśi* (thrice), *Devanapriasa* (four times) or

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[1] The spelling *kiṭra* suggests that (5) [*kr*]*i*[*ṭa*] is also meant for *kirṭa*. Cf. Johansson, § 27; Michelson, AJP, 31. 57; and below, p. lxxxvii.

[2] See Bühler, ZDMG, 43. 136, according to a suggestion of the late Professor Kirste.

[3] Michelson (JAOS, 30. 86, n. 4) identifies *yo* with the nom. sing. masc. of the relative pronoun.

[4] At Mānsehrā (VIII, 35) *t* is softened also before *r* in *yada* (for **yadra* = Skt. *yātrā*); and *tenada* (= *tēnātra*) in both versions presupposes an intermediate form **tenadra*. Cf. *adra*, *pudra*, *midra* in the Wardak vase-inscription; EI, 11. 208, n. 3.

°*piasa* (I, 2), *ekatia* (I, 2), *vijetav*[*i*]*a* (XIII, 11). The syllable *ya* becomes *i* in *paritijitu* (= *palitiditu* at Kālsī). The causative affixes *aya* and *ayi* either remain unchanged (in *aṇapayami*, *draśayitu*, &c.) or are contracted (in *aṇapemi*, *aṇapeśaṁti*, &c.). The same contraction takes place in *anuneti* (XIII, 7). The *e* of the 3. sing. optative *nivaṭeyati* (= Skt. *nirvartayēt*) corresponds to an original *aye*, and the *o* of the numeral *todaśa* (= Skt. *trayōdaśa*) to an original *ayo*.[1]

The change of *r* into *l* in *palig*[*o*]*dha* (V, 12), *palibodha* (V, 13), *sala* (= Skt. *sāra*, XII, 2, 8), *lo*[*ch*]*e*[*sh*]*u* and *a-locheti*[2] is a Māgadhism, while, as at Girnār, *r* corresponds to *l* in **arabhati*, 'to kill', = Skt. *ālabhatē* (see below, p. xciv), and in *Turamaye* = Πτολεμαῖος (XIII, 9). As stated above (p. lvii), this wrong translation of the foreign name *Tulamaye* (Kālsī) proves that the Shāhbāzgaṛhī version is based on a Māgadha original. In *Keraḍaputro* (II, 4) the *ḍ* corresponds to the lingual *ḷ* of Tamiḻ *Kēraḷa*; the other versions of the rock-edicts have *l* instead of *ḷ*.

The semivowel *v* is developed out of *u* and *ū* in *vuchati* (= Skt. *uchyatē*), *vuta* (= *upta*, II, 5), and *apavuḍha* (= *apōḍha*). As at Kālsī, the syllable *vā* becomes *u* in the absolutives in *-tu* (= Skt. *-tvā*). Contraction of *ava* into *o* takes place in *orodhana*, *bhoti*, *hoti*, *bhotu*, *aho*.

Like the Kālsī version, the Shāhbāzgaṛhī one distinguishes the three sibilants *ś*, *sh*, *s*, but with one important difference. While at Kālsī these three symbols are used indiscriminately (see above, p. lxxii), the Shāhbāzgaṛhī text generally employs each of them where it would have been in its proper place in Sanskrit.[3] Thus we find *ś* in *anuśasti*, *aśamana*, *ediśa*, *tadiśa*, *yadiśa*, *daśa*, *deśa*, *draśana*, *draśayitu*, *Priyadraśi*, *paśu*, *pradeśi*[*ka*], *yaśo*, *śaka* (= Skt. *śakya*), *śata*, *śila* (i. e. *śīla*), [*śilana*] (i. e. *śīlana*), *śudhi* (i. e. *śuddhi*), *saśayike*, *prativeśiya*, *niśita* (= Skt. **niśrita*), *śramaṇa*, *śravaka*, *śruta*, *śrutu*, *śruṇeyu*; and *sh* in *eshe*, *esha*, [*o*]*sha*[*dha*]*ni*, *ghosha*, *tosho*, *dosha*, *parisha*, *prashaṁda*, *vishava* (= *vishaya*), *pitushu*, in the loc. plur. in *-eshu*, in the gen. plur. *tesha*[*ṁ*] and *yesha*, in the 3. plur. aorist *nikramishu*, *mañishu*, *lo*[*ch*]*e*[*sh*]*u*, in *vasha* (= *varsha*) and *kashati* (= **karshyati*). Exceptions are not frequent: *s* for *ś* in *anusochana*, [*s*]*reṭha* (= *śrēshṭha*); *s* for *sh* in *abhisita* (= *abhishikta*), *yesu*, *u*[*bha*]*y*[*e*]*sa*, [*arabhi*]*yis*[*u*]; *sh* for *s* in *paṁchashu* and *shashu*. In *manuśa* (= *manushya*) and in the futures in *-iśati* and *-eśati* the *ś* is a defective spelling for *śś*, in which the original *sh* had been palatalized through the influence of the following *y*. In *suśrusha*, *suśrushatu*, *suśrusheyu* the first *s* (for *ś*) is probably due to dissimilation, and in *an*[*u*]*śaśana*, *anuśaśiśaṁti* the second *ś* (for *s*) is due to assimilation.[4]

Cases of Cockneyism are *haṁche* (see above, p. lxxii), *hahati* (twice) for *ahati* (thrice) = Skt. *āha*, *hida* (see above, p. lxxii), *hidalokika*. Conversely, *h* is dropped at the beginning of [*a*]*stina* = Skt. *hastinaḥ*, and between two vowels in *maa* = Prākṛit *maha* (gen. sing. of the pronoun of the first person), *ia* (= Skt. *iha*) and *ialoka*.

As at Girnār and Kālsī, all final consonants are dropped. In some cases this applies also to the *s* of final *as*; see *jana*, &c. (below, p. xc), [*sa*] (XIII, 10), *ekatia* (I, 2), [*a*]*stina* (= Skt. *hastinaḥ*, IV, 8), *vacha-* (XII, 2). But generally final *as* becomes *o*, and frequently, as in the Māgadha dialect, *e*; see *bhuy*[*e*], *chature*, and the nom. sing. masc. *eshe*, *y*[*e*] (V, 13), *añe* (XII, 9), *jane*, &c. (below, p. xc). In *aṁñi* (VIII, 17), *Aṁtikini* (XIII, 9), *rajani* (XIII, 9) = *rajano* (II, 4), *-i* has taken the place of *-e*.

The Anusvāra of words ending in nasal vowels is omitted in many instances. The reason of this deficiency need not be the carelessness of the writer, but may have been as well the faint articulation of the nasal sound. Examples of the omission are *prajava* (= Skt. *prajāvān*), *ida* (IX, 20) = *idaṁ* (XIII, 3), *ima* (IX, 19) = *imaṁ* (passim), *aya* (twice) = *ayaṁ* (V, 13), [*i*]*dani* (= Skt. *idānīṁ*),[5] *eva* (twice) = *evaṁ* (passim), the acc. sing. masc. *aṭh*[*r*]*a*, *dosha*, *ba*[*hu*]*ka*, the nom. and acc. sing. neut. *dana*, &c. (below, p. xc), the acc. sing. fem. *puja*, &c., and *Sabodhi*, &c., the gen. plur. *ñatina*, *Nabhitina*, *guruna*, *garuna*, *bhratuna*, *spasa*(*su*)*na*, *tesha*, *yesha*, *u*[*bha*]*y*[*e*]*sa*, *abhiratana*, &c. (below, p. xc).

As in the Māgadha dialect, the nom. sing. neut. frequently ends in *-e* instead of *-aṁ*; see *eshe* (X, section E), *ye* (VI, section F; IX, F and I; XIII, 1), *savre* (XII, 5; XIV, 13), [*saha*]*sre*

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[1] Mānsehrā has *treḍaśa*, Dhauli and Kālsī *tedasa*, for **trayadaśa*.

[2] But not in *rochetu*; see Text, p. 8, n. 3.

[3] I differ here from Johansson, §§ 14, 48, and side with Michelson, AJP, 30. 289.

[4] Cf. Skt. *śaśa* instead of **śasa*, which is presupposed by German *Hase* (English *hare*).

[5] Cf. Hēmachandra, I, 29.

(XIII, 1), *dane*, &c. (below, p. xc). This barbarism is due to the analogy of the nom. sing. masculine.[1] The termination *-e* is found even in the acc. sing. masc. (*sayame*, VII, 2) and in the particle [*e*] (= Skt. *yat*, XIII, 5). While in the nom. sing. masc. we often have *-e* for *-o* (see above, p. lxxxvi), the *-e* of the nom. sing. neut. is replaced by *-o* in *kaṭavo* and three other gerundives (see below, p. xc), and the nom. sing. neut. of the pronoun *idam* has once the form *iyo* (XII, 2) for *iyaṁ* (VIII, section E). The nom. sing. masc. *so* is used for the nom. sing. neut. (XIII, 2) and for the acc. sing. neut. (passim), and the relative *yo* (X, 21) for the acc. sing. neut. *yat*. Instead of *anudivasaṁ* at Girnār we find *anudivaso* (I, 2), and at XII, 6, the acc. sing. of the masculine *dhrama* is *dhramo*. Finally it must be noted that *ayi* occurs repeatedly instead of *ayaṁ* and *aya* (= Skt. *ayam* and *iyam*).

III. Sandhi.

Final *m* is preserved before the particle *eva* in [*e*]*vam-eva* and *paratri*[*ka*]*m-eva*, and hiatus is prevented by *m* in *añam-añasa* and *bhaṭam-ayeshu*.

As the length of *ā* is not marked in the Kharōshṭhī alphabet, the result of *a*+*a* always appears in writing as short *a*; see *kiṭabhikaro*, *grabhagara*, *tenada* (= Skt. *tēnātra*), *nasti*, *praṇaraṁbho*, *mahaṭhavaha*, *-vashabhisita*, *supaṭhay*[*e*], *dhramanuśasti*, &c. The hiatus remains in [*aṭha*]*vasha-a*[*bhis*]*ita*[*sa*] (XIII, 1).

a is elided before *i* in *bramaṇ-ibheshu*; before *u* in *chu* (= *cha*+*u*) and *paj-upadane*; before *e* in *ch-eva*; before *o* in *manuś-opakani* and *tat-opayaṁ* (see above, p. lxxii); and *u* before *o* in *paś-opakani*.

i+*a* are contracted into *i* in *i*[*stridhi*]*yaksha* (= Skt. *stry-adhyaksha*).

IV. Groups of Consonants.

As at Girnār (above, p. lix), there is some inconsistency in marking the letter *r* if it is combined with other consonants. 'The order of the symbols does not conform to the actual pronunciation, but to the convenience of the combinations':[2]

(1) *r* is combined with the preceding *akshara*

(a) in *rbh*: *grabhagara* (= *garbhāgāra*).

(b) in *rm*: *dhrama* (i. e. *dharma*) and *dhraṁma* (i. e. *dharmma*), *krama* (= Skt. *karman*) and *kraṁma* (i. e. *karmma*).

(c) in *rv*: *pruva* (= Skt. *pūrva*).

(d) in *rś*: *draśana* (i. e. *darśana*), *draśayitu* (= Skt. *darśayitvā*), *Priyadraśi*.

(e) in *rsh*: *prashaṁḍa* and *prashaḍa* (from Skt. *pārshada*).

(2) *r* is attached to the next following consonant

(a) in *rg*: *vagra* (i. e. *varga*), *spagra* (= Skt. *svarga*).

(b) in *rṭ*: *kiṭra* (i. e. *kirṭa*, = Skt. *kṛita*), *kiṭri* (= Skt. *kīrti*).

(c) in *rth* and *rṭh*: *athra* and *aṭhra* (= Skt. *artha*).

(d) in *rv*: *savra* (i. e. *sarva*) and *savratra* (i. e. *sarvatra*).

It must be remembered that, wherever the above-mentioned words occur in the text, the transcript shows the imperfect spelling of the inscription, but not the actual pronunciation.

As at the end of words, the Anusvāra is often omitted before consonants; see *atara* and *aṁtara*, *atikrata* (= Skt. *atikrānta*), *Atiyoka* and *Aṁtiyoka*, *anata* and *anaṁta*, *Alikasudaro* (= Ἀλέξανδρος), *karataṁ* and *karaṁtaṁ*, *Kaliga*, *Devanapriya* and *Devanaṁpriya*, *prashaḍa* and *prashaṁḍa*,[3] *badhana* and *saṁba*[*ṁ*]*dha*, *magala* and *maṁgala*, *vihisa* (= Skt. *vihiṁsā*), *sataṁ* and *sa*[*ṁ*]*taṁ*, *Sabodhi*, *sayama* and *sa*[*ṁ*]*yama*, *s*[*a*]*yuta* (= *saṁyukta*), *saśayika* (= *sāṁśayika*),

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[1] Cf. above, pp. lxii, lxxiii, and Johansson, part 2, p. 47.

[2] Bühler, ZDMG, 43. 133. Cf. Johansson, § 17, and Michelson, AJP, 30. 289, n. 2.

[3] See above, p. lxxiv, n. 4.

sastuta and *saṁstuta*, and the 3. plur. *karo[ti]* (IX, section C), *prapuṇati* (XIII, 6), *bhoti* (XIII, 7), *vasati* (XIII, 4), *nik[r]amatu*, *maña[tu]*, *aradhetu*, *paṭivedetu*, *rochetu*.

Some groups of consonants are avoided by the development of an auxiliary vowel, which is *a* in *garahati*; *u* before or after a labial in *duv[i]*, *prapuṇati*; and frequently *i*, as the subjoined list of Sanskrit groups and of their equivalents at Shāhbāzgaṛhī will show. Michelson has proved that some of these correspondences are in reality Māgadhisms and alien to the Shāhbāzgaṛhī dialect; see his articles in AJP, vols. 30 and 31, and JAOS, vol. 30.

kt becomes *t* in *abhisita*, &c.

ky becomes *k in śako* (= Skt. *śakyam*).

kr remains in *atikrataṁ*, &c.

ksh remains[1] in *akshati*, *[adhi]yaksha*, *[kshaṁ]ti*, *kshaṇati*, *kshamanaye*, *kshamitaviya*, *mo[kshaye]*, *saṁkshitena*, but becomes *kh* in *khudrakena* and *[da]khati*.[2]

kshy becomes *ksh* in *vrakshaṁti*.

khy becomes *kh* in *mukha* (= Skt. *mukhya*, XIII, 8), *saṁkhay[a]* (= *saṁkhyāya*).

khl becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

gr remains in *agra*, *[a]pag[r]atho* (XIII, 5), but the *g* seems to be aspirated in *apaghratho* (XIII, 6).

chy becomes *ch* in *vuchati* (= Skt. *uchyatē*).

jñ becomes *ñ* in *kiṭrañata* (= Skt. *kṛitajñatā*), *ñati*, *ñatika*, *ñanaṁ*, *raña*, *raño*; *ṇ*, as in literary Prākṛit, in *aṇapayami* and *aṇapemi*, *aṇapeśaṁti*, *aṇapita*.

jy becomes *j* in *joti-* (= Skt. *jyōtis*, IV, 8).

ñj becomes *ṁñ* in *vaṁñanato* (= Skt. *vyañjanataḥ*).

ḍy becomes *ḍ*, as at Girnār, in *Paṁḍa* (XIII, 9), but *ḍiy*, as at Kālsī, in *Paṁḍiya* (II, 4).

ṇy becomes *ñ* in *puña*, *hiraña*, but *ṇiy* in *anaṇiya* (= Skt. *ānṛiṇya*).

tp becomes *p* in *pajupadane*.[3]

tm becomes *t* in *ata-* (= Skt. *ātman*).

ty becomes *ti* in *ekatia*, but *ch* in *achayika*, *apacha*, *chati*.

tr remains in *trayo*, *atra*, *putra*, *savatra*, &c., but becomes *t* in *savata* (V, section N) and *todaśa* (= Skt. *trayōdaśa*, V, 11), and *d* in *tenada* (= Skt. *tēnātra*, VIII, 17).[4]

tv remains in *tadatvaye*, but becomes *t* in the absolutives in *-ti* (= Vēdic *-tvī*).

ts becomes *s* in *usaṭena*, *chikisa*.

tsth becomes *ṭh* in *uṭhanas[i]* (VI, 15), but *th* in *uthanaṁ* (ibid.).[5]

dy becomes *j* in *aja*, *paṭipajeyati*; *y* in *uyana* (= Skt. *udyāna*).

dr remains in *khudrakena*.

dv becomes *duv* in *duv[i]*, but *b* in *badaya(śa)* (cf. *dbādasa* at Girnār), and *d* in *diaḍha*.

As at Kālsī, *dhy* becomes *jh* in *nijha[t]i* and *anunija(jha)peti* (= *[a]nu[nijha]paya[ti]* at Mānsehrā), but *dhiy* in *[adhi]yaksha*.

dhr remains in *dhruva* and *Aṁdhra*.

nm becomes *m* in *yamatra* (= Skt. *yanmātra*).

ny becomes *ṁñ* or *ñ* in *aṁña* and *aña*, *mañati* and *meñati*, *mañishu*, *haṁñaṁt[i]*, *[ha]ṁñeyasu*.

pt becomes *t* in *guti*, *nijha[t]i*, *vuta* (= Skt. *upta*, II, 5), *asamataṁ*, *saṁkshitena*, *nataro* (= *naptāraḥ*), *pranatika*, *Turamaye* (= Πτολεμαῖος).

pn becomes *pun* in *prapuṇati*.

pr remains in *Priyadraśi*, *Devanaṁpriya*, *priti* (i. e. *prīti*), *prakara[ṇ]e* (XII, 3), *p[r]aja* and *prajava* (V, 13), *praṇa* (i. e. *prāṇa*), *pradeśi[ka]*, *pranatika*, *prapuṇati*, *prabhave*, *[p]rayuhotave*, *pra[va]dh[e]śaṁti*, *pravase*, *pravrajita*, *prasado*, *prasana*, *prasavati*, *avipraḥino*, *pratipa[ti]* (XIII, 5), *pratibhagaṁ*, *pratibh[o]gaye*, *prativeśiyena*, *p[r]aṭividhane* (VIII, 17), *praṭivedetavo* (VI, 14), but becomes *p* in *Devanapiasa* (I, 2), *[a]pakaraṇasi* (XII, 3), *pajupadane* (IX, 18), *papotra*, *paṭipajeyati*,

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[1] For the sign which I have transcribed by *ksh*, see Text, p. 55, note 5.

[2] See above, p. lxxiv, n. 5.

[3] See above, p. lxxv, n. 1.

[4] Mānsehrā has *yada* (for **yadra* = Skt. *yātrā*) in the same section.

[5] Mānsehrā has *uṭhana* in both cases.

paṭipati (twice), *saṁpaṭipati* (twice), *paṭividhana* (V, 13), *paṭivedaka*, *paṭivedana*, *paṭivedetu*, *paṭivedetavo* (VI, 15).

bdh becomes *dh* in *ladha*.

br remains in *bramaṇa* (= Skt. *brāhmaṇa*).

bhy becomes *bh* in *-ibheshu*, *arabhiśaṁti* (future passive), but *bhiy* in [*arabhi*] *yis*[*u*] (aorist passive).

bhr remains in *bhratuna*.

my becomes *mm* (also spelt *ṁmm*) in *samma-* and *saṁmma-*.

mr becomes *ṁb* in *Taṁbapaṁṇi*.

rg remains in *vagra* (i.e. *varga*; see above, p. lxxxvii) and *spagra* (i.e. *sparga* = Skt. *svarga*).

rṇ becomes *ṁṇ* in *Taṁbapaṁṇi*.

rt becomes *t* in *anuvatatu*, but *rṭ* in *kiṭri* (i.e. *kirṭi* = Skt. *kīrti*), and *ṭ* in *kaṭava*, *anuvaṭaṁti*, *an*[*u*]*vatiśaṁti*, *nivaṭeti*, *nivaṭeyati*.

rth remains in *athra* (i.e. *artha*, IV, 10), but becomes *rṭh* in *aṭhra* (i.e. *arṭha*, VI, 14; IX, 19), and *ṭh* in *aṭha* (passim), *niraṭhiyaṁ*.

rdh becomes *ḍh* in *vaḍhiśati*, *vaḍheti*, *pra*[*va*]*ḍh*[*e*]*śaṁti*, *vaḍhita*, *diaḍha*.

rbh remains in *grabhagara* (i.e. *garbhāgāra*).

rm remains in *krama* (i.e. *karma*) and *kraṁma* (i.e. *karmma*, III, 6), *dhrama* (i.e. *dharma*) and *dhraṁma* (i.e. *dharmma*).[1]

ry becomes *y* in *-ayeshu* (= Skt. *āryēshu*), but *riy* in *anaṁtariyena*, *madhuriyaye*, *sama*[*cha*]*riyaṁ*.

rv remains in *pruva* (i.e. *purva* = Skt. *pūrva*), *savra* (i.e. *sarva*), but becomes *v* in *sava*, *nivaṭeti*, *nivaṭeyati*, *nivuṭa*, *nivuṭi*.

rś remains in *draśana* (i.e. *darśana*), *draśayitu* (= Skt. *darśayitvā*), *Priyadraśi* (= °*darśin*), but becomes *ś* in *daśana* (VIII, 17).

rsh remains in *prashaṁḍa* (i.e. **pārshaṁḍa*)[2] and *prashaḍa*, but becomes *sh* in *vasha*, *pashaṁḍa* (XII, 3) and *pashaḍa* (XII, 9).

rshy becomes *sh* in *kashaṁ*, *kashati*, *kashaṁti*.

rh becomes *rah* in *garahati*: *r* in *garana* (= Skt. *garhaṇā*).[3]

lp becomes *p* in *apa*, *kapa*.

ly becomes *l* in *kalaṇa* (= Skt. *kalyāṇa*).

vy becomes *v* in *vaṁñana*, *vapaṭa* (twice), *apa-vayata*, *vasana*, *divani*, *prasavati*, *kaṭava*, *paṭivedetavo*, [*p*]*rayuhotave*, *vatavo*, but *vi* in *vijetav*[*i*]*a*, and *viy* in *viyapaṭa* and *viyapuṭa* (V, 13), *kshamitaviya*, *pujetaviya*.

vr remains in [*tivre*], *pravrajita*, *vrachaṁti*, *v*[*r*]*acheyaṁ*, *vrakshaṁti*, *vrachaspi* and *vrachabhumika* (also at Mānsehrā).

śch becomes *ch* in *kachi* (= Skt. *kaśchit*), *pacha* (= *paśchāt*).

śy becomes *śiy* in *prativeśiyena*.

śr remains in *śramaṇa*, *śravaka*, *suśrusha*, *suśrushatu*, *suśrusheyu*, *śruta*, *śrutu*, but becomes *ś* in *śamaṇa* (IX, 19), *niśite*, and *sr* in [*s*]*reṭha* (= Skt. *śrēshṭha*).

shk becomes *k* in *dukaṭaṁ*, *dukara*.

shkr becomes *kr* in *nikramaṇaṁ*, *nik*[*r*]*amatu*, *nikrami*, *nikramishu*.

shṭ becomes *ṭh* in [*aṭha*] = Skt. *ashṭa* (XIII, 1).

shṭr becomes *ṭh* in *Raṭhikanaṁ*.

shṭh becomes *ṭh* in *tiṭhiti*, [*s*]*reṭhaṁ*; *th* in *-adhithana*.

shy becomes *ś* (i.e. *śś*) in *manuśa* and in the futures in *-iśati* and *-eśati*.

As at Kālsī, *sk* becomes *k* in *joti-kaṁdhani*.

st remains in *asti*, *nasti*, [*a*]*stina* (= Skt. *hastinaḥ*), *saṁstava*, *saṁstuta*, *vistriṭena*, *-anuśasti*. It occurs also in the Ancient Persian word *nipista*.[4]

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[1] At Mānsehrā we find twice (IV, 13 and 16) the defective spelling *dhama* beside the usual form *dhrama*.

[2] This form is a variant of Skt. *pārshada* (for *pārishada*) and the origin of Skt. *pāshaṇḍa*; cf. Johansson, §§ 37, 64.

[3] See Johansson, § 56, c, and cf. Pāli *rassa* = Skt. *hrasva* (Geiger, § 49). At Mānsehrā the reading is *garaha* (= Skt. *garhā*).

[4] See above, p. xlii.

str remains in *i*[*stri*], *striyaka*.

sth becomes *th* in *grahatha*, *chira-thitika*.

sn becomes *sin* in [*si*][*ne**]*ho* (XIII, 5).[1]

sm becomes *sp* or *s* in the locatives singular in *-aspi* and *-asi*.

sy becomes *siy* in *rabhasiye*, *siya*, *siyati*, *siyasu*, but *s* in *asu* and in the genitives singular in *-asa* and *-isa*.

sr remains in *parisrave*, *sahasra*, but becomes *s* in *sahasani* (I, 2).

sv becomes *sp* in *spa*[*ka*], *spagra* (= Skt. *svarga*), *spamikena*, *spasa*(*su*)*na* (= *svasṛīṇām*).

hm becomes *m* in *bramaṇa*.

B.—DECLENSION

I. Bases in *-a*.

(1) Masculines and neuters in *-a*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. *jano*, &c.; neut. *danaṁ*, &c.	Masc. *putra*, &c.; neut. [*o*]*sha*[*ḍha*]*ni*, &c.
Acc. masc. *dhramaṁ*, &c.; neut. *maṁgalaṁ*, &c.	Masc. *yutani*, &c.; neut. *divani*, *rupani*.
Instr. *putrena*, *danena*, &c.	*śatehi*.
Dat. *aṭhaye*, &c.	
Abl. *karaṇa* (= Skt. *kāraṇāt*, III, 6), *pacha*.	
Gen. *janasa*, &c.	*praṇanaṁ*, &c.
Loc. (a) *orodhanaspi*, &c.; (b) *dhrame*, &c.	*vasheshu*, &c.

Nom. sing. masc.—The original termination *-s* is dropped in *jana* (XIV, 13), *ghosha* (IV, 8), *pradeśi*[*ka*] (III, 6), *vadha* (XIII, 3), *saṁba*[*ṁ*]*dha* (XI, 23), *sayama* (VII, 4), *Maka* (XIII, 9). The Māgadha termination *-e* is frequent; see *jane* (X, 21), *vivade* (VI, 14, 15), *Turamaye* (XIII, 9), *Devanapriye* (X, 21), &c. In *Aṁtikini* (XIII, 9) we have *-i* instead of *-e*.

Nom. sing. neut.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *dana*, *a*[*cha*]*yika* (VI, 14), *anusochana* (XIII, 2), [*du*]*kara* (VI, 16), *draśana* and *daśana* (VIII, 17), *puña* (XI, 24), *maṁgala* (IX, sections D and F), *maha-phala* (IX, F). As in the nom. sing. masc., Māgadha forms in *-e* are frequent; see *dane* (VII, 4), *draśane* (VIII, 17), *likhite* (XIV, 13), *vijite* (XIV, 13), &c. In a few gerundives we have *-o* instead of *-aṁ* or *-e*: *kaṭavo* (IX, 18, 19; XI, 24), *prativedetavo* (VI, 14) and *paṭivedetavo* (VI, 15), *vatavo* (IX, 19; XI, 24; XII, 8), *śako* (XIII, 7). The Sanskrit masculine *bhāga* is used as neuter in *sahasra-bhagaṁ* (XIII, 7).

Acc. sing. masc.—In *aṭh*[*r*]*a* (VI, section E), *dosha* and *ba*[*hu*]*ka* (I, 1), the Anusvāra is omitted. There are two irregular forms: *dhramo* (XII, 6) and *sayame* (VII, 2).

Acc. sing. neut.—The Anusvāra is omitted in [*da*]*na* (XII, 1), *karaṇa* (XIV, 14), *vasana* (XIII, 5), and in a few other instances.

Loc. sing.—The group *sp* of the termination *-spi* is assimilated in [*a*]*pakaraṇasi* (XII, 3), *uṭhanas*[*i*] (VI, 15), [*ga*]*ṇanasi* (III, 7), *mahana*[*sas*]*i* (I, 2), *yu*[*ta*]*si* (V, 13). The termination *-e* occurs also in *anutape*, *abadhe*, *avahe*, *Kalige*, *prakara*[*ṇ*]*e*, *pravase*, *vijay*[*e*] (XIII, 11), *vijite*, *vivahe*, *śile*.

Nom. plur. masc.—The Sanskrit neuter *apatya* is used as masculine in [*y*]*e me apacha vrakshaṁti* (V, 11).

Nom. plur. neut.—The termination is *-a* instead of *-ani* in [*o*]*sha*[*ḍha*]*ni* . . . . . *harapita cha vuta cha* (II, 5).

The remaining instances of the acc. plur. masc. are *-kaṁdhani*, *Kaliga*[*ni*], *-prashaṁḍani*, *pravrajita*[*ni*], *grahathani*.

Gen. plur.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *abhiratana* (XIII, 5), *mahamatrana* (VI, 14), *-bramaṇana* (twice), *-śramaṇana* (IV, 9).

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[1] Mānsehrā reads *si*[*ne*]*he*.

(2) Feminines in *-ā*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. *ichha*, &c.	*chik[i]sa*, *[kr]i[ṭa]*, *striyaka*.[1]
Acc. *puja*, &c.	
Instr. *pujaye*, *vividhaye*.	
Loc. *sa[ṁ]tiraṇaye*.	

II. Bases in *-i*.

(1) Masculines in *-i*.

Nom. plur. *trayo*.
Gen. plur. *ñatina[ṁ]*, *ñatina*, *Nabhitina*.

(2) Feminines in *-i* and *-ī*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. *dipi*, &c.	*aṭavi*.
Acc. *Saboḍhi*, &c.	
Instr. *-anuśa[sti]ya*, *bhatiya*.	
Dat. *-anuśastiye*, *vaḍhiya*.	
Abl. *nivuṭiya*, *Ta[ṁ]bapaṁ[ṇi]ya*.	
Loc. *ayatiya*.	

With the nom. plur *aṭavi* cf. Pāli *rattī*, nom. plur. of *ratti* (= Skt. *rātri*).

III. Bases in *-u*.

The same forms as at Girnār and Kālsī occur, viz. nom. sing. masc., fem., and neut. *sadhu*; nom. and acc. sing. neut. *bahu*; nom. and acc. plur. neut. *bahuni*; instr. plur. *bahuhi*; gen. plur. *guruna*, *garuna*.

IV. Masculines and Feminines in *-ṛi*.

Nom. plur. *nataro*.
Gen. plur. *bhratuna*, *spasa(su)na*.[2]
Loc. plur. *pitushu*.

The instr. sing. follows the *u*-declension: *pituna*, *bhratuna*.

V. Bases in Consonants.

(1) Present participles in *-at*.

As at Kālsī, we have the two nom. sing. masc. *sa[ṁ]taṁ* (*sataṁ*) and *karaṁtaṁ* (*karataṁ*).

(2) Masculine in *-vat*.

Nom. sing. *prajava* (= Skt. *prajāvān*).

(3) Masculines and neuters in *-an*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. *raja*, *raya*.	*rajano*, *rajani*.
Acc. neut. *nama*.	
Instr. *raña*.	
Gen. *raño*.	

The neuter base *karman* follows the *a*-declension: nom. sing. *kramaṁ*, dat. *kraṁmaye*.

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[1] The Skt. feminine *strī*, from which this curious diminutive is formed, occurs at XII, 9 in the form *i[stri]*.
[2] At Mānsehrā (V, 24) the reading is *spas[u]na*.

(4) Masculines in *-in*.

Nom. sing. *Priyadraśi.*
Instr. sing. *Priyadraśina.*
Gen. sing. *Priyadraśisa.*
Acc. plur. [*a*]*stina* (*asti*[*ne*] at Mānsehrā).

The gen. sing. follows the analogy of the *a*-declension.

(5) Neuters in *-as*.

Acc. Sing. *yaśo, bhuy*[*e*].

The base *vacha-* (XII, 2) corresponds to Skt. *vachas*.

(6) Neuter in *-is*.

The base *joti-* (IV, 8) corresponds to Skt. *jyōtis*.

(7) Feminine in *-d*.

The base *parishad* follows the *a*-declension: loc. sing. *parishaye*. The nom. sing. *parisha* is preserved at Mānsehrā (III, 11).

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Nom. sing. *ahaṁ.*
Instr. sing. *maya.*
Gen. sing. *maa, me.*

With the gen. *maa* cf. Prākṛit *maha*, which seems to be derived from the Skt. genitive *mama* under the influence of the dative *mahyam*; see Michelson, JAOS, 30. 85, n. 2.

(2) Base *ta*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. *so* } neut. *taṁ, so.*	Masc. *te*.
Acc. masc. *taṁ* }	
Instr. *tena.*	
Dat. *taye.*	
Gen. *tasa.*	*tesha*[*ṁ*], *tesha.*
Loc. *tasi.*	

Nom. sing. fem. *sa.*
Acc. plur. fem. *ta* (XIII, 7).

In two places (XIII, section T, and V, section H) we have *sa* for *so* (nom. masc. and acc. neut.).

(3) Base *sha*.

The acc. plur. neut. *sha* (VI, 16) corresponds to *she* (acc. plur. masc.?) at Mānsehrā; cf. Text, p. 59, n. 1.

(4) Base *ēta*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. *eshe*; neut. *eta, etaṁ, etake, eshe* (X, section E).	Masc. *eta* (I, 3).
Instr. *etakena.*	
Dat. *etaye, etakaye.*	
Gen. *etisa* (III, 6; XII, 9).	

Nom. sing. fem. *esha* (XIII, 4).

The *i* of the gen. sing. *etisa*, which is found also at Mānsehrā (XII, 8), is perhaps due to the analogy of the Pāli interrogative *kissa* (from base *ki*) = *kassa* (from base *ka*).

(5) Demonstrative *idam*.

Singular.

Nom. masc. *ayaṁ*, *ayi*; neut. *idaṁ*, *ida*, *imaṁ*, *ima*, *iyaṁ*, *iyo*.
Acc. neut. *imaṁ*.
Gen. *imisa* (IV, 10).
Nom. fem. *aya*, *ayi*.
Dat. fem. *imisa* (III, 6).

With the gen. masc. *imisa* cf. *etisa* (from *ēta*) and the Girnār and Pāli instrumental *iminā*.

The dat. fem. *imisa* is an imperfect spelling of Pāli *imissā*. Cf. the feminine bases *imī*, *tī*, *eī*, *jī*, *kī* in Prākṛit (Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 424).

(6) Interrogative pronoun.

The indefinite *kichi* (nom. and acc. sing. neut.) forms the nom. sing. masc. *kachi* (XII, 5). The compound *kiti* is used in the sense of 'that'.

(7) Relative pronoun.

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	masc. *yo*, *y*[*e*]; neut. *yaṁ*, *ye*.	Masc. *ye*.
Acc.	neut. *yaṁ*, *yo* (X, 21), [*e*] (XIII, 5).	
Instr.	*ye*[*na*].	
Gen.	*yasa*.	*yesha* (*yesha*[*ṁ*] at Mānsehrā).
Loc.		*yesu*.

Nom. sing. fem. *ya* (XIII, 12).
Nom. plur. fem. *ya* (XIII, 7).

(8) Base *anya*.

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	masc. *añe*, *aṁñi*; neut. *añaṁ*.[1]	Masc. *aṁñe* } neut. *añani*.
Acc.		
Dat.	*añaye*.	
Gen.	*añamañasa*.	

(9) Base *sarva*.

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	neut. *sav*[*r*]*aṁ*, *savre*.	Masc. *save*.
Acc.	masc. and neut. *savraṁ*, *savaṁ*.	
Loc.		*savreshu*, *saveshu*.

(10) Base *ubhaya*.

Gen. plur. *u*[*bha*]*y*[*e*]*sa* (*ubhayesaṁ* at Mānsehrā).

(11) Base *ēkatara*.

Loc. sing. *ekatare*.

(12) Base **ēkatya*.

Nom. sing. masc. *ekatia*.

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[1] *añ*[*e*] at Mānsehrā, IV, 15.

D.—NUMERALS

One.

Acc. sing. neut. [*e**]*kaṁ*.

Two.

Nom. masc. and fem. *duv*[*i*].

Three.

Nom. masc. *trayo*.

Four.

As in Ardhamāgadhī (Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 439), the acc. masc. *chature* (= Skt. *chaturaḥ*) is used in the place of the nom. (XIII, 9).

Five, six.

Loc. *paṁchashu*, *shashu*.

Eight, ten, twelve, thirteen.

[*aṭha*], *daśa*, *badaya*(*śa*), *todaśa*.

Hundred.

Acc. plur. *śatani*, instr. *śatehi*, loc. *śateshu*.

The ordinal is *śata*; see *śata-bhage*, XIII, 7.

Thousand.

The ordinal is *sahasra* (XIII, 7).

Hundred thousand.

Nom. sing. *śa*[*ta-saha*]*sre*.
Nom. plur. *śata-sahasani*.

E.—CONJUGATION

I. Present.

(1) *Bases*.

First Sanskrit class.

Root *kram*: *parakramati*, *nik*[*r*]*amatu*.
Root *garh*: *garahati*.
Root *ji*: [*vi*]*jinamano*, *vijiniti*; see above, p. lxxxi and n. 1.
Root *trap*: *avatrapeyu*.
Root *driś*: [*da*]*khati*.
Root *nī*: *anuneti*.
Root *bhū*: *bhoti*, *hoti*.
Root *labh*: the absolutive *ara*[*bhitu*] and the two passive forms [*arabhi*]*yis*[*u*] and *arabhiśaṁti* presuppose the present **arabhati*, 'to kill' (= Skt. *ālabhatē*).
Root *vas*: *vasati*.
Root *vṛit*: *anuvatatu*, *anuvaṭaṁti*.

Root *vraj*: *vrachaṁti*. For Prākṛit *vachchaï* (for **vrajyati*?) = Skt. *vrajati* see Hēmachandra, IV, 225; Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 202 and n. 3.

Root *sthā*. The absolutive *tiṭhiti* (IV, 10) presupposes the present **tiṭṭhati* (= Skt. *tishṭhati*).

Second Sanskrit class.

Root *as*: *asti*.
Root *han*: *upahaṁti*.

Third Sanskrit class.

Root *hu*. The gerundive [*p*]*rayuhotave* is formed from the Skt. present *juhōti*.

Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root *pad*: *paṭipajeyati*.
Root *man*: *mañati* and *meñati*.

Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root *āp* follows the ninth class: *prapuṇati*.
Root *śru* follows the *a*-conjugation: *śruṇeyu*.

Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root *ish*: *ichhati*.

Seventh Sanskrit class.

Root *yuj* follows the *a*-conjugation: *yujaṁtu*.

Eighth Sanskrit class.

Root *kṛi*: *karoti*; but the optative *apakareyati* and the two present participles *karaṁtaṁ* and *ka*[*ra*]*min*[*o*] presuppose the present **karati*, **karate*.

Root *kshaṇ* follows the *a*-conjugation: *kshaṇati*.

Ninth Sanskrit class.

Root *aś* follows the *a*-conjugation: *aśamana* (part. pres. middle).

Tenth Sanskrit class.

(a) With *aya*: *dipayami*, *draśayitu*, *sukhayami*. The character *aya* is contracted into *e* in *pujeti*, *pujetaviya*, *a*[*ra*]*dheti*, *aradhetu*, *rochetu*, *lo*[*ch*]*e*[*sh*]*u*, *a-locheti*, *paṭivedetu*, *pativedetavo*, *nivaṭeti*, *vaḍheti*.

(b) With *paya*: *aṇapayami* and *aṇapemi*, *aṇapeśaṁti*, *aṇapita*, *anunija*(*jha*)*peti*, *hapeśadi*.

(c) With *āpaya*: *likha*[*p*]*eśami*, *likhapitu*(*ta*), *khanapita*, *nipesapita*, *harapita*.

(2) *Moods*.

The terminations of the middle are replaced by those of the active, with the exception of the present participles [*vi*]*jinamana*, *ka*[*ra*]*mina*, *aśamana*.

(a) Indicative.

1. sing. *parak*[*r*]*amami*, *karomi*, *aṇapayami* and *aṇapemi*.

3. sing. *parakramati*, *garahati*, [*da*]*khati*, *anuneti*, *bhoti* and *hoti*, *asti*, *upahaṁti*, *mañati* and *meñati*, *ichhati*, *karoti*, *kshaṇati*, *anunija*(*jha*)*peti*, *pujeti*, *a*[*ra*]*dheti*, *nivaṭeti*, *vaḍheti*.

3. plur. *anuvaṭaṁti*, *vrachaṁti*, *ichhaṁti*. The Anusvāra is missing in *bhoti* (XIII, 7), *vasati*, *prapuṇati*, *karo*[*ti*] (IX, section C).

(b) Subjunctive.

1. sing. *dipayami* and *sukhayami* (with indicative termination).

(c) Optative.

1. sing. *v[r]acheyaṁ* (from **vrachchati* = Skt. *vrajati*).

3. sing. *siya* and *siyati* (= Skt. *syāt*), *paṭipajeyati, apakareyati* (from Skt. *apakarōti*), *nivaṭeyati*[1] (= Skt. *nirvartayēt*; cf. above, p. lxxxii). The four last forms have the termination of the indicative.

3. plur. *avatrapeyu, vaseyu, śruṇeyu, asu* (= Pāli *assu*) and *siyasu*. With the last form cf. the optative passive *[ha]ṁñeyasu* (below, V).

(d) Imperative.

3. sing. *bhotu, anuvatatu.*

3. plur. *parakramaṁtu, yujaṁtu.* The Anusvāra is missing in *nik[r]amatu, maña[tu], aradhetu, rochetu, paṭivedetu.*

(e) Imperfect.

3. sing. *aho* (= Skt. *abhavat*).

II. Aorist.

(a) Indicative.

3. sing. *nikrami.*

3. plur. *nikramishu.* In *abhuvasu* (VIII, 17) the aorist termination *-su* seems to be affixed to *abhūvan*, the Sanskrit aorist of root *bhū*; cf. Johansson, § 30.

(b) Subjunctive.

3. plur. *mañishu* (from Skt. *manyatē*), *lo[ch]e[sh]u* (*alochayisu* at Kālsī and Mānsehrā).

III. Perfect.

To the Sanskrit perfect *āha*, which has the meaning of the present (see Pāṇini, III, 4, 84) the termination of the 3. sing. indicative present is affixed: *ahati* and *hahati*.[3]

IV. Future.

1. sing. *kashaṁ* (*[ka]shami* at Mānsehrā), *likha[p]eśami* (while Girnār has *likhāpayisaṁ*).

3. sing. *kashati, vaḍhiśati, hapeśadi.*

3. plur. *kashaṁti, an[u]vaṭiśaṁti, vrakshaṁti* (from root *vraj*), *anuśaśiśaṁti* (from *anu-śās*), *aṇapeśaṁti, pra[va]ḍh[e]śaṁti* (*pavaḍhayiśaṁti* at Mānsehrā).

V. Passive.

3. sing. indicative *vuchati* (= Skt. *uchyatē*), *prasavati* (= *prasāvyatē*).

3. plur. indicative *[a]nuvidhiyaṁti* (= *anuvidhīyantē*), *haṁñaṁt[i]* (= *hanyantē*).

3. plur. optative *[ha]ṁñeyasu* (XIII, 8) with aorist termination; cf. *siyasu* (= Skt. *syuḥ*, XII, 7), and see Johansson, § 140.

3. sing. imperative *anuvi[dhi]yatu.*

3. plur. aorist *[arabhi]yis[u]* (from Skt. *ālabhyatē*).

3. plur. future *anuvidhiyiśaṁ[ti]* (from Skt. *anuvidhīyatē*), *arabhiśaṁti* (for **ālabhyishyanti* from Skt. *ālabhyatē*).[4]

VI. Desiderative.

3. plur. optative *suśrusheyu.*

3. sing. imperative *suśrushatu.*

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[1] Mānsehrā reads *nivaṭeya*. [2] See Text, p. 31, n. 7. [3] Cf. Text, p. 52, n. 11.

[4] Cf. *ārabhare, ārabhisu,* and *ārabhisare* at Girnār, where *bh* is also a defective spelling for *bbh*.

VII. Participles.

(1) Present participle.

Active.

Root *as*: *sa[ṁ]taṁ* (*sataṁ*).
Root *kṛi*: *karaṁtaṁ* (*karataṁ*).

Middle.

Root *ji*: *[vi]jinamana*; see above, p. lxxxi and n. 1.
Root *kṛi*: *ka[ra]mina.*
Root *aś*: *aśamana.*
Other participles in *-mina* or *-mīna* are found in the Māgadha edicts; cf. Bühler, ZDMG, 46. 72, and below, p. cx, and chapters X and XI.

(2) Past passive participle.

(a) In *-ta*: *mata* and *muta* (= Skt. *mata*, XIII, 8), *muṭa* (= *mṛita*), *kiṭa*, *[kr]i[ṭa]*, and *kiṭra* (= *kṛita*), *vapaṭa*, *viyapaṭa*, and *viyapuṭa* (= *vyāpṛita*, V, 13), *vistriṭa* (= *vistṛita*), *usaṭa* (= *utsṛita*), *niśita* (= **niśrita*), *nipista* (= Ancient Persian *nipishta*; see above, p. xlii), *nipesita*, *nipesapita*, *likhita*, *likhapitu(ta)*, *khanapita*, *harapita*, *aropita*, *aṇapita*, *bhuta* (i. e. *bhūta*), *atikrata* (= *atikrānta*), *[la]pita*, *nivuṭa* (= *nirvṛitta*), *vuta* (= *upta*), *samata* (= *samāpta*), *saṁkshita* (= *saṁkshipta*), *vuḍha* (= *vṛiddha*), *apavuḍha* (= *apōḍha*), *ladha* (= *labdha*), &c.
(b) In *-na*: *prasana* (i.e. *prasanna*), *viprahina* (i.e. °*hīna*).

(3) Future passive participle.

(a) In *-tavya*: *kshamitaviya*, *pujetaviya*, *vijetav[i]a*, *kaṭava*, *vatava*, *[p]rayuhotava*, *paṭivedetava.*
(b) In *-anīya*: *v[e]dani[ya]*.
(c) In *-ya*: *śaka* (= Skt. *śakya*)

VIII. Absolutive.

(a) In *-tu* (= Skt. *-tvā*): *ara[bhitu]*, *paritijitu* (from root *tyaj* with Saṁprasāraṇa of *ya*), *śrutu*, *draśayitu.*
(b) In *-ti* (= Vēdic *-tvī*):[1] *tiṭhiti* (from the Skt. present *tishṭhati*), *vijiniti* (from the present *vi-jinati*; see above, p. lxxxi and n. 1), *a-locheti.*
(c) In *-ya*: *saṁkhay[a]* (from *saṁ-khyā*).

The dialect of the **Mānsehrā** text is nearly identical with the Shāhbāzgaṛhī one, but contains some more Māgadhisms.[2] It will, therefore, be sufficient to draw attention only to those forms at Mānsehrā which differ from the corresponding ones at Shāhbāzgaṛhī.

The vowel *e* for *a* in the second syllable of *sayeme* (VII, 33) may be due to the preceding palatal *y*, unless it is a clerical error. For the form *m[uni]śa* (II, 8) see above, p. lxx. Instead of the vowel *ṛi* the Mānsehrā version has (1) *a* in *kaṭa*, *sukaṭa*, *[ma]ṭe*; (2) *u* in *[pa]r[i]puchha*, *vapuṭa* (= Skt. *vyāpṛita*); (3) *e* in *gehatha* (= *gṛihastha*);[3] (4) *ra* in *viyapraṭa* (V, 24);[4] (5) *ar* in *kaṭra* (i. e. *karṭa* = Skt. *kṛita*), *vadhri* (i. e. *varddhi* = Skt. *vṛiddhi*); (6) *ri* in *mrig[e]*, *mrigaviya* (= *mṛigavyā*); (7) *ru* in *vruḍhi* (= *vṛiddhi*);[5] (8) *ur* in *vudhra* (i. e. *vurddha* = Skt. *vṛiddha*). For *ruchha* = Skt. *vṛiksha* (II, 8) see above, p. lxx f.

The guttural *k* becomes *y* in *[di]ya[ḍha]* (XIII, 1). Greek χ is represented by *g* in *[A]tiyoge*

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[1] Cf. Delbrück's *Altind. Verbum*, § 221; Macdonell's *Vedic Grammar*, p. 412.
[2] Cf. Michelson, AJP, 30. 285 f.
[3] The Prākṛit form *gēha* is used for *gṛiha* also in Sanskrit. Another instance of this change is the root *ēdh* = *ṛidh*; see Wackernagel's *Altind. Grammatik*, I. 39.
[4] The spelling (5) *kaṭra* (for *karṭa*) suggests that (4) *viyapraṭa* is meant for *viyaparṭa*.
[5] The spellings (5) *vadhri* and (8) *vudhra* suggest that (7) *vruḍhi* is meant for *vurḍḍhi*.

(II, 6). As at Kālsī, the palatal *ch* has been aspirated in *kechhi* (= Skt. *kaśchit*) and *kichhi* (= **kid*+*chid*). Dentals are lingualized in *duva*[*ḍa*]*śa* (III, 9) = *duva*[*ḍa*]*śa* (IV, 18), *treḍaśa* (V, 21), and after *ṛi* in *kaṭa*, *sukaṭa*, [*ma*]*ṭe*, *vapuṭa*, *viyapraṭa*, *vruḍhi*. Sanskrit *ṇ* is preserved in *paṇatika* (= *praṇaptṛika*), but is represented by dental *n* in *ti*[*ni*] (= *trīṇi*). In *aṇaṇiyaṁ* (VI, 31) the first *ṇ* is due to assimilation. The *t* for *dh* in *śuti* (VII, 33) is perhaps a clerical error. The *bh* of the root *bhū* has become *h* in *hoti*, *hotu*, *aho*, [*hu*]*veyu*, *husu*, *huta-pruve* (twice), but not in *bhuta-pruva* (V, 21) and in the substantive *bhuta* (i. e. *bhūta*). The semivowel *y* is prefixed to *e* in *yeva*, while initial *y* is lost in *e*, *aṁ* (= *yat*), [*a*]*diśe* (twice), *atra* (twice = *yatra*), *atha* (thrice = *yathā*). In *supadarave* (V, 21) we seem to have *r* for *l* and *v* for *y*; see Text, p. 33, n. 3, and above, p. lvii, n. 2. The first *ś* of *śa*[*śa*]*yike* (IX, 7) is due to assimilation. In the aorists *husu*, [*arabh*]*isu*, and [*alo*]*chay*[*i*]*su*, dental *s* has taken the place of *sh*. In *aa* (VI, 26) = *aha* (i. e. *āha*) and *aaṁ* (VI, 30) = *ahaṁ* (VI, 28), *h* is elided between vowels.

Final *as* becomes *o* only in *tato*, *mukhato* (VI, 28), *yaśo*, *Devanapriyo* (VII, 32), *niśito* (V, 25), but generally *e*; see *he*[*tute*], *vi*[*yaṁja*]*nate*, *natare* (= Skt. *naptāraḥ*), *rajine* (= *rājñaḥ*), *ra*[*jane*] (= *rājānaḥ*), *Priyadraśine* (gen. sing.), *Devanapriye*, &c. In *vini*[*k*]*ramaṇi* (XIII, 5) the *-e* is replaced by *-i*.

The hiatus remains in *dhramayuta-apalibodhaye* (V, 23). *a*+*e* becomes *e* in *usaṭen-eva* (X, 11), and *ā*+*u* becomes *o* in *praj-opadaye* (IX, 2).

As at Shāhbāzgaṛhī, the letter *r* is sometimes attached to the next following consonant. Thus *nirathriya* (IX, 3) is meant for *nirarthiya*, *vadhrite* and *vadhrayiśati* (IV, 15) for *vardhite* and *vardhayiśati*. Similarly *katra* (= Skt. *kṛita*, V, 24) stands for *karta*,[1] *vadhri* (= *vṛiddhi*) for *varddhi*, *vudhra* (= *vṛiddha*) for *vurddha*. Anusvāra is omitted before consonants in *ata* (II, 5), *aparata* (V, 22), *samata* (II, 6), [*A*]*tiyoge*, *Adha*, *a*[*na*]*taliyena*, *anarabhe*, *anubadha*, *apa-bha*[*ḍata*], [*aba*]*ka*, *asapa*[*ṭ*]*ipati*, *Gadharana*, *-chhade*, *para*[*kra*]*mate* (3. plur.), *satiraṇa* (VI, 30), *hache* (for *haṁche*).

ksh becomes *chh* in *chhaṇati* and *ruchhani*.

jñ becomes *n* in *kiṭanata* (= Skt. *kṛitajñatā*), but *jin* in *rajina* (= *rājñā*) and *rajine* (= *rājñaḥ*).

ṇy becomes *ṇ* in *puṇa*, *puṇaṁ*, *apu*[*ṇe*].

tm becomes *tv* in *atva-* (= Skt. *ātman*).

ty becomes *tiy* in *apatiye*, [*eka*]*tiya*.

tr remains in *treḍaśa*, but becomes *t* in *ti*[*ni*] (= Skt. *trīṇi*), and *d* in *tenada* and *yada*.[2]

dr becomes *d* in *khuda* and *khudakena*.

dv becomes *duv* in *duva*[*ḍa*]*śa* and *duva*[*ḍa*]*śa*.

dhy becomes *jh* in *istrija*(*jha*)*ksha*.

ny becomes *n*, as at Kālsī, in *ana*[*tra*] (X, 11); *ṇ* in *aṇe*, *aṇatra* (X, 9), *aṇamaṇasa*, *maṇati*, *maṇ*[*ishu*].

pr remains in *prap*[*o*]*tra*, but becomes *p* in *paṇatika*, *pavaḍhayiśaṁti*, *avipahin*[*e*], *paṭibhogaye*, *paṭiveśiyena*.

br becomes *b* in *bamaṇa* (IV, 15) = *bramaṇa* (passim).

bhy remains in *-ibhyeshu*, but becomes *bhiy* in [*ara*]*bh*[*iyaṁti*], and *bh* in [*arabh*]*isu* (aorist passive).

bhr becomes *bh* in *bhata*(*tu*)*na* (V, 24) = *bhratuna* (twice).

my remains in *samya-*.

rg becomes *g* in *ma*[*geshu*].

rt becomes *ṭ* in *anuvaṭatu* and *kiṭi* (= Skt. *kīrti*).

rth remains in *nirathriya* (i. e. *nirarthiya*).

rdh remains in *vadhrite* (i. e. *vardhite*, IV, 15) and *vadhrayiśati* (i. e. *vardha*°), but becomes *dh* in *vadhite* (IV, 12).

ly becomes *y* in *kayaṇa* (= Skt. *kalyāṇa*).

vy becomes *v* in *vapuṭa*; *viy* in *viyapraṭa*, *vi*[*yaṁja*]*nate*, *mrigaviya*, *kaṭaviya*, *pra*[*johi*]*taviye*, *vataviye*, *paṭivedetaviye*.

vr becomes *v* in [*p*]*rava*[*ji*]*tani*.

st becomes *th* in *saṁtha*[*v*]*e*.

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[1] In *viyapraṭa* (i. e. *viyaparṭa* = Skt. *vyāpṛita*) the *r* is combined with the preceding *akshara*.
[2] Cf. above, p. lxxxv, n. 4.

sth becomes *ṭh* in *chira-ṭhitika.*

sr becomes *s* in *pa[r]isave.*

Masculines in *-a*: abl. sing. *anubadha*; dat. plur. *mahamatrehi.*

Feminines in *-ā*: acc. sing. *puja[ṁ]*; loc. sing. *prajopadaye*; nom. plur. *janika.*[1]

Masculines in *-i*: loc. plur. *[Na]bhapa[ṁ]tishu.*

Masculines in *-ṛi*: nom. plur. *natare.*

Present participle in *-at.*—The gen. sing. *aśatasa* follows the *a*-declension.

Masculines and neuters in *-an*: instr. sing. *rajina*; dat. sing. *krama[ṇ]e* (i. e. *karmaṇe*); gen. sing. *rajine*; nom. plur. *ra[jane].*

Masculines in *-in*: gen. sing. *Priyadraśine.*

Pronoun of the first person: nom. sing. *aaṁ* (VI, 30) = *ahaṁ* (VI, 28); instr. sing. *me* (III, 9).

Base *ta.*—The nom. sing. masc. *se* is used also as nom. and acc. sing. neut.; dat. plur. *tehi* (XII, 7); gen. plur. *ta[naṁ]* (XIII, 5).

Base *ēta*: nom. sing. masc. *[esha]* (XIII, 6); gen. sing. *e[ta]sa*; nom. plur. neut. *[e]tani.*

Demonstrative *idam*: nom. sing. neut. *iya* (VIII, 35); gen. sing. *imasa*; nom. plur. masc. *ime*; nom. sing. fem. *iyaṁ*; dat. sing. fem. *imaye.*

Indefinite pronoun: nom. sing. masc. *kechhi*; nom. and acc. sing. neut. *kichhi.*

Base *itara*: nom. sing. neut. *[i]tare.*

Numerals: *[e]k[e]* (nom. sing. masc.), *du[v]e*, *ti[ni]*, *duva[da]śa* and *duva[ḍa]śa*, *treḍaśa.*

Present indicative: 3. plur. *yaṁti* (from root *i* or *yā*).—Subjunctive: 1. plur. *dipayama*; 3. plur. middle: *para[kra]mate.*—Optative: 1. sing. *ye[haṁ]* and 3. plur. *[hu]veyu*, as in the Kālsī version, which cf. also for the aorist *husu* (VIII, 34) and the perfect *aha* (i. e. *āha*).

Passive: 3. plur. indicative *[ara]bh[iyaṁti]* (*alabhi[yaṁ]ti* at Kālsī); 3. plur. aorist *[arabh]isu* (*ārabhisu* at Girnār).

Present participle: *aśatasa* (gen. sing.) from root *aś.*

Past passive participle: *[aṇapayit]e* (III, 9),[2] *ropapita* (*ropāpita* at Girnār).

Future passive participle: *pra[johi]taviye*; see above, p. lxxxi.

Absolutive in *-ti*: *draśeti.*

CHAPTER IX. GRAMMAR OF THE DHAULI AND JAUGADA ROCK-EDICTS

A.—PHONETICS

I. Vowels.

The vowel *a* is converted to *i* through the influence of a neighbouring *y* in *majhima* (= Skt. *madhyama*) and *likhiyis[āmi*].* It becomes *u* after a labial in *munisa* (= *manushya*), *uchāvucha*, and is assimilated to the vowel of the first syllable in *udupāna* (= *udapāna*).

The *a* in the second syllable of *puṭhavi*, which corresponds to Skt. *i*, was originally an auxiliary vowel; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 115. In *su* = Skt. *svid*, *i* has become *u* through the influence of the preceding *v*. For *e* = *i* and *ī* in *heta* (= **itra*) and *edisa*, *hedisa* (= Skt. *īdṛiśa*), see above, p. lxx.

Skt. *u* is represented by *a* in *pana* (= *punaḥ*). In *pulisa* (= *purusha*) the *i* of the second syllable, which corresponds to Skt. *u*, was originally an auxiliary vowel; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 124. For the *i* in the second syllable of *munisa* (= Skt. *manushya*), see above, p. lxx and n. 3. In *kho* (= Skt. *khalu*), Skt. *u* is represented by *o*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

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[1] This is a diminutive of *jani*, 'a wife', which occurs at Kālsī.

[2] Cf. above, p. lxxxiii, n. 3.

Skt. *ṛi* becomes (1) *a* in *ana*[*n*]*a* (= *anṛiṇa*), *ānaṁna*, *ānaniya*, and *ānaneya*, *usaṭa*, *kaṭa*, [*ka*]*ṭū* and *kaṭu* (= *kṛitvā*), *dakhatha*, *dakhāmi*, [*bha*]*ṭaka*, *bhaṭi*, *vaḍhī*, *vithaṭa*, *viyāpaṭa*; (2) *i* in *edisa* and *hedisa*, *tādisa*, *ādisa* (= *yādṛiśa*), *dhiti*, *p*[*i*]*t*[*i*]*su*, *bhāt*[*ī*]*naṁ*, *m*[*ā*]*t*[*i*]- (= *mātṛi*-, Dhau. IV, 4), *mige*, [*miga*]*viy*[*ā*]; (3) *u* in *pitu*- (= *pitṛi*-, Dhau. IV, 4), and after labials in [*a*]*nā*[*v*]*uti* [= *anāvṛitti*), *p*[*al*]*i*[*puchh*]*ā*, *puṭhavi* (= *pṛithivī*), *vuḍha* (= *vṛiddha*); (4) *e* in *dekhata*; (5) *ra* in *drakhati* (Jau. I, 2). The syllable *vṛi* is represented by *lu* in *lukha* (= *vṛiksha*).

The diphthong *ai* becomes *e* in *nīche* (perhaps = Skt. *nīchaiḥ*), and *au* becomes *o* in -*opaga* and -[*o*]*paya*, *osadhāni*, *mokhya* and *mokhiya*, *papotā*, *pālalokika*.

Short *a*, *i*, *u* are lengthened in *atiyāyike* (= Skt. *ātyayikam*), *abhīkā*[*la*], *chi*[*la*]-*ṭhitīkā*, [*v*]*ī*[*vāha*], *anāvūtiya* (Dhau. Sep.) = [*a*]*nā*[*v*]*uti*[*ya*] (Jau. Sep.), *tūlanā*[*ya*] and *at*[*ū*]*l*[*a*]*nā* (for which Jau. Sep. reads *t*[*ul*]*āya* and [*atulanā*]), *niṭhūliyena*, *y*[*ū*]*jeyū* and *yūjevū* (also *yujeyū* and *yujevū*), *bahūhi*, *bahūsu*. Final *a*, *i*, *u* may be lengthened either when they are followed by the particle *ti* (= *iti*) or without it; see *ālā*[*dha*]*yisa*[*th*]*ā*, *āhā* (passim) = *ā*[*ha*] (Jau. Sep. II, 1), *chā*, *kechā*, *paṭipādayemā ti*, *ma*[*m*]*ā ti*, *vā* (twice = Skt. *ēva*), *saveṇā* (Jau. Sep. II, 3), *hosāmī*, *aphesū ti*, *ālādhayaṁtū ti*, [*ka*]*ṭū* (Jau. Sep.) = *kaṭu* (Dhau. Sep.), *palakama*[*ṁ*]*t*[*ū*], *yujaṁtū*, *s*[*ā*]*dh*[*ū*] *ti*. Final *a*, *i*, *u*, which stand for original *am*, *is*, *ur*, are treated in the same way; see [*aph*]*ākā ti*, *anusathī ti*, *āl*[*adh*]*ī*, [*n*]*ijhatī*, *lipī*, *v*[*a*]*ḍhī*, *sudhī*, *alochayisū*, *ālādhayey*[*ū*] and *ālādhayevū*, *chaley*[*ū*] *ti* and *chalevū*, *nikhamāvū*, *pāpunevū iti*, *yujeyū ti* and *yujevū ti*, *y*[*ū*]*jeyū ti* and *yūjevū ti*, *lahey*[*ū*], [*va*]*sevū ti*, *huvevū ti* and *hveyū ti*.

The three derivatives *gamu*[*k*]*a*, *nagalaka*, and *vachanik*[*a*] correspond to Skt. *gāmuka*, *nāgaraka*, and *vāchanika*. The *ā* of *mahā*- is shortened in *mahamatā* (Jau. Sep. II, 1). Final *ā* is often shortened; see *atha* and *athā* (= Skt. *yathā*), *ada* and *adā* (= *yadā*), *tatha* and *tathā*, *pita* and *pitā*, *lāja* and *lājā*, *va* and *vā*, *kaṁ*[*mana*] and *kamana* (= *karmaṇā*), [*a*]*nā*[*v*]*uti*[*ya*] and *anāvūtiya*, and the nominatives singular feminine *achala*, *ichha*, *likhit*[*a*], *sotaviya*. Long *ī* is shortened in *nitiyaṁ* (thrice) = *nīt*[*ī*]*yaṁ* (Jau. Sep. I, 7) and in the nom. plur. *nati* (Dhau. IV, 5) = *nat*[*ī*] (Dhau. and Jau. V, 2).

Initial vowels are dropped in *pi* (= Skt. *api*), *hakaṁ* (for *ahakam* = *aham*), *ti* (passim) = *iti* (thrice) and *kiṁti*, *va* and *vā* (= *ēva*). In *hveyū* (Jau. Sep.) = *huveyu* (Kālsī and Mānsehrā), the vowel *u* seems to be elided.

II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

In the separate edicts at Jaugaḍa the guttural *k* is softened in *palalogaṁ*, *hidalog*[*aṁ*], *hidalogika*, while Dhauli reads *palaloka*[*ṁ*], *hidaloka*, *hidalokika*.[1] *k* is represented by *y* in [*nilaṭhi*]*yaṁ* (Dhau. IX, 2) and *supadālaye* (Dhau. and Jau. V, 3); *g* by *y* in -[*o*]*paya* (Dhau. VIII, 3) = -*opaga* (Dhau. and Jau. II, 3). In *akhakhasa* (= Skt. *akarkaśa*, Dhau. Sep. I, 22) the aspiration of the first *kh* is perhaps due to the influence of the second *kh*, which is a defective spelling of *kkh*, and which was produced by the assimilation of the group *rk*.[2] Greek χ is expressed by *k* in *Aṁtiyoka*.

The palatal *ch* is aspirated in [*k*]*e*[*chha*] (Dhau. Sep. I, 7) = *kechā* (Jau. Sep. I, 4), *kiṁchhi* and *kichhi*. It is softened in [*a*]*jalā* (Dhau. Sep. II, 7) = *achala* (Jau. Sep. II, 9, 11), while *j* is hardened in *Kaṁbocha* and *vachasi* (= Skt. *vrajē*). The palatal nasal *ñ* occurs only in *paṭiṁñā* (Dhau. Sep. II, 6), instead of which the Jaugaḍa text reads *paṭiṁnā*. It is replaced by dental *n* also in *ānapayāmi*, *ā*[*na*]*p*[*ay*]*is*[*a*]*ti*, *nātisu*.

As at Kālsī, lingual *ṇ* is replaced by dental *n*. But *ṇ* is used in four stray instances: [*kha*]*ṇas*[*i*] (Dhau. Sep. II, 10), *ṇijhap*[*e*]*ta*[*vi*]*ye* (Jau. Sep. I, 1), *pālaloki*[*k*]*e*[*ṇa*] (Jau. Sep. II, 4), and *saveṇā* (Jau. Sep. II, 3).

Dentals are lingualized after *ra* in the preposition *paṭi* (also *praṭi* in *praṭivedayaṁtu*, Jau. VI, 2), and after *ṛi* in *usaṭa*, *kaṭa*, [*ka*]*ṭū* and *kaṭu*, *puṭhaviyaṁ*, [*bha*]*ṭaka*, *bhaṭi*, *vaḍhī*, *vithaṭa*, *viyāpaṭa*, *vuḍha*. *t* becomes *ch* in [*ch*]*i*[*ṭh*]*itu*. In the Jaugaḍa separate edicts, *d* is hardened in the following forms of the root *pad*: *paṭipātayehaṁ*, [*pa*]*ṭipātayem*[*a*], *vipaṭipātayaṁtaṁ*, [*saṁpaṭipā*]*ta*[*yaṁ*]*taṁ*, *saṁpaṭipātayit*[*av*]*e*, while Dhauli reads [*pa*]*ṭi*[*pāday*]*ehaṁ*, &c. For [*idha*] (Dhau. IV, 8) and *hida* (passim) see above, p. lxxii. The enclitic particle *naṁ* (in *huvaṁti naṁ*, Dhau. and Jau. VIII, 1)

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[1] Both Dhau. and Jau. have *sava-loka-hita* and *pālalokika*.

[2] For other instances of the aspiration of initial *k* see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 206.

is derived by native grammarians from Skt. *nanu*; but in Pischel's opinion (*Grammatik*, § 150) it goes back to Skt. *nūnam*, which would have lost its first syllable.

The labial *p* is aspirated in *aphal*[*usa*]*ṁ* (Jau. Sep. I, 11), as in Prākṛit *pharusa* (= Skt. *parusha*); see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 208. *bh* becomes *h* in the instrumental and dative plural in *-hi*, in *lahey*[*ū*] and *lahevu*, *hoti*, *hotu*, *a*[*h*]*o*, *huvaṁti*, [*h*]*uveyā*, *huvevu*, and in the participle *hūta*, while *bhūta* is used as substantive.

The semivowel *y* becomes *j* in *majūla* (= Skt. *mayūra*), and *h* in the optatives *ālabhehaṁ*, *yehaṁ*, [*pa*]*ṭi*[*pāday*]*ehaṁ* and *paṭipātayehaṁ*. It is replaced by *v* before *u* and *ū* at Dhauli, while it remains at Jaugaḍa; see *-āvutike*, *asvasevu*, *ālādhayevū*, *chalevū*, [*p*]*ā*[*p*]*unevu* and *pāpunevū*, *yujevū* and *yūjevū*, *lahevu*, [*va*]*sevū*, *huvevu* and *huvevū*, instead of which Jaugaḍa reads *-āy*[*ut*]*ike*, &c. But both Dhauli and Jaugaḍa have *nikhamāvū* (III, 2). *y* is prefixed to *e* in *yeva*, but is dropped at the beginning of *e*, *ena*, *aṁ* (= Skt. *yat*), *ata* (= *yatra*), *athā* and *atha* (= *yathā*), *adā* and *ada* (= *yadā*), *asa* (= *yasya*), *ā* (= *yā*), *āni*, *ādise*, *āva* (= *yāvat*). The syllable *ya* becomes *i* in *apa-viy*[*a*]*t*[*ā*], *palitijit*[*u*], *bhaṭi* (= *bhṛitya*). The syllables *aya* and *ayi* are contracted to *e* in *tedasa* (= **trayadaśa*), *Ujeni* (= *Ujjayinī*), *nijhap*[*e*]*ta*[*vi*]*ye*, *paṭivedetaviye*.

As at Kālsī, *r* becomes *l* throughout.

v is prefixed to *u* in *v*[*u*]*te* (= *uktam*). The syllable *va* becomes *u* in *t*[*ul*]*āya* and [*atulanā*]; *vā* becomes *ū* in [*ka*]*ṭū* (= *kṛitvā*), and *u* in *kaṭu*, *anusāsitu*, and other absolutives. The syllables *ava* and *avi* become *o* in *olodhana*, *viyovadita*[*viye**], *-viyohālaka*, *hoti*, *hotu*, *a*[*h*]*o*, and *hosati* (= *bhavishyati*).

The two sibilants *ś* and *sh* are replaced by *s* throughout. Skt. *ś* is represented by *ch* in *chakiye* and *chaghatha*, from root *chak* (= *śak*).

h is prefixed in *hida*, *heta*, *hedisa*, *hevaṁ*.

As in other Prākṛits, final consonants are dropped. A preceding short vowel is lengthened in *saṁmyā-* (= Skt. *samyak*), *p*[*a*]*lisā* (= *parishat*), *anusathī*, *ālādhayevū*, &c. (see above, p. c). Conversely, a preceding long vowel is sometimes shortened; see [*siya*] and *siyā* (= *syāt*), *da*[*kheya*] and *dakh*[*e*]*yā*, *anubaṁdh*[*a*] (= *anubandhāt*, Dhau. V, 6), and the nom. plur. masc. *anuvigina*, &c. (below, p. civ). Final *as* generally becomes *e*; see *Ujenite*, *kute*, *T*[*a*]*kha*[*s*]*ilāte*, *duvālate*, *mukhate*, *viyaṁjanate*, *hetute*, the genitives singular *atane*, *lājine*, *Piyadasine*, the nom. plur. *lājāne*, *da*[*v*]*iye*, [*bhuy*]*e*, *ne*, *jane*, &c. It becomes *o* only in *seto*, [*ya*]*so*, and *man*[*o*]-; *a* in [*saṁpa*]*ṭipāda* (?), *sa*, *esa*;[1] *ā* in *e*[*sā*]. Final *ar* becomes *e* in *aṁte* = Prākṛit and Pāli *anto* (Skt. *antar*), and *a* in *puna* (= *punar*).

Final *a* and *u* are nasalized in *mamaṁ* (Jau. Sep. II, 7) = *mama* (passim) and *sahasesuṁ* (Dhau.) = *sahasesu* (Jau.), while the Anusvāra of words ending in short nasal vowels is omitted in *hidaloka*, *bahuka*, *-vachanik*[*a*], *-a*[*ṁ*]*tik*[*a*], &c. (below, p. civ), the acc. sing. fem. *Saṁbodh*[*ī*] and *hīni*, *aphāka* (= Skt. *asmākam*) and *t*[*u*]*phāk*[*a*]. The Anusvāra is dropped and the preceding vowel lengthened in *kiṭī*, *vaḍhī*, *sudhī*, *kaṭaviyatalā*, *k*[*aṁ*]*matalā*, *duvālā*, [*aph*]*ākā ti*; cf. above, p. c. But the nom. sing. of neuters in *-a* generally follows the analogy of the masculines and ends in *-e*; see below, p. civ.

Long nasalized vowels are generally shortened; see the genitives plural *bhaginīnaṁ*, *gulūnaṁ*, *bhāt*[*ī*]*naṁ*, [*te*]*sa*[*ṁ*], *pānānaṁ*, &c., the acc. sing. fem. *yātaṁ*, *susūsaṁ*, and the loc. sing. fem. [*pa*]*lisāy*[*aṁ*] (Jau. VI, 4), *Samāpāyaṁ*, *Tosaliyaṁ*, *nitiyaṁ*, *puṭhaviyaṁ*. The Anusvāra is omitted in *palisāyā* (Dhau. VI, 3); in *tes*[*a*] and *saṁtīlanāya* the long *ā* is shortened at the same time.[2]

III. Sandhi.

Final *d* is preserved in [*ta*]*d*-[*o*]*payā*, and final *m* in *hedisam-eva*. In *hemeva* (= Skt. *ēvam-eva*) the syllable *va* of *ēvam* is dropped.[3] The final *m* is doubled in *hevaṁmeva* and *sukhaṁmeva*. Hiatus is prevented by *m* in *bhaṭi*[*m-ayesu*].

Hiatus remains in *svag*[*a*]*-āladhi* (Jau. Sep.), *mahā-apāye* (Dhau. Sep.) = *mahāpāy*[*e*] (Jau.

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[1] The two last words, although masculine in form, are used as neuters.

[2] But *palisāyā* and *saṁtīlanāya* may as well be genitives used in the sense of the locative.

[3] Cf. *emeva* = Skt. *ēvam-ēva*, Hēmachandra, I, 271, and Jacobi, ZDMG, 47. 579.

Sep.), *duāhale* (Dhau. Sep. and Jau. Sep.), *pasu-opagāni* (Dhau. and Jau.), *man[o]-atileke* (Dhau. Sep. and Jau. Sep.). As a rule, *a* + *ă* are contracted into *ā*; see *-vasābhisita*, *pānālaṁbhe*, &c. But the *ā* is shortened before a group of consonants; see *atata* (= Skt. *yatra yatra*), *āpalaṁtā* (= *āpa-rāntāḥ), *[t]e[na]tā* (= *tēnātra*), *nathi* (= *nāsti*), *badhana[ṁ]tik[a]* (= *bandhanāntikam*), *sūpaṭhāye*. Final *a* preceding *i*, *u*, *e*, *o* is dropped in *bābha[n]-ibhi[yes]u*, *chu* (= *cha* + *u*), *[pa]j-upadāye*, *ch=eva*, *[ta]t=esa*, *munis-opagāni*. In *eve* (Jau. Sep. I, 7) the nasal vowel *aṁ* of *evaṁ* is treated in the same manner before *e* (= *yaḥ*). *a* is elided after *e* in *[e]y[aṁ]* for *e* + *ayaṁ* (= Skt. *yō=yam*).

IV. Groups of Consonants.

The only Sanskrit groups which occasionally remain unchanged are *khy*, *tr*, *tv*, *ny*, *pr*, *my*, *vy*, *śv* (which becomes *sv*), *sm*, *sy*, *sv*. Moreover the group *rs* is preserved at Jaugaḍa in *drasayitu* (IV, 3) and *Piyadrasine* (I, 3), which are meant for *darsayitu* and *Piyadarsine*; cf. above, p. lxxxvii. All other groups of consonants are either assimilated, or an auxiliary vowel is developed within them.

A long vowel preceding a group is generally shortened; see *atane* (= *ātmanaḥ*), *atānaṁ*, *atiyāyike* (= *ātyayikam*), *anusathi* (= *anuśāsti*), *anusathe*, *[ayesu]* (= *āryēshu*), *asvāsanāye*, *asvāsa[n]iyā*, *[a]svaseyu*, *asvasevu*, *asamati* (= *asamāpti*), *āladhi* (= *ārāddhi), *tadatvāye*, *p[a]la-kamāmi*, *palakamena*, *maga* (= *mārga*), *mahamatā* (Jau. Sep. II, 1), *Laṭhika*, *sasvataṁ*, *isāya* (= *īrshyayā*), *kiṭi* (= *kīrtim*), *puluva* (= *pūrva*).[1] But *ā* remains in *ānapayāmi*, *ā[na]p[ay]is[a]ti*, *mahāmāta* (passim), *sāsvataṁ* (Jau. Sep. II, 14). In *tiṁni* (= *trīṇi*) the *ī* is shortened and the nasal doubled. Similarly, the short vowels *i* and *u* in *asvāsa[n]iyā*, *da[v]iye*, and *[bhuy]e* suggest that these three words are meant for *asvāsaniyyā*, *daviyye*, and *bhuyye*; cf. above, p. lxxiv.

A long nasalized vowel is shortened before consonants in *atikaṁtaṁ*, *apa-bh[aṁ]ḍatā*, *kilaṁte*, *Devānaṁpiya*, *Paṁḍiyā*, *baṁbhana*, while the nasal is dropped and the length retained in *bābhana*. In *chhāṁda* (Jau. Sep. II, 5, 11) = *chhaṁda* (passim), the *aṁ* is lengthened although it is followed by a consonant. Anusvāra is omitted after short vowels in *kichhi* (cf. above, p. lx), *badhana* (= Skt. *bandhana*), *vihisā*; after *e* in *kaleti* (Dhau. and Jau. IX, 2); and before *y* in *anusayānaṁ*, *sayama*, *sayuta* (= *saṁyukta*).

The auxiliary vowel which is developed within some groups is *u* before or after labials in *duve*, *duvādasa*, *ḍuvāla*, *puluva*, *suvāmika*, *pāpunāti*; *e* in *ānaneyaṁ* (Jau. Sep.) = *ānaniyaṁ* (Dhau.); and frequently *i*, as the subjoined list of Sanskrit groups and of their equivalents at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa will show. I need not quote any examples of the groups *kr*, *gr*, *dr*, *dhr*, *br*, *bhr*, *śr*, *sr*, which have become *k*, *g*, *d*, *dh*, *b*, *bh*, *s*, *s*, respectively.

ḥkh becomes *kh* (i. e. *kkh*) in *dukha[ṁ]* and *dukhīyati*.

kt becomes *t* in *-āy[ut]ike*, *-āvutike*, &c.

ky becomes *kiy* in *sakiye* and *chakiye*.

kl becomes *kil* in *kilaṁte*, *k[i]lamathena*, *palikilesa*.

ksh becomes *kh* in *khana*, *khamitave*, *khamisati*, *[kh]ud[aṁ]*, *khudakena*, *T[a]kha[s]ilāte*, *dakhāmi*, &c.,[2] *nakhatena*, *mokhāye*, *lukhāni*.

kshṇ becomes *khin* in *s[a]khina* (= Skt. *ślakshṇa*).

kshy becomes *gh* in *chaghatha*.

khy remains in *mokhya* (Dhau. Sep.), but becomes *khiy* in *mokhiya* (Jau. Sep.).

khl becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

gn becomes *g* in *[a]gi*, but *gin* in *anuvigina*.

jñ becomes *jin* in *lājinā*, *lājine*; *ṁñ* in *paṭiṁñā* (Dhau. Sep.); *ṁn* or *n* in *paṭiṁnā* (Jau. Sep.), *ānapayāmi*, *ā[na]p[ay]is[a]ti*, *ānāp[ay]i[ta]*, *nātisu*.

jy becomes *j* in the passive forms *yujeyū* and *y[ū]jeyū*.

dy becomes *ḍiy* in *Paṁḍiyā*.

ṇy becomes *ṁn* in *hilaṁna* and *ānaṁne*, but *niy* in *ānaniyaṁ*, and *ney* in *ānaneyaṁ*.

tp becomes *p* in *[pa]jupadāye*.

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[1] *puluva* presupposes an intermediate form **purva*, in which the *ū* of *pūrva* was shortened before the group *rv*. The same applies to *atiyāyike*. Cf. above, p. lxxiv, n. 1.

[2] See above, p. lxxiv and n. 5.

tm becomes *t* in *atane* and *atānaṁ*.

ty becomes *tiy* in *atiyāyike*, *apatiye*, *ekatiyā*.

tr remains in *s[a]vatra* (Jau. II, 4), but becomes *t* in *s[a]vata* (passim), *tiṁni*, &c.

tv remains in *tadatvāye*.

ts becomes *s* in *usaṭena* and *chikisā*.

tsth becomes *ṭh* in *uṭhāna*, but *th* in *uthāy[ā]*; cf. above, p. lxxxviii.

dg becomes *g* in *uga[chha](chhe)*.

dy becomes *y* in *uyānasi*; *j* in *aja*, *[pa]ṭipa[ja]ti*, *paṭipajeyā*, *saṁpaṭipajati*, *sa[ṁ]paṭipajam[ī]n[e]*.

dv becomes *v* in *anuvigina*, but *duv* in *duve*, *duvādasa*, *duvāla*.

dhy becomes *jh* in *[n]ijhatī*, *ṇijhap[e]ta[vi]ye*, *majhaṁ*, *majhime[na]*.

ny remains in *[anye]* (Jau. Sep. I, 5), but becomes *ṁn* in *aṁna* (passim) and *maṁn[ate]*.

pt becomes *t* in *asamati*, *nat[ī]* and *nati* (= Skt. *naptāraḥ*), *[n]ijhatī*.

pn becomes *pun* in *pāpunāti*, &c.

pr remains in *praṭivedayaṁtu* (Jau. VI, 2), but becomes *p* everywhere else.

bhy becomes *bhiy* in *āla[ṁ]bhiyaṁti*, *ālabhiyisu*, *āla[bh]iyisaṁti*, *-ibhi[yes]u*.

my remains (with the nasal doubled) in *saṁmyā-*.

rk becomes *kh* in *akhakhasa* (= Skt. *akarkaśa*).

rg becomes *g* in *magesu*, *vaga*, *svaga*.

rt becomes *t* in *[anu]vatatu* and *anuvatisaṁti*; *ṭ* in *vaṭitaviya*, *kaṭaviya*, *kiṭī*.

rth becomes *th* in *atha* (Jau. Sep. II, 2, 12, 14); *ṭh* in *aṭha* (passim) and *[nilaṭhi]yaṁ*.

rdh becomes *ḍh* in *vaḍhite*, *vaḍhayis[a]ti*, *pavaḍhayisaṁti*.

rbh becomes *bh* in *gabhāgālasi*.

rm becomes *ṁm* or *m* in *a[nu]chātuṁmāsaṁ*, *kaṁma-* (= Skt. *karman*) and *kamana* (= *karmaṇā*), *dhaṁma*.

ry becomes *y* in *[ayesu]*, but *liy* in *ānaṁtaliyaṁ*, *niṭhūliyena*, *mādhuliyāye*.

rv becomes *v* in *pavatasi* and *sava*, but *luv* in *puluva*.

rś becomes *s* in *dasana* and *Piyadasi-*, but *rs* in *drasayitu* (i.e. *darsayitu*, Jau. IV, 3) and *Piyadrasine* (i.e. °*darsine*, Jau. I, 3).

rsh becomes *s* in *vasa*.

rshy becomes *s* in *isāya*.

lp becomes *p* in *apa* and *-kapaṁ*.

ly becomes *y* in *kayāna*.

vy remains in *saṁchalitavye* (Jau. Sep. I, 7), but becomes *y* in *[ichhi]taye* (Jau. Sep. I, 5), and *viy* in *saṁchalitaviy[e]* (Dhau. Sep. I, 13), *ichhitaviye*, and other gerundives, *divi[y]āni*, *[miga]viy[ā]*, *viyaṁjanate*, *viyāpaṭā*, *-viyohālaka*.

vr becomes *v* in *vachasi* (= Skt. *vrajē*).

śch becomes *chh* in *pachhā*.

śl becomes *s* in *s[a]khina* (= Skt. *ślakshṇa*).

śv becomes *sv* in *asvāsanāye*, *asvāsa[n]iyā*, *[a]svaseyu*, *asvasevu*, *sāsvataṁ* and *sasvataṁ*, but *s* in *seto*.

shk becomes *k* in *dukaṭaṁ* and *dukala*.

shkr becomes *kh* in *nikhamāvū*, *[n]ikhami*, *[n]i[kha]m[i]s[u]*, *nikhamisaṁti*, *nikhāmayisāmi*.

shṭr becomes *ṭh* in *Laṭhika*.

shṭh becomes *ṭh* in *[ch]i[ṭh]itu*, *niṭhūliyena*, *se[ṭhe]*; *th* in *adhithāna*.

shp becomes *ph* in *niphati*.

shm becomes *ph* in *tuphe*, &c.

shy becomes *s* in *tisa*, *munisa*, *hosati*, *esatha* (Jau. Sep.), and other futures, but *h* in *ehatha* (Dhau. Sep.); cf. Māhārāshṭrī *ehii* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 529, and *ehiti* in Pāli.

As at Kālsī, *sk* becomes *k* in *[a]gi-kaṁdhāni*.

st becomes *th* in *athi*, *nathi*, *anusathi*, *anusathe*, *vithaṭena*, *saṁthuta*, *hathīni*; *ṭh* in *aṭhi* (Jau. Sep. I, 4).

str becomes *th* in *ithī*.

sth becomes *ṭh* in *chila-ṭhitīkā*.

sm remains in *akasmā*, but becomes *ph* in *aphe*, &c., and *s* in the locative singular in *-asi*.

sy remains in [*āla*]*s*[*y*]*e*[*na*] (Jau. Sep. I, 6), but becomes *siy* in *ālasiyena* (Dhau. Sep. I, 11), *siyā* and [*siya*] (= Skt. *syāt*), and *s* in the genitive singular in *-asa*.

sv remains in *svaga*, but becomes *suv* in *suvāmike*[*na*].

hm becomes *ṁbh* in *baṁbhana*. In *bābhana* the Anusvāra is omitted, and the long *ā* of Skt. *brāhmaṇa* is preserved.

B.—DECLENSION

I. Bases in *-a*.

(1) Masculines and neuters in *-a*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. *jane*, &c.; neut. *dāne*, &c.	Masc. *putā*, &c.; neut. *osadhāni*, &c.
Acc. masc. *dhaṁmaṁ*, &c.; neut. *maṁgalaṁ*, &c.	Masc. *kaṁdhāni*, *y*[*u*]*t*[*ān*]*i*; neut. *vasāni*, &c.
Instr. *putena*, &c.	*jāte*[*h*]*i*.
Dat. *aṭhāye*, &c.	*mahāmātehi*, *samanehi*.
Abl. *anubaṁdh*[*a*], *pachhā*.	
Gen. *janasa*, &c.	*pānānaṁ*, &c.
Loc. *aṭhasi*, &c.	*vasesu*, &c.

Nom. sing. masc.—The original termination *-s* seems to be dropped in [*saṁpa*]*ṭipāda* (Dhau. Sep. I, 14). The termination is *-o* instead of *-e* in the colophon of Dhauli: *seto* (Text, p. 91).

Nom. sing. neut.—The termination is *-aṁ* in *jīvaṁ* (Dhau. and Jau. I, 1) and *duvālaṁ* (Jau. Sep. I, 2); *-a* in *-a*[*ṁ*]*tik*[*a*] (Dhau. Sep. I, 9; Jau. Sep. I, 5), *duvāl*[*a*] (Dhau. Sep. I, 3; Jau. Sep. II, 2), *mata* (four times), *v*[*a*]*ṭitaviya* (Jau. Sep. I, 7); *-ā* in *kaṭaviyatalā* (Jau. IX, 6), *k*[*aṁ*]*matalā* (Jau. VI, 5), *duvālā* (Dhau. Sep. II, 2).

Acc. sing. masc.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *hidaloka* (Dhau. Sep. II, 6).

Acc. sing. neut.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *bahuka* (Jau. Sep. I, 4) and *-vachanik*[*a*] (Jau. Sep. I, 12, II, 1). The form of the nominative is used in *ānaṁne* (Dhau. Sep. I, 14).

Nom. plur. masc.—The final *ā* is shortened in *anuvigina* (Dhau. Sep. II, 4; Jau. Sep. II, 5), *āya*[*ta*] (Dhau. Sep. I, 4; Jau. Sep. I, 2), *nagalaka* (Jau. Sep. I, 10), *ma*[*hā*]*māta* (Dhau. Sep. I, 1), *vataviya*) Dhau. Sep. I, 2, II, 1), *-viyohālaka* (Jau. Sep. I, 1).

Nom. plur. neut.—The termination is *-ā* instead of *-āni* in *lopāpitā* and *hālāpitā* (Dhau. II, sections B and C; Jau. II, 4). As at Kālsī and Mānsehrā, the two Sanskrit masculines *vṛiksha* and *prāṇa* are used as neuters: *lukhāni* (Dhau. and Jau. II, 4) and *pānāni* (I, 4).

(2) Feminines in *-ā*.

Nom. sing. *pajā*, &c.
Acc. sing. *yātaṁ*, *susūsaṁ*.
Instr. sing. *isāya*, *t*[*ul*]*āya*, *tūlanā*[*ya*].
Loc. sing. *Samāpāyaṁ*, *saṁtīlanāya*, *pajāye*, [*pa*]*jupadāye*.

Nom. sing.—The final *ā* is shortened in *achala*, *ichha*, *likhit*[*a*], *sotaviya*.

II. Bases in *-i*.

(1) Masculines and neuters in *-i*.

Nom. and acc. plur. neut. *tiṁni*.
Loc. plur. *nātisu*.

(2) Feminines in *-i* and *-ī*.

Nom. sing. *anusathi*, *āladhi*, *lipi*, &c.
Acc. sing. *Saṁbodh*[*i*], *hīni*.
Instr. sing. *anusathiyā*, *anāvūtiya*.

Dat. sing. *anus[ath]iy[e]*, *[va]ḍhiye*.
Abl. sing. *niphatiy[ā]*.
Loc. sing. *Tosaliyaṁ*, *nitiyaṁ*, *puṭhaviyaṁ*, *ā[ya]tiye*.
Nom. plur. *ithī*.[1]
Gen. plur. *bhaginīnaṁ*.

Nom. sing.—The final vowel is long in *anusathī*, *āl[adh]ī*, *[n]ijhatī*, *lipī*, *v[a]ḍhī* (Dhau. IV, section I), *sudhī* (Dhau. VII, section E).

Acc. sing.—The termination is *-ī* in *kiṭī*, *vaḍhī* (Dhau. IV, J), *sudhī* (Dhau. and Jau. VII, B).

III. Bases in *-u*.

Nom. sing. masc., fem., and neut. *sādhu*, *sādh[ū]*.
Nom. and acc. plur. neut. *bahūni*.
Instr. plur. *bahūhi*.
Gen. plur. *gulūnaṁ*.
Loc. plur. *bahūsu*.

IV. Masculines in *-ṛi*.

Nom. Sing. *pitā*, *pita* (Jau. Sep. II, 10).
Gen. plur. *bhāt[ī]naṁ*.
Loc. plur. *p[i]t[i]su*.

The instr. sing. follows the *i*-declension: *[p]itinā*, *bhātinā*, likewise the nom. plur. *nat[ī]*, *nati*; cf. Prākṛit and Pāli *aggī* (nom. plur. masc.).

V. Bases in Consonants.

(1) Present participles in *-at*.

Nom. sing. masc. *saṁtaṁ*, *kalaṁtaṁ*,[2] *vipaṭipātayaṁtaṁ*, *[saṁpaṭipā]ta[yaṁ]taṁ*.
The base *mahat* follows the *a*-declension: nom. sing. masc. *mahaṁte*.

(2) Masculines and neuters in *-an*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. *lājā*, *lāja* (Dhau. Sep. II, 4).	*lājāne*.
Acc. masc. *atānaṁ*; neut. *nāma*.	
Instr. *lājinā*, *kaṁ[mana]*, *kamana*.	
Dat. *kaṁmane*.	
Gen. *atane*, *lājine*.	

The neuter base *karman* may also follow the *a*-declension: nom. sing. *kaṁme*, acc. *kaṁmaṁ*, gen. *kaṁmasa*.

(3) Masculines in *-in*.

Nom. sing. *Piyadasī*.
Instr. sing. *Piyadasinā*.
Gen. sing. *Piyadasine*.
Acc. plur. *hathīni* (= *[ha]thini* at Kālsī).

(4) Neuters in *-as*.

Acc. sing. *[ya]so*, *da[v]iye*, *[bhuy]e*.

(5) Feminine in *-d*.

The base *parishad* follows the *a*- declension: nom. sing. *p[a]lisā*, loc. *[pa]lisāy[aṁ]* and *palisāyā*.

[1] Cf. *aṭavi*, above, p. xci.

[2] For these two forms see above, p. lxxvii.

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	*hakaṁ.*	*maye.*
Acc.		*aphe, a[ph]eni.*
Instr.	*mamayā, mamāye, mamiyāye, me.*	
Abl.	*mamate.*	
Gen.	*mama, mamā, mamaṁ, me.*	*aphāka, [aph]ākā, ne.*
Loc.		*[aphesu], aphesū.*

For the forms *hakaṁ* and *mamayā* see above, p. lxxviii. With the instr. sing. *mamāye* (Dhau. Sep.), instead of which Jau. Sep. reads *mamiyāye*, cf. *mamāi*, Hēmachandra, III, 109. The ablative *mamate* for Skt. *mattaḥ* is, like the instrumental *mamayā*, due to the influence of the genitive *mama*. The nom. plur. *maye* is derived from Skt. *vayam*, but influenced by the instr. sing. *mayā*, and the acc. *aphe* (Dhau. Sep. II, 7) is formed from the same base as Skt. *asmān*. The acc. *a[ph]eni* (Jau. Sep. II, 10) and the loc. *aphesu* follow the analogy of the masculines in *-a*.

(2) Pronoun of the second person.

Nom. plur. *tuphe, phe.*
Acc. plur. *tuphe, tupheni.*
Instr. plur. *tuphehi.*
Gen. plur. *t[u]phāk[a].*
Loc. plur. *tuphesu.*

The base **tushma,* from which the nom. and acc. plur. *tuphe* (= Prākṛit *tumhe*) is derived, seems to be a compromise between the Skt. base *yushma* and the singular *tvam* (Prākṛit *tumaṁ*).[1] With the form *phe* (Jau. Sep. I, 2) cf. *bhe*, Hēmachandra, III, 91. The three forms *tupheni* (Jau. Sep.), *tuphehi,* and *tuphesu* follow the analogy of the masculines in *-a*.

(3) Base *ta.*

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc.	*se, te* (Dhau. Sep. I, 13).	*te, se.*
Acc. neut.	*taṁ, se, sa.*	
Instr.	*tena.*	
Gen.	*tasa.*	*[te]sa[ṁ], tes[ā].*
Loc.	*tasi.*	

In Dhau. Sep. II, 7, the nom. plur. neut. *tāni* takes the place of the masc. *te* (Jau. Sep. II, 9).

(4) Base *ĕta.*

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc.	*e[sā]* (Dhau. VIII, 3); neut. *esa.*	Masc. *ete*; neut. *etāni.*
Acc. masc. and neut.	*etaṁ.*	
Instr.	*[e]takena.*	
Dat.	*etāye, etakāye.*	
Gen.	*etasa.*	
Loc.	*etasi.*	

Nom. sing. fem. *etā(ta)kā.*

In Dhau. Sep. I, 11 f., the nom. plur. masc. *ete [jātā]* corresponds to the nom. plur. neut. *et[ā]ni jātā[ni]* in Jau. Sep. I, 6.

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[1] With *aphe* and *tuphe* cf. the Singhalese nom. plur. *api* and *topi.*

(5) Demonstrative *idam*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. *ay*[*aṁ*], *iyaṁ*; neut. *iyaṁ*.	Masc. *ime*.
Acc. neut. *imaṁ*.	
Instr. *imena*.	*imehi*.
Dat. [*ī*]*m*[*ā*]*ye*.	
Gen. *imasa*.	

Nom. sing. fem. *iyaṁ*.
Dat. sing. fem. *imā*[*y*]*e*.

As at Kālsī, the nom. sing. masc. *ayaṁ* occurs only in [*e*]*y*[*aṁ*] (= Skt. *yo-yam*, Jau. Sep. I, 6).

(6) Interrogative pronoun.

Nom. sing. neut. *kiṁ*. The acc. sing. neut. *kaṁ* and the acc. plur. neut. *kāni* are used as demonstratives. The abl. sing. of the same base is preserved in *akasmā*. The indefinite pronoun is formed with *cha* or *chha* (nom. sing. masc. *kechā*, [*k*]*e*[*chha*]), and with *chhi* = Skt. *chid* (neut. sing. *kiṁchhi*, *kichhi*); and *kiṁti* is used in the sense of 'that'.

(7) Relative pronoun.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. *ye*, *e*; neut. *e*.	Masc. *ye*, *e*; neut. *āni*.
Acc. neut. *aṁ*.	
Instr. *ena*.	
Gen. *asa*.	

Nom. sing. fem. *yā*, *ā*.

(8) Base *anya*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. [*anye*], *aṁne*; neut. *aṁne*.	Masc. *aṁne* } neut. *aṁnāni*.
Acc.	}
Dat. *aṁnāye*.	
Loc.	*aṁnesu*.

(9) Base *sarva*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. neut. *save*.	Masc. *save*.
Acc. masc. and neut. *savaṁ*.	
Instr. *savena*, *saveṇā*.	
Gen. *savasa*.	
Loc.	*savesu*.

(10) Base **ēkatya*.

Nom. plur. masc. *ekatiyā*.

D.—NUMERALS

One.

Nom. sing. masc. *eke*; instr. sing. *ekena*, *ek*[*a*]*k*[*e*]*na*.

Two, three, five.

Nom. masc. *duve* (cf. above, p. lxxx); nom. and acc. neut. *tiṁni*; loc. *paṁchasu*.

Ten, twelve, thirteen.

d[a]sa, duvādasa, tedasa.

Hundred.

Acc. plur. *satāni*; instr. *satehi.*

Thousand.

Loc. plur. *sahasesu, sahasesuṁ* (Dhau. Sep. I, 4).

Literary Prākṛit also uses the termination *-esuṁ* besides *-esu*; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 371.

Hundred thousand.

Nom. plur. *sata-sah[a]sāni.*

E.—CONJUGATION

I. Present.

(1) *Bases.*

First Sanskrit class.

Root *kamp*: *anukaṁpati.*
Root *kram*: *p[a]lakamāmi, nikhamāvū.*
Root *gam*: *gachhema.*
Root *chal*: *chaley[ū].*
Root *driś*: *dakhāmi, drakhati, dekhata.*
Root *bhū*: *hoti, huvaṁti* (sixth class).
Roots *rabh* and *labh*: *ālabhehaṁ, lahey[ū].*
Root *vas*: *[va]sevū.*
Root *vṛit*: *[anu]vatatu.*
Root *śvas*: *[a]svaseyu.*
Root *sthā*: *[ch]i[ṭh]itu* (from **chiṭṭhati*), *uthāy[ā]* (from **utthāti*).

Second Sanskrit class.

Root *as*: *athi, aṭhi* (Jau. Sep. I, 4).
Root *i*: *eti.*
The two roots *yā* and *śās* follow the *a*-conjugation: *yehaṁ, anusāsāmi.*

Third Sanskrit class.

Root *hu*: *pajohitaviye*; see above, p. lxxxi.

Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root *pad*: *[pa]ṭipa[ja]ti.*
Root *man*: *maṁn[ate].*

Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root *āp* follows the ninth class (*pāpunāti, pāpunātha*) and the *a*-conjugation (*pāpuneyu*).

Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root *ish*: *ichhati.*

Seventh Sanskrit class.

Root *yuj* follows the *a*-conjugation: *yujeyū* and *yūjevū, yujaṁtū, yujisaṁti.*

Eighth Sanskrit class.

Root *kṛi*: *kaleti, kalāmi, kalaṁti, kalaṁtaṁ*; see above, p. lxxxi.

Ninth Sanskrit class.

Root *jñā*: *jānitu* and *jānisaṁti* are formed from the present *jānāti*.

Tenth Sanskrit class.

(a) With *aya*: *atikāmayisati, nikhāmayisāmi, dasayitu* and *drasayitu* (i.e. *darsayitu*), *paṭipādayemā, ālādhayaṁtū, likhiyis[āmi*], alochayisū, vaḍhayis[a]ti, vedayati, sukhayāmi.* The character *ayi* is contracted into *e* in *paṭivedetaviye.*

(b) With *paya*: *hāpayisat[i]*. In *ānapayāmi* and *ṇijhap[e]ta[vi]ye*[1] the long vowel of the two roots *jñā* and *dhyā* is shortened.[2]

(c) With *āpaya*: *khānāpitāni, likhāpitā, hālāpita.*

(d) With *pāpaya*: *lopāpita.*

(e) With *īya*: *dukhīyati* (denominative of Skt. *duḥkha*).

(2) *Moods.*

(a) Indicative.

1. sing. *p[a]lakamāmi, dakhāmi, anusāsāmi, ichhāmi, kalāmi, ānapayāmi.*

3. sing. *anukaṁpati, [pa]lakama[t]i, drakhati, hoti, athi* and *aṭhi, eti, [pa]ṭipa[ja]ti, saṁpaṭipajati, pāpunāti, ichhati, kal[e]ti, vedayati, dukhīyati.* The only middle form is *maṁn[ate]* (Dhau. X, 1).

2. plur. *pāpunātha* (from the strong base of the ninth class).

3. plur. *huvaṁti, ichhaṁti, kalaṁti* and *kaleti* (Dhau. and Jau. IX, 2).

(b) Subjunctive.

1. sing. *sukhayāmi* with indicative termination; cf. above, p. xcv.

3. plur. *nikhamāvū* with optative termination; cf. Johansson, *Shāhb.*, part 2, p. 89, n. 2.

(c) Optative.

1. sing. *ālabhehaṁ, yehaṁ, [pa]ṭi[pāday]ehaṁ* and *paṭipātayehaṁ*; see above, p. lxxxii.

3. sing. *uga[chha](chhe), dakh[e]yā* and *da[kheya], uṭhāy[ā]* (from the indicative **uṭṭhāti*=Pāli *uṭṭhāti*; cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 483), *[h]uveyā, siyā* and *[siya]* (= Skt. *syāt*), *paṭipajeyā.*

1. plur. *gachhema, paṭipādayemā* and *[pa]ṭipātayem[a].*

3. plur. *chaley[ū]* and *chalevū, hveyū, huvevu* and *huvevū, lahey[ū]* and *lahevu, [va]sevū, [a]svaseyu* and *asvasevu, pāpuneyu, [p]ā[p]unevu* and *pāpunevū, yu[j]ey[u], yujeyū,* and *yūjevū, ālādhayey[ū]* and *ālādhayevū.*

(d) Imperative.

3. sing. *hotu, [anu]vatatu.*

2. plur. *dakhatha* (with indicative termination), *dekhata.*

3. plur. *[pa]lakamaṁtu* and *palakama[ṁ]t[ū], yujaṁtū, ālādhayaṁtū, prativedayaṁtu.*

(e) Imperfect.

3. sing. *a[h]o.*

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[1] Cf. the substantive *nijhati* (= **nidhyapti*) in the rock-edict VI, which is formed from **nidhyapayati*, as Skt. *ājñapti* and *vijñapti* from *jñapayati* = *jñāpayati.*

[2] But in *ānāp[ay]i[ta]* (Dhau. III, 1), the long vowel of the root *jñā* is preserved.

II. Aorist.

(a) Indicative.

3. sing. [*n*]*ikhami*; 3. plur. [*n*]*i*[*kha*]*m*[*i*]*s*[*u*].

(b) Subjunctive.

3. plur. *alochayisū*; see Text, p. 31, n. 7.

III. Perfect.

3. sing. *ā*[*ha*] (only Jau. Sep. II, 1) and *āhā*.

IV. Future.

1. sing. *hosami* and *hosāmī* (= Prākṛit *hŏssāmi*), *nikhāmayisāmi*, *likhiyis*[*āmi**].

3. sing. *khamisati*, *hosati*, *kachhati*,[1] *atikāmayisati*, *ā*[*na*]*p*[*ay*]*is*[*a*]*ti*, *vaḍhayis*[*a*]*ti*.

2. plur. *esatha* and *ehatha*, *chaghatha* (from root *chak* = Skt. *śak*),[2] *ālādhayisatha* and *ālā*[*dha*]-*yisa*[*th*]*ā*.

3. plur. *nikhamisaṁti*, *anuvatisaṁti*, [*a*]*nus*[*ā*]*sisaṁ*[*t*]*i*, *yujisaṁti*, *kachhaṁti*, *jānisaṁti*, *pava-ḍhayisaṁti*.

V. Passive.

3. plur. indicative *āla*[*ṁ*]*bhiyaṁti*.[3]
3. plur. optative *yujeyū*, *y*[*ū*]*jeyū*, *yujevū*, *y*[*ujev*]*ū*.
3. plur. aorist *ālabhiyisu*.
3. plur. future *āla*[*bh*]*iyisaṁti* and *āl*[*aṁ*]*bhiyisa*[*ṁ*]*t*[*i*].

VI. Desiderative.

3. sing. imperative *susūsatu*.

VII. Participles.

(1) Present participle.

Active.

Root *as*: *saṁtaṁ*.
Root *kṛi*: *kalaṁtaṁ*.
Causative of *pad*: *vipaṭipātayaṁtaṁ* and [*saṁpaṭipā*]*ta*[*yaṁ*]*taṁ* (Jau. Sep.).

Middle.

Root *pad*: *sa*[*ṁ*]*paṭipajam*[*ī*]*n*[*e*], and causative: [*vi*]*paṭ*[*i*]*pādayamīne* (Dhau. Sep.).

(2) Past passive participle.

(a) In *-ta*: *mata*, *kaṭa* (= Skt. *kṛita*), *viyāpaṭa* (= *vyāpṛita*), *vithaṭa* (= *vistṛita*), *usaṭa* (= *utsṛita*), [*n*]*isita* (= **niśrita*), *likhita*, *likhāpita*, *khānāpita*, *hālāpita*, *ālopita*, *lopāpita*, *ānā-*

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[1] For an explanation of this form see above, p. lxxxiii, n. 1.
[2] Cf. *sagghasi* in the Suttanipāta, verse 834.
[3] For the probable origin of the nasal within the root, see above, p. lxxxiii, n. 2.

p[*ay*]*i*[*ta*],[1] *hūta*, *atikaṁta*, *kilaṁta*, *āya*[*ta*] (i. e. *āyatta*), *sayuta* (= *saṁyukta*), *v*[*u*]*ta* (= *ukta*), *vuḍha* (= *vṛiddha*), *anusatha* (from *anu-śās*), &c.

(b) In *-na*: *uvigina* (= *udvigna*).

(3) Future passive participle.

(a) In *-tavya*: *etaviya*, *sotaviya*, *kaṭaviya*, *vataviya*, *pajohitaviya*, *ichhitaviya* and [*ichhi*]*taya* (from the present *ichchhati*), *chalitaviya*, *saṁchalitavya* and °*taviya*, *vaṭitaviya*, *viyovadita*[*viya**], *paṭivedetaviya*, *ṇijhap*[*e*]*t a*[*vi*]*ya*.

(b) In *-anīya*: *asvāsa*[*n*]*iya*.

(c) In *-ya*: *sakiya and chakiya*.

VIII. Infinitive.

khamitave, *ālādhayitave*, *saṁpaṭipādayitave* and *saṁpaṭipātayit*[*av*]*e*.

IX. Absolutive.

kaṭu and [*ka*]*ṭū* (= Skt. *kṛitvā*), *anusāsitu*, *ālabhitu*, *saṁchalitu*, *jānitu* (from *jānāti*), *palitijit*[*u*] (from root *tyaj*), [*ch*]*i*[*ṭh*]*itu* (from **chiṭṭhati*), *dasayitu* and *drasayitu* (i. e. *darsayitu*), *hāpayitu*. In *veditu*, which corresponds to Skt. *vēdayitvā*, the causative character *ay* is neglected.

A few words may be inserted here on the small **Bombay-Sōpārā** fragment of the eighth rock-edict (Text, p. 118). The preserved forms agree with the Māgadha dialect of Dhauli and Jaugaḍa. But, as at Girnār, the semivowel *r* is not changed to *l*; see *hiraṁna* (= Skt. *hiraṇya*, l. 7) and [*ra*]*tī* (l. 9). In the aorist *nikhamiṭha* (l. 5) the lingual is retained, while Kālsī has *nikhamithā* and the pillar-edicts have *huthā* and *vaḍhithā*, with dental *th*.

CHAPTER X

GRAMMAR OF THE PILLAR-EDICTS

A.—PHONETICS

I. Vowels.

The vowel *a* is replaced by *i* in the second syllable of *gihitha* (see above, p. lxx), in *majhima* (see above, p. xcix), and perhaps in *min*[*ā*] (Delhi-Mīraṭh) and *mina* (= Skt. *manāk* ?). It becomes *u* in the second syllable of *udupāna* (see above, p. xcix), and after *m* in *muta* (= *mata*), *munisa* (= *manushya*). The change of *a* into *e* in *seyaka* (i. e. *sĕyyaka*), which is the reading of three versions instead of *sayaka* (= Skt. *śalyaka*) at Delhi-Tōprā, is due to the following palatal *y*.

Skt. *i* is represented by *a* in the first syllable of *kapīlikā* (Delhi-Tōprā) = *kipilikā* (Allahabad-Kōsam) and = Skt. *pipīlikā*, and by *u* after original *v* in *dutīya* and *dutiya*, *dupada*, *kinasu* (i. e. *kinassu*) = Skt. *kēnasvit*; see Text, p. 134, n. 1. *e* corresponds to Skt. *ī* in *hedisa* (Sārnāth, ll. 6, 7).

i corresponds to Skt. *u* in the second syllable of *pulisa* (see above, p. xcix) and of *munisa* (see above, p. lxx). In *kho* (= Skt. *khalu*) Skt. *u* is represented by *o*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

ṛi becomes (1) *a* in *anugahinevu*, *apakaṭha* (= Skt. *apakṛishṭa*), *kaṭa*, *kapana* (= *kṛipaṇa*), *dāna-*[*gah*]*e*[2] (Queen's edict, l. 3), *bhaṭakesu*, *vaḍikā* and *vaḍikyā* (=**vṛitikā*), *vaḍhi*, *viyāpaṭa*; (2) *i* in

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[1] Cf. p. lxxxiii, n. 3.

[2] Cf. *gahatha* (= Skt. *gṛihastha*) at Kālsī.

gihitha (= *grihastha*), *nisijitu* (from *nisrijati*), *pit*[*i*]*su* (= *pitrishu*), *simala* (= *srimara*), *hedisa* (= *īdriśa*); (3) *e* in *dekhati*, &c.

i corresponds to Skt. *e* in *ika* (Sārnāth, ll. 6, 7, 8), i. e. **ikka* = Prākrit *ekka* and Skt. *ēka*. Cf. Ardhamāgadhī *ikkārasa* = Skt. *ēkādaśa*; Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 443.

ai becomes *e* in *kevaṭa* (= Skt. *kaivarta*), and *au* becomes *o* in *-opagāni*, *Kosaṁbiyaṁ*, *putāpapotike*, *mokhya*.

Initial *a* is lengthened in *ānāvāsasi* (Sārnāth) = *anā*[*vā*]*sasi* (Kauśāmbī and Sāṁchī). Final *a* is lengthened frequently; see *eva*, *yeva*, *va* and *evā*, *yevā*, *vā* (= Skt. *ēva*), *cha* and *chā*, *na* and *nā* (in *nāsaṁtaṁ*), *hetā*, *āha* and *āhā* or *ahā*, *vaḍhithā*, *huthā*, *vivāsāpayāthā*, [*sa*]*ṁnaṁdhāpayiyā*, *nāma* and *nāmā* (in *nāmā ti*), *mama* and *mamā*, *asvasa* and *asvasā*, *gonasa* and *gonasā*, *jānapadasa* and *jānapadasā*, *Devānaṁpiyashā*, *lokasa* and *lokasā*, *usāhena* and *usāhenā*, *bhayena* and *bhayenā*, *v*[*a*]*chanenā*. Interconsonantal *i* and *u* are sometimes lengthened; see *ganīyati* (Queen's edict, l. 4), *-thitīka* and *-ṭhitīka* (also *-thitika* and *-ṭhitika*), *tīlīta* (thus Allahabad-Kōsam; *tīlita* in the other versions), *devīye* (Queen's edict, l. 2; *deviye*, id., ll. 4, 5), *pavajītānaṁ*, *lājīhi* (instr. plur. of Skt. *rājan*), *anupaṭīpajaṁtaṁ*, *anupaṭīpajaṁtu* (also *anupaṭi°*), *anupaṭīpajīsati*, *anupaṭīpati* (also *anupaṭi°*), *saṁpaṭīpati*, *paṭīpati*, *paṭībhoga* (also *paṭi°*), *paṭīvisiṭhaṁ* (also *paṭi°*), *paṭi*[*vedayaṁti**], *niṭhūliye*, *pachūpagamane* (*pachupa°* Allahabad-Kōsam), *bahūsu* (but *gulusu*). Final *i* and *u* may be lengthened before *ti* (= *iti*) or without it; see *anuvidhīyaṁtī*, *āvahāmī ti*, *kachhatī ti*, *khādiyatī*, *tī*, *tī ti* (Delhi-Tōprā, II, l. 16), [*ha*]*ṁtaviyānī*, *anupaṭipajaṁtū*, *hotū ti*. Final *i* and *u*, which stand for original *is* and *us* or *ur*, are treated in the same way; see [*gut*]*i* and *gotī ti*, *lipi* and *lipī*, *bhikhu* and [*bhikh*]*ū*, *Sakyamunī ti*, *sādhu* and *sādhū*, *ālādhayevu* and *ālādhayevū ti*, *upadahevu and upadahevū*, *pavatayevū ti*.

Initial *ā* is shortened in *avahāmī* and *ava*[1] (Delhi-Tōprā) = *āvahāmī* and *āva* or *āvā* (in the other versions). Interconsonantal *ā* is shortened in the Queen's edict in *ālama* (= Skt. *ārāma*) and *mahamata* (= *mahāmātra*). Final *ā* is often shortened; see *athā* and *atha* (= Skt. *yathā*), *tathā* and *tatha*, *vā* and *va* (= Skt. *vā*), *apahaṭā* and *apahaṭa*, *lājā* and *lāja*, *atanā* and *atana*, *lājina*, *Piyadasina*, *anusathiyā* and *anusathiya*, and the nom. sing. fem. *esa* (pillar edict I, section D), *apekhā* and *apekha*, &c. Also final *ī* is sometimes shortened; see *Piyadasī* (Allahabad-Kōsam) and *Piyadasi*, *duḍī* and *duḷi*, *dhāti* (= Skt. *dhātrī*), *aṭhamī-pakha* (Delhi-Tōprā) and *aṭhami-pakha*, *chātuṁmāsi-pakha*, *devi-kumālānaṁ*, *bhikhuni*, *Luṁmini-gāme*. Interconsonantal *ī* is shortened in *dutiya* = *dutīya*[2] (Queen's edict, l. 5), and *ū* in *anulupāyā*, *thube*, *bhutānaṁ*, *sususā* (also *susūsā*).

Initial vowels are dropped in *pi* (= Skt. *api*), *laghaṁti* (for **alaghaṁti* = Skt. *arhanti*), *hakaṁ* (for *ahakam* = *aham*), *ti* (for *iti*) and *kiṁti*, *posatha* (for *upavasatha*), *va* and *vā* (for *ēva*).

II. Simple Consonants.

As at Kālsī, palatal *ñ* and lingual *ṇ* are replaced by dental *n* throughout.

The guttural *k* is palatalized in *aḍha*-[*kos*]*ikyāni* and *vaḍikyā*;[3] cf. above, p. lxxi. It is represented by *y* in *aṭha-bhāgiye* (Rummindeī, l. 5), *ata-patiye* (Delhi-Tōprā, IV, ll. 4, 14), *niṁsi*-[*ḍha*]*yā* (= Skt. **niślishṭakā*), and perhaps in *gevayā*; see Text, p. 120, n. 4. *gh* is preserved in *laghaṁti* (for **alaghaṁti* = Skt. *arhanti*), but has become *h* in *lahu*.

The palatal *ch* is softened in *saṁkuja*, which is probably connected with Skt. *sāṁkuchi*, 'a skate-fish.' It is aspirated in *kīchhi* (Queen's edict, l. 4) = *kichhi* at Kālsī, &c.

Lingual *ḍ* may become *ḷ*; see *eḍake* and *eḷake*, *eḍakā* and *eḷakā*, *duḍī* and *duḷi*.

Dentals are lingualized after *ṛi* in *kaṭa*, *bhaṭakesu*, *vaḍhi*, *viyāpaṭa*, *vaḍikā* and *vaḍikyā* (= **vṛitikā*), in which the *ṭ* (for *t*) is softened, and after *ra* in *nigaṁṭha* (= Skt. *nirgrantha*) and in the preposition *paṭi*, but not in *pachupagamana* (= *pratyupagamana*), *patyāsaṁna* and *patiyāsaṁna* (= *pratyāsanna*). *t* is elided, *a* lengthened,[4] and *v* developed from *u* in *chāvudasā* (= Skt. *chaturdaśī*), while *aü* is contracted to *o* in *chodasa* (= *chaturdaśa*). *d* becomes *ḍ* or *ḷ* in *duvāḍasa* and *duvā*[*ḷa*]-*s*[*a*], *paṁnaḍasā* and *paṁnaḷasā* (= Skt. *pañchadaśī*). The original *dh* of the root **nadh* (= Skt. *nah*)

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[1] Cf. *ava*, *avā*, *avaṁ* at Kālsī. Michelson (IF, 23. 236) compares Avestan *yavaṭ* (= Skt. *yāvat*).
[2] Pischel (*Grammatik*, § 82) derived Prākrit *dudia*, &c., from a supposed Skt. form **dvitya*.
[3] In *aṁbā-vaḍikyā* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 23) = *aṁbā-vaḍikā* (Queen's edict, l. 3).
[4] Cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, §§ 78 and 443.

is preserved in [*sa*]*ṁnaṁdhāpayiyā* and *sanaṁdhāpayitu*.[1] *dh* becomes *h* in *nigoha* (= *nyagrōdha*), *vidahāmi* and *upadahevu* (from *dadhāti*). For *hida* (= *idha* at Girnār) see above, p. lxxii.

p is softened in *thuba* (= *stūpa*, Nigālī Sāgar, l. 2) and *libi*[2] (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, ll. 31, 32) = *lipi* (passim). It becomes *k* through dissimilation in *kipilikā* and *kapīlikā* = Skt. *pipīlikā*.[3] *bh* becomes *h* in *l*[*a*]*hiye*, *hoti*, *hotu*, *huvāti*, *hosaṁti*, *hohaṁti*, *huthā*, *husu*, and in the instr. plur. in -*hi* (for -*bhiḥ*). *m* becomes *p*, and the aspiration changes place, in *kaphaṭa* = Skt. *kamaṭha*; cf. *aphe* and *tuphe* (= Prākṛit *amhe* and *tumhe*) at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, and [*ta*]*phā* (= Skt. *tasmāt*) at Kālsī.

y is represented by *h* in *abhyuṁnāmayehaṁ*, and by *v* in *āvuti* (= **āyukti*), *vishava* (= Skt. *vishaya*), *sochava* for *sochaya* (= **śauchya*), *pāpovā* (= **prāpnō*+*yāt*), *yāvu*, *anugahinevu*, *ālādhayevu*, *upadahevu*, *pavatayevū*. It is prefixed to *e* in *yeva* and *yevā* (also *eva* and *evā*), but is dropped at the beginning of *ata* (= Skt. *yatra*), *athā* and *atha* (= Skt. *yathā*), *āva* (also *yāva*, = Skt. *yāvat*), *āvate*, *e* (also *ye*), *ena* (also *yena*). At the end of *etad-athā* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 24) the syllable *ya* seems to be dropped; cf. above, p. lvii. It becomes *i* in *nigoha* (= Skt. *nyagrōdha*), *paṭivekhāmi*, *dupaṭivekhe*, and *ayi* becomes *e* in *jhāpetaviye* (also *jhāpayitaviye*).

r has become *l* throughout, except in *chaṁ*[*da*]*m*[*a-sū*]*ri*[*yi*]*ke* (Sāṁchī, l. 4).

va becomes *u* in *anuvekhamāne*; *vā* becomes the same in the absolutives in -*tu* (= Skt. *tvā*); *ava* and *avi* become *o* in *odāta*, *olodhana*, *posatha*, *paliyovadātha*, *paliyovadisaṁti*, *viyovadisaṁti*, *viyohāla*, *hoti*, *hotu*, *hosaṁti*, *hohaṁti*.

The two sibilants *ś* and *sh* have become *s* throughout. But *sh* is used in *vishava* (= Skt. *vishaya*, Sārnāth, l. 10), *Devānaṁpiyashā* and *she* (Queen's edict, ll. 1 and 4). In *chaghati*, *ś* is represented by *ch*; cf. above, p. ci.

h is prefixed in *hida*, *hidata*, *hedisa*, *hevaṁ*. For *hetā* (Queen's edict, l. 2) see above, p. lxx.

Final consonants are dropped. A preceding vowel may be shortened; see *min*[*ā*] and *mina* (= Skt. *manāk*?), *pāpovā* and *pāpova*, *siyā* and *siya*, *avimanā* and *avimana*, *abhītā* and *abhīta*, &c. (below, p. cxvi). Conversely, a preceding short vowel may be lengthened; see *āva* and *āvā* (= *yāvat*), *lipi* and *lipī*, *sādhu* and *sādhū*, &c. (above, p. cxii). Final *as* generally becomes *e*; see *ite*, *suve* (= *śvas*), *bhuye*, *lājāne*, *viyāpaṭāse*, *jane*, &c. But it becomes *o* in *vayo*-; *a* in *chaṁdama*- and *esa* (nom. sing. masc. and neut.); and *ā* in *esā* (nom. sing. neut.).

The vowel *u* is nasalized in *chuṁ* (Sārnāth, l. 3) for *chu* (passim). Final Anusvāra is omitted in *bāḍha* (Delhi-Tōprā, III, l. 21), *heva* (= Skt. *ēvam*,[4] Rāmpurvā, I, l. 1), and in the acc. sing. *vaḍhi* (pillar-edict VI, B). The Anusvāra is dropped, and the preceding vowel is lengthened, in the acc. sing. *anupaṭīpatī* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 24) and in the nom. sing. [*dā*]*nā* (Delhi-Mīraṭh, II, l. 2). But the nom. sing. of neuters in -*a* generally follows the analogy of the masculine and ends in -*e*; see below, p. cxvi.

Long nasal vowels are generally shortened; see *kiyaṁ* (= Skt. *kiyān*), *Bhagavaṁ* (= *Bhagavān*), the gen. plur. in -*aṁ*, the loc. sing. fem. *tisāyaṁ*, *tisyaṁ*, *Kosaṁbiyaṁ*, *punnamāsiyaṁ*, and the acc. sing. *maṁ* (= *mām*), *imaṁ* (= *imām*), *taṁ* (= *tām*, pillar-edict VI, B), *ikaṁ* (= *ēkām*), *pajaṁ* (= *prajām*), *dukhīyanaṁ*, *chāvudasaṁ*, *paṁnadasaṁ*, *paṭipadaṁ*, *hedisaṁ* (acc. sing. fem., Sārnāth, l. 7). But the Anusvāra is omitted in the acc. sing. *p*[*a*]*ṭipadā* (Delhi-Mīraṭh, V, l. 6), and the long *ā* is shortened at the same time in *kiya* (Lauṛiyā-Nandangaṛh, II, l. 1).

III. Sandhi.

Final *d* is preserved in *etad-athā* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 24), and final *m* in *etam-eva* (id., l. 23; Sārnāth, ll. 8, 9), *kayānam-eva* (Allahabad-Kōsam, III, l. 1), *hedisam-eva* (Sārnāth, l. 7). The final *m* is doubled in *iyaṁmana* (= Skt. *idam anyat*), *kayānaṁmeva*, *hevaṁmeva*. In *hemeva*, *hemevā*, *heṁmeva*, the syllable *va* of Skt. *ēvam* is dropped.

Hiatus remains in -*vasa-abhisita* at Delhi-Tōprā (six times),[5] while the remaining versions (and Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 31) read -*vasābhisita*. Other instances of $a+\breve{\bar{a}} = \bar{a}$ are *dhaṁmānupaṭipati*,

[1] Cf. *pilandhati* &c. in E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 34.
[2] This Prākṛit form is mentioned already by Pāṇini, III, 2, 21.
[3] Cf. Geiger's *Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen*, § 29, section 1.
[4] Cf. above, p. lviii, n. 2, and p. lxxxvi, l. 6 from bottom.
[5] Also at Delhi-Mīraṭh, V, l. 14.

dhaṁmānusathi, dhaṁmāpadāna, dhaṁmāpekhā, apāsinave. The *ā* which results from the contraction is shortened before a group of consonants in *saṁghaṭhasi* and *-apadānaṭhāye* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, ll. 25 and 28). The nasal vowel *aṁ* of *tuphākaṁ* and *upāsakānaṁ* is treated in the same manner before *aṁtikaṁ* in *tuphāk-aṁtikaṁ* and *upāsakān-aṁtikaṁ* (Sārnāth, ll. 6 and 7). In *ikike* (= Skt. *ēkaikaḥ*), *chu* (= *cha*+*u*), *cheva*, and *chhāy-opagāni*, final *a* and *ā* are elided before the initial *i*, *u*, *e*, and *o* of the next following word.

IV. Groups of Consonants.

The only Sanskrit groups which occasionally remain unassimilated are *ky*, *khy*, *ty*, *dhy*, *dhr*, *bhy*, *rshy* (which becomes *sy*), *śv* (which becomes *sv*), *shy* (which becomes *sy*). For the group *ky* see also above, p. cxii and n. 3.

A long vowel preceding a group is generally shortened; see *ata-* (= Skt. *ātman*), *asvatha* (= *āśvasta*), *anusathi* (= *anuśāsti*), *āladha* (= **ārāddha*), *kinasu* (for **kinā*+*ssu* = Skt. *svid*), *pata* (= *prāpta*), *maga* (= *mārga*), *madava* (= *mārdava*), *mahamata* (= *mahāmātra*, Queen's edict, l. 1), *Sakyamunī*, *isyā* (= *īrshyā*), *-suliyika* [1] (for **sūryika*), *dusa* (= *dūshya*), *puṁnamāsiyaṁ*. But the length remains in *ānapayati*, *pāpovā* (from *prāpnōti*), *mahāmāta* (for °*mātra*), *palīkhā* (for *parīkshā*). While long *ī* is preserved before *n* in *-gāmīni* and *bhi*[*khun*]*īnaṁ*, it is shortened, and the following nasal is doubled, in *tiṁni* (= *trīṇi*). Similarly, *anusathini* and *devinaṁ* are perhaps defective spellings for *anusathiṁni* and *deviṁnaṁ*. Before *y* and *l* the length is preserved in *anuvidhīyaṁti*, *sukhīyanā*, *kapīlikā*, but it is shortened (and probably the following consonant is doubled) in *anuvidhiyaṁti*, *sukhiyanā*, *bhuye*, *kipilikā*; cf. above, p. cii. A short vowel preceding a group is lengthened in *āgācha* (= *āgatya*), *dākhinā* (also *dakhinā*, i. e. *dakkhinā*), *putāpapotike* [2] (for *putrapra*°), *punāvasune* (for *punarva*°), *kīchhi* (for **kid*+*chid*, Queen's edict, l. 4), *nīlakhiyati* (for *nirla*°), *nīlakhitaviye* (also *nila*° at Rāmpurvā, V, l. 9), *vaḍhīsati* (also *vaḍhisati*, i. e. *vaḍḍhissati*), *saṁpaṭipajīsati* (also °*jisati*), *anupaṭīpajīsati*, *anūp*[*a*]*ṭīpaṁne* (for *anuprati*°).

A long nasal vowel is shortened before consonants in *aṁbā-* (= Skt. *āmra*), *atikaṁtaṁ*, *Kosaṁbiyaṁ* (= *Kauśāmbyām*), *Devānaṁpiya*,[3] while the nasal is dropped, and the length is retained, in *bābhana* (= *bāmhaṇa* at Girnār). Anusvāra is lost after a short vowel in *thabha* (Rummindēī, l. 3) = *thaṁbha* (Delhi-Tōprā), in *sayame* and *savibhāge* (also *saṁyame* and *saṁvibhāge*), in *vihisāye* (but not in *avihiṁsāye*), and in *satavisati*. The nasal vowel *iṁ* is replaced by a length in *vīsati*, *paṁnavīsati*, and *saḍuvīsati*. Similarly, *aṁ* seems to be replaced by *ā* in *bh*[*ā*]*khati* (= Skt. *bhaṅkshyati*). In *visvaṁsayitave* (Sārnāth, ll. 8, 9) the nasal vowel *aṁ* corresponds to Skt. *ā*.

The auxiliary vowel which is developed within some groups is *u* before *v* in *duvehi*, *duvāḍasa*, *saḍuvīsati*, *suve*; *a* in *dusaṁpaṭipādaye*, *laghaṁti* (for **alaghaṁti*), *sochaye* and *sochave*; and frequently *i*, as will appear from the subjoined list of Sanskrit groups and of their equivalents in the pillar-edicts. It is unnecessary to quote examples of the groups *kr*, *gr*, *tr*, *pr*, *br*, *śr*, *sr*, which have become *k*, *g*, *t*, *p*, *b*, *s*, *s*, respectively.

ḥkh becomes *kh* (i. e. *kkh*) in *dukhīyanaṁ*.
kt becomes *t* in *abhisita*, *yuta*, *vataviya*, *viyata*.
ky remains in *Sakyamunī* (Rummindēī, l. 2).
ksh becomes *jh* in *jhāpayitaviye*,[4] but *kh* everywhere else.
kshy becomes *khiy* in *nīlakhiyati*; *kh* in *dupaṭivekhe* and *bh*[*ā*]*khati*; *gh* in *chaghati*.
khy is preserved in *mukhya* and *mokhya*, but is assimilated in *mukhā* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 27).

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[1] This word presupposes an intermediate form with short *u*: **-suryika*; cf. above, p. cii, n. 1. In the Māgadha dialect the affix *-ika* does not, as in Sanskrit, necessarily involve Vṛiddhi of the first syllable; see *putāpapotika* and *hidatika*, but *ānugahika*. In *aṁtalika*, *aḍha*[*kos*]*ikya*, *chaṁdamasuliyika* we cannot say whether the *a* preceding the group of consonants in the first syllable was originally long and subsequently shortened. The same applies to the first *a* of *chaṁḍiya*, which was formed from Skt. *chaṇḍa* with the affix *-ya*. In *nithūliya* and *puṁnamāsiyaṁ* the first vowel has remained unchanged, while the corresponding Skt. forms are *naishṭhurya* and *paurṇamāsyām*, with Vṛiddhi of the first vowel.

[2] The Sāṁchī pillar (section C) has *putapapotike*.

[3] The Anusvāra is omitted in *Devāna*[*pi*]*yena* (Rummindēī, l. 1).

[4] Cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 326.

khl becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

chy becomes *chay* or *chav* in *sochaye* and *sochave*.[1]

jñ becomes *jin* in *lājina*; *ṁn* in *chhaṁdaṁnāni* and *viṁnapayitaviye*; *n* in *ānapayati*, *ānapita*, *nātikā*, *nātisu*.

ñch becomes *ṁn* in *paṁnavīsati*, *paṁnadasā* and *paṁnaḷasā*, but remains in [*pa*]*ṁcha*[*dasā*] (Allahabad-Kōsam).

ḍy becomes *ḍiy* in *chaṁḍiye*.

ḍv becomes *ḍuv* in *saḍuvīsati*.

ṇm becomes *ṁm* in *āsaṁmāsike*.

tk becomes *k* in *ukasā*.

tm becomes *t* in *ata*- (= Skt. *ātman*).

ty remains in *patyāsaṁna*, but becomes *tiy* in *patiyāsaṁna* (Delhi-Tōprā), and *ch* in *āgācha*, *pachupagamane*, *sache*.

tśr becomes *s* in *usapāpite*.

ts becomes *s* in *usāha*.

tsy becomes *chh* in *machhe*.

db becomes *b* in *ubalike*.

dy becomes *j* in *anupaṭipajaṁtu*, &c.; *diy* in *khādiyati*; *day* in *dusaṁpaṭipādaye*.

dr becomes *d* in *chaṁdama*-.

dv becomes *d* in *dupada*, *dutīya* and *dutiya*, but *duv* in *duvehi*, *duvāḍasa*.

dhy remains in *avadhya*, but becomes *dhiy* in *avadhiya*, and *jh* in *majhimā*, *nijhatiyā*, *nijhapayitave*, *nijhapayitā*, *nijhapayisaṁti*.

dhr remains in *dh*[*r*]*uvāye* (Delhi-Mīraṭh), but becomes *dh* in *dhuvāye* and *vadhi* (pillar-edict V, D).

ny becomes *ṁn* or *n* in *aṁna* (passim) and *ana* (pillar-edict III, H).

pt becomes *t* in [*gut*]*i*, *gotī* (= Skt. **gōpti*), *nikhitā*, *nijhatiyā*, *pata* (= *prāpta*), *sata* (= *sapta*, Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 31).

pn becomes *p* in *pāpovā*.

bhy remains in *abhyuṁnāmayehaṁ* and *abhyuṁnamisati*, but becomes *hiy* in *l*[*a*]*hiye*.

bhr becomes *bh* in *palibhasayisaṁ*.

mb becomes *ṁm* in *Luṁmini*- (Rummindēī, l. 4).

mr becomes *ṁb* (for *mbr*) in *aṁbā*- (= Skt. *āmra*).

yy becomes *yiy* in *āvāsayiye* and [*sa*]*ṁnaṁdhāpayiyā*.

rg becomes *g* in *magesu* and *visaga*.

rgr becomes *g* in *nigaṁṭhesu*.

rgh becomes *lagh* in *laghaṁti* (for **alaghaṁti*).

rṇ becomes *ṁn* in *paṁna* (pillar-edict V, B) and *puṁnamāsiyaṁ*.

rt becomes *t* in *pavatayevū*, but *ṭ* in *kaṭaviya*, *kevaṭa*, *palihaṭave*, *apahaṭā*.

rth becomes *th* in *atha* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, W and OO), but *ṭh* in *aṭha* (passim).

rd becomes *d* in *chakhudāne*, *chodasa*, *chāvudasā*, *madave*.

rdh becomes *ḍh* in *vaḍhati*, *vaḍheyā*, *vaḍhithā*, *vaḍhisati*, *vaḍhita*.

rbh becomes *bh* in *gabhinī*.

rm becomes *ṁm* in *kaṁmāni*, *chātuṁmāsī*, *dhaṁma* (spelt *dhama* at Lauṛiyā-Ararāj, II, l. 3).

ry becomes *liy* in *niṭhūliye*, *paliyovadātha* and *paliyovadisaṁti*, -*suliyike* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 31), but *riy* in -[*sū*]*ri*[*yi*]*ke* (Sāṁchī, l. 4).

rl becomes *l* in *nīlakhiyati* and *nīlakhitaviye*.

rv becomes *v* in *punāvasune* and *sava*.

rś becomes *s* in *Piyadasi*.

rsh becomes *s* in *ukasā* and *vasa*.

rshy becomes *sy* in *isyā*.

lp becomes *p* in *apa* (pillar-edict II, C).

ly becomes *y* in *kayāna*, *sayaka* and *seyaka* (= Skt. *śalyaka*).

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[1] Three versions of the pillar-edict II, C, read *socheye*, which Michelson (IF, 23. 241) identifies with Pāli *socheyya* (= Skt. **śauchēya*).

vy becomes *viy* in *viyaṁjanena, viyata, viyāpaṭa, viyovadisaṁti, viyohāla*, and in the gerundives in *-taviya*.

vr becomes *v* in *pavajītānaṁ*.

śy becomes *ś* in *palibhasayisaṁ* (future of the causative of Skt. *bhraśyati*).

śl becomes *ṁs* in *niṁsi*[*ḍha*]*yā* (= Skt. **niślishṭakā*); cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 74.

śv becomes *sv* in *asva, asvatha* (= Skt. *āśvasta*), *visvaṁsayitave* (infinitive of *viśvāsayati*); *suv* in *suve* (= *śvaḥ*); *s* in *seta*.

shṭ becomes *ṭh* in *vaḍhithā* and *huthā*; *ṭh* in *aṭha-bhāgiye, aṭhamī, apakaṭhesu, tuṭhāyatan*[*ā*]*ni, paṭivisiṭhaṁ*; *ḍh* in *aḍha*-[*kos*]*ikyāni* and *niṁsi*[*ḍha*]*yā*.

shṭh becomes *ṭh* in *niṭhūliye*.

shp becomes *p* in *chatupada*.

shpr becomes *p* in *dupaṭivekhe*.

shy becomes *sy* in *tisyaṁ*; *siy* in *tisiyaṁ*; *s* in *tisāyaṁ* and *tisāye, dusāni, pusitaviya* (from Skt. *pushyati*), *munisa* (= *manushya*), *hosaṁti* and other futures; *h* in *hohaṁti*.

st becomes *th* in *athi, anusathi, asvatha* (= Skt. *āśvasta*), *thaṁbhāni, thuba* (= *stūpa*), *pavithalisaṁti*.

sth becomes *th* in *gihitha* (= Skt. *gṛihastha*) and *-thitika* or *-thitīka*;[1] *ṭh* in *anaṭhika* and *-ṭhitika* or *-ṭhitīka*.[2]

sn becomes *sin* in *āsinava* (from *ā-snu*).

sm becomes *s* in the locative singular in *-asi*.

sy becomes *siy* in *siyā* (= Skt. *syāt*); *s* in the genitive singular in *-asa*; *h* in *dāhaṁti*.

hṇ becomes *hin* in *anugahinevu*.

hm becomes *bh* in *bābhana*.

B.—DECLENSION

I. Bases in *-a*.

(1) Masculines and neuters in *-a*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. *jane*, &c.; neut. *dāne*, &c.	Masc. *pulisā*, &c. } neut. *sāvanāni*, &c.
Acc. masc. *janaṁ*, &c.; neut. *dānaṁ*, &c.	Masc. *pulisāni* }
Instr. *dhaṁmena*, &c.	*ākālehi, pulimehi*.[3]
Dat. *aṭhāye*, &c.	
Gen. *janasa*, &c.	*pānānaṁ*, &c.
Loc. *janasi*, &c.	*aṭhesu*, &c.

Nom. sing. neut.—In [*dā*]*nā* (Delhi-Mīrath, II, l. 2) the termination is *-ā*.

Instr. sing.—The final *a* is lengthened in *usāhenā, bhayenā, v*[*a*]*chanenā*.

Gen. sing.—The final *a* is lengthened in *asvasā, gonasā, jānapadasā, Devānaṁpiyashā, lokasā*.

Nom. plur. masc.—The final *ā* is shortened in *abhīta, asvatha, āyata, kaṭa, pūjita, mahām*[*ā*]*ta* (Kauśāmbī edict, l. 1), *lajūka*. The Vēdic termination *-āsaḥ* is preserved in *viyāpaṭāse* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, ll. 25, 27).

Nom. plur. neut.—The final *i* is lengthened in [*ha*]*ṁtaviyānī* (Delhi-Mīraṭh, V, l. 8). The following Sanskrit masculines have the termination of the neuter: *thaṁbhāni, nikāyāni, nigohāni, niyamāni, mokhāni, tiṁni divasāni* and *etāni divasāni* (acc.).

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[1] With the compound *chilaṁ-thitika* or *chilaṁ-thitīka* cf. Skt. *chiraṁjīvin* and *chirantana*.

[2] In *chila-ṭhitike* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 32) and *chila-ṭhitīkā* (Allahabad-Kōsam, II, l. 3).

[3] From *pulima* = Pāli *purima*.

(2) Feminines in *-ā*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. *ichhā*, &c.	*vaḍikyā*, &c.
Acc. *pajaṁ*, &c.	
Instr. *pūjāyā* and *pūjāya*, &c.	
Dat. *vihisāye*, *avihiṁsāye*.	
Abl. *dakhinăye*, *dākhināye*.	
Gen. *dutīyāye*, *dutiyāye*.	
Loc. *tisāyaṁ*, *tisāye*, *chāvudasāye*, *paṁnaḍasāye*, *paṭipadāy[e]*.[1]	*disāsu*.

Nom. sing.—The final *ā* is shortened in *apekha*, *avadhya*, *isya*, *kapilika*, *kālāpita*, *jatūka*, *daya*, *pālana*, *likhāpita*, *vaḍhita*, *viyata*, *sālika*, *sukhīyana*.

Acc. sing.—The termination is *-ā* in *p[a]ṭipadā* (Delhi-Mīraṭh, V, l. 6).

Instr. sing.—The termination is *-āyā in agāyā*, *anulupāyā*, *-kāmatāyā*, *palīkhāyā*, *vividhāyā*, *sukhāyanāyā*, *susūsāyā*, while the final *ā* is shortened, as at Girnār, Dhauli, and Jaugaḍa, in *agāya*, *-kāmatāya*, *palīkhāya*, *vividhāya*, *susūsāya*.

II. Bases in *-i*.

(1) Masculines and neuters in *-i*.

Nom. sing. masc. *vidhi*, *Sakyamunī*; acc. plur. neut. *tiṁni*; loc. plur. *nātisu*.

The feminine base *anusathi* forms the nom. and acc. plur. *anusathini* with the termination of the neuter.

(2) Feminines in *-i* and *-ī*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. *vadhi*, *dhāti*, &c.	
Acc. *lipiṁ*, *vaḍhi* (pillar-edict VI, B), *anupaṭīpatī*.	
Instr. *vaḍhiyā*, *anupaṭīpatiyā*, &c.	
Dat. *anupaṭipatiye*, *dhātiye*, *deviye*.	
Gen. *Kāluvākiye*, *deviye* and *devīye*.	*bhi[khun]īnaṁ*, *devinaṁ*.
Loc. *tisyaṁ*, *tisiyaṁ*, *Kosaṁbiyaṁ*, *puṁnamāsiyaṁ*, *chātuṁmāsiye*.	*chātuṁmāsīsu*, *tīsu*.[2]

Nom. sing.—The final vowel is long in *gabhinī*, *sūkalī*, *duḍī* (also *duḷi*), *lipī* (also *lipi*).

Instr. sing.—The final *ā* is shortened in *anusathiya* (also *anusathiyā*).

III. Masculines and Neuters in *-u*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. *bhikhu* and *[bhikh]ū*, *sādhu* and *sādhū*, *lahu*; neut. *bahu*.	Neut. *bahūni*.
Gen.	*[bhi*]khūna[ṁ]*.
Loc. *punāvasune*, *bahune*.	*gulusu*, *bahūsu*.

The loc. sing. is formed from a base in *-na*.

IV. Masculines and Feminines in *-ṛi*.

Nom. sing. *apahaṭā* and *apahaṭa*, *nijhapayitā*.
Gen. sing. *mātu*.
Loc. plur. *pitisu*.

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[1] As in Pāli, the Skt. feminine *pratipad* has assumed the form *paṭipadā*. Cf. Hēmachandra, I, 15.

[2] In Sanskrit the corresponding form is *tisṛishu*.

V. Bases in Consonants.

(1) Present participles in *-at.*

Nom. sing. masc. *saṁtaṁ, anupaṭīpajaṁtaṁ*; cf. above, p. cx.

(2) Masculines in *-yat* and *-vat.*

Nom. sing. masc. *kiyaṁ* and *kiya* (Lauṛiyā-Nandangaṛh), *Bhagavaṁ*. The base *yāvat* follows the *a*-declension: nom. sing. masc. *āvate* (Sārnāth, l. 9).

(3) Masculines and neuters in *-an.*

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. *lājā, lāja.*	*lājāne.*
Acc. neut. *nāma.*	*kaṁmāni.*
Instr. *atanā, atana, lājina.*	*lājīhi.*

The instr. plur. follows the *i*-declension.

(4) Masculines and neuters in *-in.*

Nom. sing. masc. *Piyadasī*; instr. sing. *Piyadasina*; nom. plur. neut. *-gāmīni.*

The final *ī* of the nom. sing. masc. is preserved only in the Allahabad-Kōsam version, while all others read *Piyadasi.*

(5) Masculines and neuters in *-as.*

Acc. sing. neut. *bhuye.*

The masculine *chaṁdama-* (= Skt. *chandramas*) and the neuter *vayo-* occur as first members of compounds. The base *avimanas* follows the *a*-declension: nom. plur. masc. *avimanā* and (with shortening of the final *ā*) *avimana.*

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Nom. sing. *hakaṁ.*
Acc. sing. *maṁ.*
Instr. sing. *mamayā* and *mamiyā, mama* and *mamā, me.*
Gen. sing. *mama, me.*

(2) Pronoun of the second person.

Nom. plur. *tuphe*; gen. plur. *tuphākaṁ.*

(3) Base *ta.*

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. and neut. *se.*[1]	Masc. *te.*
Acc. neut. *taṁ, se.*	Neut. *tāni.*
Instr. *tena.*	
Gen.	*tesaṁ, tānaṁ.*
Loc.	*tesu.*

Acc. sing. fem. *taṁ.*
Dat. sing. fem. *tāye.*

(4) Base *na.*

Nom. plur. neut. *nāni*; see Text, p. 127, n. 10.

[1] Moreover, the nom. sing. neut. *she* occurs in the Queen's edict, l. 4.

(5) Base *ēta*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. *esa*; neut. *esa*, *esā*.	Masc. *ete*.
Acc. neut. *etaṁ*.	Neut. *etāṇi*.
Instr. *etena*.	
Dat. *etāye*.	
Loc.	*etesu*.

Nom. sing. fem. *esa*.

(6) Demonstrative *idam*.

Nom. sing. neut. *iyaṁ*; nom. plur. masc. *ime*, neut. *imāni*; nom. sing. fem. *iyaṁ*, acc. *imaṁ*.

(7) Interrogative pronoun.

The base *ki* forms the acc. sing. neut. *kiṁ* (in *kiṁti*), *kimaṁ* or *kiṁmaṁ* (see Text, p. 129, n. 5) and the instrumental **kinā*[1] (in *kinasu*, i.e. **kinassu* = Pāli *kenassu* and Skt. *kēnasvit*). The base *ka* is used as demonstrative: nom. plur. neut. *kāni* (in *potake cha kāni*; see Text, p. 127, n. 10) and acc. plur. masc. *kāni* (four times). The indefinite pronoun is formed with *pi* (= Skt. *api*) or *chi* (= Skt. *chid*): instr. sing. *kenapi*; nom. plur. neut. [*k*]*ānichi*.

(8) Relative pronoun.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. and neut. *ye*, *e*.	Masc. *ye*; neut. *yāni*.
Instr. *yena*, *ena*.	

Nom. sing. fem. *yā*.

(9) Base *anya*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. *aṁne*; neut. [*a*]*ṁne*, *ana*.	Masc. *aṁne*; neut. *aṁnāni*.
Gen.	*aṁnānaṁ*.
Loc.	*aṁnesu*.

The gen. plur. *aṁnānaṁ* follows the analogy of the nouns in *-a* (above, p. cxvi); cf. *tānaṁ* for *tesaṁ* (above, pp. lxxviii and cxviii), *ta*[*naṁ*] at Mānsehrā, and the dat. sing. fem. *tāye* (above, p. cxviii), *imāya* and *imā*[*y*]*e* at Girnār, Kālsī, and Dhauli, *imaye* at Mānsehrā.

(10) Base *sarva*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. *save*.	
Loc. *savasi*.	*savesu*.

D.—NUMERALS

One.

Nom. sing. masc. *ikike* (= Skt. *ēkaikaḥ*), fem. *ikā*; acc. sing. fem. *ikaṁ*.

Two.

Instr. masc. *duvehi* (from the base *dva*). The base *dvi* appears as *du* in the ordinal *dutīya* or *dutiya*, and in the compound *dupada*.

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[1] Cf. *kiṇā*, Hēmachandra, III, 69, and Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 428.

Three, four, six.

Acc. neut. *tiṁni*; loc. fem. *tīsu*. The bases *chatur* and *shash* form part of the compounds *chatupada* and *āsaṁmāsika*.

Twelve, fourteen, fifteen.

duvāḍasa and *duvā*[*la*]*s*[*a*]; *chodasa*. The ordinals *chāvudasā* and [*pa*]*ṁcha*[*dasā*] (Allahabad-Kōsam), *paṁnaḍasā*, *paṁnaḷasā* correspond to Skt. *chaturdaśī* and *pañchadaśī*.

Twenty, &c.

vīsati, *paṁnavīsati*, *saḍuvīsati*, *satavīsati*.

Hundred thousand.

Loc. plur. *sata-sahasesu*.

E.—CONJUGATION

I. Present.

(1) *Bases.*

First Sanskrit class.

Root **argh* (= Skt. *arh*): *laghaṁti* for **alaghaṁti*; cf. Skt. *argha* and Pāli *agghati*, and see Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 993.

Root *īksh*: *paṭivekhāmi*, *anuvekhamāne*.
Root *dṛiś*: *dekhati*.
Root *bhū*: *hoti*, *huvāti* (sixth class).
Root *vad*: *paliyovadātha*.
Root *vah*: *āvahāmī*.
Root *vṛidh*: *vaḍhati*.

Second Sanskrit class.

Root *as*: *athi*.
Root *i*: *eti*.
Root *yā*: *yāti*.
Root *śās*: *anus*[*ā*]*sāmi* (subjunctive).

Third Sanskrit class.

Root *dhā*: *vidahāmi*, *upadahevu* (which follows the *a*-conjugation).

Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root *pad*: *anupaṭipajaṁtu*, &c.
Root *push*. The gerundive *pusitaviya* is formed from the Sanskrit present *pushyati*.

Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root *āp*: *pāpovā*.

Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root *ish*. The aorist *ichhisu* and the gerundive *ichhitaviye* are formed from the Sanskrit present *ichchhati*.
Root *kship*: *nikhipātha*.
Root *sṛij*: absolutive *nisijitu* (from the Sanskrit present *nisṛijati*).

Ninth Sanskrit class.

Root *grah* follows the *a*-conjugation: *anugahinevu*.

Root *jñā*. The future *jānisaṁti* and the infinitive *ājānitave* are formed from the present *jānāti*.

Tenth Sanskrit class.

(a) With *aya*: *abhyuṁnāmayehaṁ*, *saṁpaṭipādayaṁti*, *pāyamīnā* (from *pāyati* = *pāyeti*; see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v. *pivati*), *palibhasayisaṁ* (future of the causative of Pāli *bhassati* = Skt. *bhraśyati*; see Michelson, IF, 23. 263), *ālādhayevu*, *āvāsayiye*, *vivāsayātha*, *paṭī*[*vedayaṁti**], *pavatayevū*, *visvaṁsayitave*.

(b) With *paya*: *jhāpayitaviye* and *jhāpetaviye* (from root *kshai*). The long vowel of the roots *jñā*, *dā*, *dhyai* is shortened in *ānapayati*, *viṁnapayitaviye*, *samādapayitave*, *nijhapayisaṁti*, *nijhapayitā*, *nijhapayitave*.

(c) With *āpaya*: *kālāpita*, [*sa*]*ṁnaṁdhāpayiyā* and *sanaṁdhāpayitu* (from root **nadh* = Skt. *nah*), *likhāpita*, *vā*[*sā*]*petaviy*[*e*], *vivāsāpayāthā*, *sāvāpayāmi*.

(d) With *pāpaya*: *lopāpita*, *usapāpite*; cf. Ardhamāgadhī *ūsaviya* (= **uchchhrapita*) in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 64, and Skt. *uchchhrāpayati*. Similar forms are *viññāpāpeti* in E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 122, *ṭhapāpeti* in Geiger's *Pāli*, § 182, and *davāvei* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 552.

(e) With *āpāpaya*: *khānāpāpitāni*, *likhāpāpitā*.

(f) Denominatives: *tīlita* and *tīlīta* (from Skt. *tīrayati*), *sukhayite*, *sukhāyanā*, *sukhīyanā*, *dukhīyan*[*ā*], *mahīyite*.

(2) *Moods*.

(a) Indicative.

1. sing. *paṭivekhāmi*, *vidahāmi*.
3. sing. *dekhati*, *hoti*, *vaḍhati*, *athi*, *eti*, *yāti*, *ānapayati*.
3. plur. *laghaṁti*, *dekhaṁti*, *saṁpaṭipādayaṁti*, *paṭī*[*vedayaṁti**].

(b) Subjunctive.

1. sing. *āvahāmī*, *anus*[*ā*]*sāmi*, *sāvāpayāmi*.
3. sing. *huvāti* (Sārnāth, l. 6).
2. plur. *nikhipātha*, *paliyovadātha*, *vivāsayātha*, *vivāsāpayāthā*.

(c) Optative.

1. sing. *abhyuṁnāmayehaṁ*; cf. above, pp. lxxxii, cix.
3. sing. *siyā* and *siya*, *anu*[*pa*]*ṭipajeyā*, *pāpovā* and *pāpova* (from the strong base *prāpnu-*), *vaḍheyā*.
3. plur. *yāvu*, *upadahevu*, *anugahinevu*, *ālādhayevu*, *pavatayevū*.

(d) Imperative.

3. sing. *hotu*; 3. plur. *anupaṭipajaṁtu*.

II. AORIST.

3. sing. middle: *huthā*, *vaḍhithā*.
3. plur. active: *husu*, *ichhisu*.

III. PERFECT.

3. sing. *āha*, *āhā*, *ahā*, the last of which is unreduplicated; see Michelson, IF, 23. 244.

IV. Future.

1. sing. *palibhasayisaṁ*. Cf. *likhāpayisaṁ* at Girnār.

3. sing. *abhyuṁnamisati*, *vaḍhisati* and *vaḍhīsati*, *anupaṭīpajīsati* (from the present **pajjati* = Skt. *padyatē*), *saṁpaṭipajisati* and °*pajīsati*, *chaghati* (from root *chak* = Skt. *śak*), *bh*[*ā*]*khati* (= Skt. *bhaṅkshyati*), *kachhati* (see above, p. lxxxiii, n. 1).

3. plur. *paṭichalisaṁti*, *vaḍhisaṁti*, *hosaṁti* and *hohaṁti*, *paliyovadisaṁti*, *viyovadisaṁti*, *pavithalisaṁti* (from root *stṛī*), *dāhaṁti*, *chaghaṁti*, *kachhaṁti*, *jānisaṁti* (from the present *jānāti*), *nijhapayisaṁti*.

V. Passive.

3. sing. indicative *khādiyati*, *nīlakhiyati*, *ganīyati* (Queen's edict, l. 4).

3. plur. indicative *anuvidhīyaṁti* and °*dhiyaṁti*.

VI. Participles.

(1) Present participle.

Active: *saṁtaṁ*, *anupaṭīpajaṁtaṁ*.
Middle: *anuvekhamāne*, *pāyamīnā*.

(2) Past passive participle.

(a) In *-ta*: *mata* (Delhi-Tōprā) and *muta* (= Skt. *mata*), *kaṭa*, *viyāpaṭa*, *tīlita* and *tīlīta*, *mahīyita*, *sukhayita*,[1] *ānapita*, *kālāpita*, *sāvāpita*, *lopāpita*, *khānāpāpita*, *likhāpita*, *likhāpāpita*, *atikaṁta*, *āyata* (i.e. *āyatta*), *nikhita* (= *nikshipta*), *viyata* (= *vyakta*), *yuta* (= *yukta*), *badha* (i.e. *baddha*), *niludha* (= *niruddha*), *āladha* (= **ārāddha*), *pata* (= *prāpta*), *apakaṭha* (= *apakṛishṭa*), *asvatha* (= *āśvasta*), &c.

(b) In *-na*: *anūp*[*a*]*ṭīpaṁna*, *patyāsaṁna* and *patiyāsaṁna*, *diṁna* (for **didna*; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, p. 386).

(3) Future passive participle.

(a) In *-tavya*: *haṁtaviya*, *viketaviya*, *vataviya*, *kaṭaviya*, *ichhitaviya* (from the present *ichchhati*), *pusitaviya* (from *pushyati*), *viṁnapayitaviya*, *jhāpayitaviya* and *jhāpetaviya* (from the causative of *kshai*), *vā*[*sā*]*petaviya*. In *nīlakhitaviya* (= **nirlakshayitavya*) the causative character *aya* is neglected.

(b) In *-ya*: *dekhiya* (from the present *dekhati*), *l*[*a*]*hiya* (from root *labh*), *avadhya* and *avadhiya*, *dupaṭivekha*, *dusaṁpaṭipādaya*, *āvāsayiya* (for **āvāsayya*).[2]

VII. Infinitive.

bhetave (from root *bhid*), *palihaṭave*, *paṭichalitave*, *ājānitave*, *ālādhayitave*, *visvaṁsayitave*, *samādapayitave*, *nijhapayitave*.

VIII. Absolutive.

(a) In *-tvā*: *sutu* (=Skt. *śrutvā*), *nisijitu* (from the present *nisṛijati*), *sanaṁdhāpayitu*.

(b) In *-ya*: *āgācha* (= *āgatya*), [*sa*]*ṁnaṁdhāpayiyā*.[3]

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[1] In this form the causative character *aya* of the present *sukhayati* is retained, as in *ānapayite* at Kālsī, [*aṇapayit*]*e* at Mānsehrā, and *ānāp*[*ay*]*i*[*ta*] at Dhauli.

[2] The correct Sanskrit form would be *āvāsya*; cf. the preceding note.

[3] Cf. the two last notes and Pāṇini, VI, 4, 57, who allows both *prāpayya* and *prāpya* to be formed from *prāpayati*.

CHAPTER XI

GRAMMAR OF THE MINOR ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS

THE language of most of these inscriptions strongly resembles the Māgadha dialect of the pillar-edicts and of the Dhauli and Jaugaḍa rock-edicts. But, for practical reasons, it appears more convenient to treat the grammar of the minor rock-inscriptions in a separate chapter. The three Mysore edicts (Brahmagiri, Śiddāpura, and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara) exhibit a number of dialectical peculiarities and are therefore considered in a special sub-division.

I. THE FIVE ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS AT RUPNATH, ETC., AND THE THREE BARABAR HILL CAVE-INSCRIPTIONS

A.—PHONETICS

(1) VOWELS.

The vowel *a* becomes *u* after *m* in *munisā*, and *i* after *y* in the future *vaḍhisiti* (Rūpnāth and Maski) = *vaḍhisati* (Sahasrām and Bairāṭ); cf. Śaurasēnī *bhavissidi*, &c., in Hēmachandra, IV, 275, and in the southern manuscripts of Indian dramas. For the *e* of *hetā* (Sahasrām) and for the *i* of *munisā* see above, p. lxx. The abstract *gālava* (= Prākrit and Pāli *gārava*) presupposes the adjective *galu* (= Skt. *guru*), in which *a* corresponds to Skt. *u*; see above, p. lvi. For *o* = Skt. *u* in *kho*, see *ibid.* and n. 2. The diphthong *au* becomes *o* in *moneya*.

ṛi becomes (1) *a* in *kaṭā, dakhitaviye, vaḍhi*; (2) *u* in *musā* (= Skt. *mṛishā*), *sun*[*e*]*yu*; (3) *i* in *adhigichya* (= Skt. *adhikṛitya*), *diseyā* (optative of *dṛiśyatē*). In *aḍhati*[*y*]*a* (= Pāli *aḍḍhatiya* and Skt. *ardhatṛitīya*) the syllable *tṛi* is lost, as in Ardhamāgadhī *aḍḍhāijja*; see Geiger's *Pāli*, § 65, 2, and cf. Pāli *aḍḍhuḍḍha* = Skt. *ardhachaturtha*.

Interconsonantal *a* and *i* are lengthened in -[*a*]*thāta* (?) and *chila-ṭhitīke*. Final *a* is lengthened in *evā* and *vā* (= Skt. *ēva*), *chā, hetā, āhā,* [*likhāpa*]*yāthā, h*[*a*]*mā, eteni*(*nā*), *apaladhiyenā*, &c. (below, p. cxxvi). Final *i* and *u* are lengthened before *iti* in *saṁghasī ti, hosatī ti, jānaṁtū ti,* and final *u* which stands for *ur* in *upadhāl*[*a*]*yeyū.*

Initial *ā* is shortened in *ahāle* (Rūpnāth); interconsonantal *ī* and *ū* in *misibhūtā* (Maski), *Jambudipasi* (= °*dīpasi* at Sahasrām), *pa*[*ka*]*mam*[*i*]*menā* (cf. *palakamamīnenā* at Sahasrām), *ekunavīsati* (Barābar); final *ā* and *ī* in *lāja* (Barābar) = *lājā* (Calcutta-Bairāṭ), *sata* (Rūpnāth) = *satā* (Sahasrām), *Pr*[*i*]*yadas*[*i*] (Calcutta-Bairāṭ) = *Piyadasī* (Barābar).

Initial vowels are dropped in *pi* (= Skt. *api*), *sumi* (for **smi* = Skt. *asmi*), *hakaṁ* (for *ahakam* = *aham*), *ti* (= *iti*), *kiṁti* and *kiti, dāni* (= *idānīm*), *va* and *vā* (= *ēva*).

(2) SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

Intervocalic *k* is softened in *adhigichya* (Skt. = *adhikṛitya*) and appears to have become *y* in *diyaḍhiya* (= **dvikārdhya*).[1] *gh* is preserved in *Lāghula* (= *Rāhula*) and suggests that this name of Buddha's son is derived from the ancient hero *Raghu*. In *kubhā* (Barābar) = Skt. *guhā*, 'a cave', *k* and *bh* at first sight appear to correspond to Skt. *g* and *h*. But each of the two words may have a distinct origin. While *guhā* is connected with the root *guh*, 'to hide', *kubhā* may be related to *kumbha*, 'a pot' (originally 'a cavity'), and Greek κύμβη, 'a (hollow) boat'.[2]

Lingual *ṇ* is replaced by dental *n* throughout, but is improperly used at Calcutta-Bairāṭ in *Aliya-vasāṇi* (= Skt. *Ārya-vaṁśāḥ*).

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[1] Cf. *diyaḍha* and *diaḍha*, above, pp. lxxi and lxxxv.

[2] The same root has assumed the slightly different meaning of 'a round projection' in Ancien Persian *kaufa*, 'a mountain', Avestan *kaofa*, 'a mountain, the hump of a camel', and Skt. *kakubh*, 'a peak'; cf. *kakud*, 'a peak, a hump'.

Dentals are lingualized in *uḍāla* (= Pāli *uḷāra* and Skt. *udāra*), *duvāḍasa*, and after *ṛi* in *kaṭā*, *vaḍhi*. *t* is palatalized in *adhigichya* (= Skt. *adhikṛitya*). *dh* seems to be preserved in *ha(hi)dha* (= *idha* at Girnār ?), but has become *h* in [*nigoha*] (= Skt. *nyagrōdha*).

Intervocalic *p* becomes *v* in *pāv*[*a*]*t*[*a*]*ve* (Sahasrām), the infinitive of **prāpati* (= Skt. *prāpnōti*). *bh* becomes *h* in *hotu*, *hosatī*, *husu*, *devehi*, [*ājīvi*]*kehi*.

y is dropped at the beginning of *āvatake* (from Skt. *yāvat*), *aṁ* and *e* (= *yat*). The syllable *ya* becomes *i* in [*nigoha*] (= *nyagrōdha*). *aya* and *ayi* become *e* in *lekhāpeta*, *lā*(*li*)*khāpetavaya*, *ārodheve* (read *ārādhetave*) and [*ā*]*lādheta*[*v*]*e*, *abhivāde*[*tū*]*naṁ*.

As in the Māgadha dialect, *r* becomes *l*; but it is preserved at Rūpnāth in *ārodheve* (read *ārādhetave*), *chira-ṭhitike*, *chha*(*sa*)*vachhare*, *sāti*[*ra*]*kekāni* (read *sātirekāni*), and at Maski in *pure*, [*sāt*]*ire*[*ke*].

v becomes *p* in *apaladhiyenā* (Rūpnāth) = *aval*[*a*]*dhiyenā* (Sahasrām). It is developed out of *u* in *vivutha* (Sahasrām) = *vy*[*u*]*ṭha* (Rūpnāth). *ava* and *avi* become *o* in *-ovāde*, *hotu*, *hosatī*.

ś and *sh* have generally become *s*. But *ś* is preserved at Maski in *Śake* (= Skt. *Śākyaḥ*) and is improperly used at Bairāṭ in *śvage* (= *svage* at Rūpnāth); *sh* is preserved at Maski in *vashā*[*ni*]. In [*cha*]*kye* and *chakiye*, *ś* is represented by *ch*; cf. above, pp. ci and cxiii.

h is prefixed in *ha*(*hi*)*dha* (?), *hetā*, *hevaṁ*.

Final consonants are dropped. *ā* (for *ās*) is shortened in *saṁta* and *-deva* (Sahasrām, l. 2 f.). *as* becomes *e*; see *pure*[1] (= Skt. *puras*), *ve* (= *vas*), *bhikhuniye* (nom. plur.), *aṭhe*, &c. It is represented by *ā* in *esā* (nom. sing. neut.), and by *a* in -[*a*]*ṭhāta* (?), *esa* (nom. sing. neut.), *yāvataka* and *vālata* (Rūpnāth).

Final *a* is nasalized in *chaṁ* (Calcutta-Bairāṭ, l. 2), while final Anusvāra is omitted in *ima*, *iya*, *tupaka* (for *tuphākaṁ*), *diyaḍhiya* (Rūpnāth), *prakāsa*, [*bā*]*ḍha*, *vaḍhi* (acc.), *vipula*, *sagh*[*a*] (acc.). The nom. sing. of neuters in *-a* generally follows the analogy of the masculine and ends in *-e*; see *phale*, &c. The termination *-aṁ* is replaced by *-i* in *bāḍhi* (Rūpnāth, ll. 1, 2); cf. *ayi* for *ayaṁ* at Shāhbāzgaṛhī.[2] The long nasal vowel *āṁ* is shortened in the termination (*-aṁ*) of the acc. sing. of feminines in *-ā* (below, p. cxxvi), and *īm* becomes *i* in *dāni* (= Skt. *idānīm*).

(3) SANDHI.

Final *m* is preserved and doubled in *hevaṁmevā* (Calcutta-Bairāṭ, l. 8).

a + *ă* becomes *ā* in *-vasābhisita*, *sātileke*, *sādhi*[*ke*], *ap*[*ā*]*bādhataṁ*, *ja*[*lagh*]*o*[*sāgama*] (?). The *ā* which results from the contraction is shortened before a group of consonants in -[*āgama*]*ṭhāta* (?), *apaladhiyenā* and *aval*[*a*]*dhiyenā*, *diyaḍhiyaṁ*, but the length is preserved in *diyāḍhiyaṁ* (Sahasrām). Final *ă* is elided before *u*, *e*, *o* in *chu* (= *cha* + *u*), *ekunavīsati*, *ma*[*ha*]*taṁ*-*eva*, *Lāghul-ovāde*.

(4) GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

The only groups which occasionally remain unassimilated are *ky*, *ty* (which becomes *chy*), *pr*, *rv*, *vy*, *sv*.

A long vowel preceding a group is shortened in *aliya* (= Skt. *ārya*), *pa*[*la*]*kamaṁtu* (= *parākra*°), *palakamamīnenā*, [*palaka*]*ṁ*[*t*]*e*, *mahata*- (= *mahātman*), *Śake* and [*Sa*]*k*[*e*] (= *Śākyaḥ*), *abhikhinaṁ* (= *abhīkshṇam*). But the length remains in *p*[*a*]*l*[*ā*]*kame* (Sahasrām), *p*[*ā*]*potave* (from *prāpnōti*), *lāti* (= *rātri*), *sūte* (= *sūtram*). A short vowel preceding a group is lengthened in *v*[*ā*]*tave* (infinitive of *vach*).

The long nasal vowel *āṁ* is shortened before consonants in [*palaka*]*ṁ*[*t*]*e*[3] and *Devānaṁpiya* (Rūpnāth and Maski), but remains in *Devānāṁpiya* (Sahasrām and Bairāṭ). In *bhaṁte*, a Buddhist term of address which stands perhaps for *bhaddaṁte*[4] = Skt. *bhadraṁ tē*, 'happiness to you', the syllable *dda* is elided. The nasal vowel *iṁ* is replaced by a length in *ekunavīsati*. Anusvāra is sometimes omitted after *a*; see the infinitive *adhigatave* (Maski), *atā* (Rūpnāth) = *aṁtā* (Sahasrām and

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[1] The same form is used in Ardhamāgadhī and Pāli. Cf. also [*p*]*ule* at Kālsī, I, l. 3.

[2] Also Pāli *saddhiṁ* = Skt. *sārdham*, &c.; see Geiger's *Pāli*, § 22.

[3] The Anusvāra is omitted at the same time in *pakate* (= Skt. *prakrāntaḥ*).

[4] See Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *bhadanto*. According to Hēmachandra, IV, 287, *bhaṁte* is the Māgadhī voc. sing. of *bhadanta*.

Bairāṭ), *ṭh*[*abh*]*e* (but *ṭha*[*ṁ*]*bhasi* and *thaṁ*[*bh*]*ā*), *pakamatu* (3. plur.), [*pala*]*kamatu* (Bairāṭ) = *pa*[*la*]*kamaṁtu* (Sahasrām), *vayajanenā* (=Skt. *vyañjanēna*), *Aliya-vasāṇi* (=*Ārya-vaṁśāḥ*), *saghe* (= *saṅghaḥ*), *chha*(*sa*)*vachhare* and *sav*[*a*]*chhale* (= *saṁvatsaraḥ*). The final *a* of the first member of a compound is nasalized at Sahasrām in [*m*]*isaṁ-deva* and *aṁmisaṁ*-[*de*]*vā* (read *ami*°).

The auxiliary vowel which is developed within some groups is *u* before labials in *duve*, *duvāḍasa*, *s*[*u*]*ag*[*e*], *sumi*; *a* in *alahāmi*, *lā*(*li*)*khāpetavaya*, *vayajanenā*; and frequently *i*, as will appear from the subjoined list of Sanskrit groups and of their equivalents in the rock-inscriptions at Rūpnāth, &c.

kt becomes *t* in *abhisita*, &c.

ky remains in [*cha*]*kye* (Bairāṭ), but becomes *kiy* in *chakiye*, *sakiye*, and *k* in *sake* (= Skt. *śakyaḥ*), *Śake* and [*Sa*]*k*[*e*] (= *Śākyaḥ*).

kr becomes *k* in *pakamasi*, *pa*[*la*]*kamaṁtu*, &c.

ksh becomes *kh* in *khudaka*, *bhikhu*, *bhikhuniye*, *dakhitaviye*.[1]

kshṇ becomes *khin* in *abhikhinaṁ*.

khl becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

gr becomes *g* in [*nigoha*] (= Skt. *nyagrōdha*).

jñ becomes *jin* in *lājinā*.

ñch becomes *ṁn* in *sapaṁnā* = Skt. *shaṭpañchāśat*; cf. *paṁnadasā*, &c., in the pillar-edict V.

ṭp becomes *p* in *sapaṁnā*.

tk becomes *k* in *samukase*.

tm becomes *t* in *mahata*- (= Skt. *mahātman*).

ty becomes *chy* in *adhigichya* (= Skt. *adhikṛitya*).

tr becomes *t* in *tata*, *lāti*, *sūte*, *hetā*.

tv becomes *t* in *mahatatā* (= Skt. *mahātmatvāt*).

ts becomes *chh* in *chha*(*sa*)*vachhare* and *sav*[*a*]*chhal*.

tsth becomes *ṭh* in [*uṭhānaṁ*].[2]

dr becomes *d* in *khudaka*, *bha*[*dak*]*e*.

dv becomes *duv* in *duve*, *duvāḍasa*; *d* in *Jaṁbudīpasi*, *diyaḍhiyaṁ*.

pn becomes *p* in *p*[*ā*]*potave* (from Skt. *prāpnōti*).

pr remains in *prakāsa* (Rūpnāth) and in *abhipretaṁ*, *prasāde*, *Pr*[*i*]*yadas*[*i*] (Calcutta-Bairāṭ), but becomes *p* in *Piyadasī*, &c., and perhaps *ph* in *phāsu* = Vēdic *prāśu* (?); see Geiger's *Pāli*, § 62, 1.

rg becomes *g* in *svage*.

rth becomes *ṭh* in *aṭha*, and perhaps *th* in -[*a*]*thāta* (?).

rdh becomes *ḍh* in *aḍhati*[*y*]*āni*, *vaḍhisati* and *vaḍhisiti*.

rdhy becomes *dhiy* in *apaladhiyenā* and *aval*[*a*]*dhiyenā*; *ḍhiy* in *diyaḍhiyaṁ*.

rm becomes *ṁm* in *dhaṁma* (spelt *dhama* at Maski, l. 5).

ry becomes *liy* in *aliya* (= Skt. *ārya*) and *paliyāya*.

rv remains in *sarve* (Calcutta-Bairāṭ, l. 3), but becomes *v* in *pavata* and *pavatis*[*u*].

rś becomes *s* in *Piyadasī*.

rsh becomes *sh* in *vashā*[*ni*] (Maski, l. 2); *s* in *vasa* and *samukase*.

rh becomes *lah* in *alahāmi*.

lp becomes *p* in *ap*[*ā*]*bādhataṁ*.

vy remains in *vy*[*u*]*ṭhenā*, but becomes *viy* in *dakhitaviye*, *vataviyā*, *vivasetavā*(*vi*)[*ya*], and *vay* in *lā*(*li*)*khāpetavaya* and *vayajanenā*.

śn becomes *sin* in *pasine* (= Skt. *praśnaḥ*).

śy becomes *s* in the optative passive *diseyā*.

śr becomes *s* in *misa* and *sāvane*.

shṭ becomes *ṭh* in *vy*[*u*]*ṭha* (Rūpnāth); *th* in *vivutha* (Sahasrām).

shm becomes *ph* in *tupaka* (read perhaps *tuphākaṁ*, as at Sārnāth).

shy becomes *s* in *Upatisa*, *munisā*, *vaḍhisati* and *vaḍhisiti*, *hosatī*.

st becomes *th* in *athi* and *thaṁ*[*bh*]*a* (Sahasrām); *ṭh* in *ṭha*[*ṁ*]*bha* (Rūpnāth).

sth becomes *ṭh* in *chira-ṭhitike* and *chila-ṭhitīke*.

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[1] See above, p. lxxiv, n. 5.

[2] Cf. above, p. ciii.

sm becomes *sum* in *sumi* (= Skt. *asmi*); *s* in the loc. sing. in *-asi*.
sy becomes *siy* in *siyā* (= Skt. *syāt*); *s* in the gen. sing. in *-asa*.
sv remains in *svage* (spelt *śvage* at Bairāṭ), but becomes *su* in *s*[*u*]*ag*[*e*] (Sahasrām).

B.—DECLENSION

(1) Masculines and neuters in *-a*.

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	masc. *aṭhe*, &c.; neut. *phale*, &c.	Masc. *devā*, &c.; neut. *bhayāni*, &c.
Acc.	masc. *saṁghaṁ*, &c.; neut. *vipulaṁ*, &c.	
Instr.	*Budhena*, &c.	*devehi*.
Dat.	*kālāya*, *aṭhāya*, *aṭh*[*ā*]*ye*.	[*ājīvi*]*kehi*.
Abl.	*mahatatā*.	
Gen.	*Asok*[*a*]*sa*, *Dev*[*ā*]*na*[*ṁ*]*piyasa*.	
Loc.	*Budhasi*, &c.	*pavatesu*.

In the nom. sing. masc. *yāvataka* and the nom. sing. neut. *lā*(*li*)*khāpetavaya*, *vivasetavā*(*vi*)[*ya*] at Rūpnāth, *-a* is perhaps only a clerical error for *-e*.

In the acc. sing. masc. *sagh*[*a*] (for *saṁghaṁ*) and the acc. sing. neut. *vipula* at Rūpnāth, the final Anusvāra is omitted.

The final *a* of the instr. sing. is lengthened in *apaladhiyenā*, *aval*[*a*]*dhiyenā*, *-abhisitenā*, *pa*[*ka*]*mam*[*i*]*nenā*, *palakamamīnenā*, *vayajanenā*, *vy*[*u*]*ṭhenā*.

At Barābar we seem to have a loc. sing. in *-e*: *su*[*p*]*i*[*y*]*e*.

The final *ā* of the nom. plur. masc. is shortened in *-deva* (Sahasrām, l. 3).

The Sanskrit masculines *paryāya*, *vaṁśa*, *saṁvatsara* form the nom. and acc. plur. *paliyāyāni*, *vasāṇi*, [*savachhalāni*], with the termination of the neuter. The nom. plur. neut. has the ending *-ā* at Sahasrām (l. 6 f.) in *lāti-satā vivuthā*; at Rūpnāth (l. 5 f.) we have *sata* instead of *satā*.

(2) Feminines in *-ā*.

Nom. sing. *kubhā*, *dinā*; acc. sing. *ap*[*ā*]*bādhataṁ*, *phāsu-vihālataṁ*; nom. plur. *upāsikā*, *gāthā*.

(3) Feminines in *-i* and *-ī*.

Acc. sing. *vadhi*; nom. plur *bhikhuniye*; loc. plur. *pavatis*[*u*].[1]

(4) Masculines in *-at*.

Nom. sing. *kalaṁtaṁ*; instr. sing. *bhagavatā*; nom. plur. *saṁta* (for either *saṁtā* or *saṁte*).

(5) Masculines in *-an*.

Nom. sing. *lājā*, *lāja*; instr. sing. *lājinā*, *ma*[*ha*]*tan*[*ā*].

(6) Masculine in *-in*.

Nom. sing *Piyadasī*, *Pr*[*i*]*yadas*[*i*]; instr. sing. *Piyadasinā*.

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Nom. sing. *hakaṁ*.
Instr. sing. *mamayā*, *hamiyāye*, [*me*].
Gen. sing. *h*[*a*]*mā*, *me*.

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[1] The feminine *parvati* (= *parvata*) occurs in the *Taittirīya-Saṁhitā*; see Böhtlingk's *Wörterbuch*, s. v.

The genitive *h[a]mā* is a compromise between the usual form *mama* or *mamā* and the nom. **haṁ* (for Skt. *aham*). With the instr. *hamiyāye* cf. *mamiyāye* at Jaugaḍa.

(2) Pronoun of the second person.

Dat. plur. *ve* (= Skt. *vaḥ*), which is used for the nom. at Maski (l. 7); gen. plur. *tupaka* (Rūpnāth), which is probably a clerical error for *tuphākaṁ* (Sārnāth).

(3) Base *ta*.

Nom. sing. masc. and neut. *se*; acc. sing. neut. *ta[ṁ]*, *se*; nom. plur. masc. *te*.

(4) Base *ēta*.

Nom. sing. neut. *esa*, *esā*, *e[s]e*; instr. sing. *[etena]*, *eteni(nā)*, *etinā*; dat. sing. *etāye*, *etiya*; acc. plur. neut. *etāni*.

With the forms *etinā* and *etiya* at Rūpnāth cf. the gen. sing. *etisa* in the two Kharōshṭhī versions of the rock-edicts, and *etishā* at Kālsī.

(5) Demonstrative *idam*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. *iya[ṁ]*, *iya*; neut. *iyaṁ*.	Neut. *imāni*.
Acc. masc. *ima*; neut. *imaṁ*.	
Dat. *[i]māyā*.	

Nom. sing. fem. *iyaṁ*.

(6) Interrogative pronoun.

The base *ki* forms part of the conjunction *kiṁti* or *kiti*, and the base *ka* of the indefinite *kechi* (nom. sing. neut.).

(7) Relative pronoun.

Nom. sing. masc. and neut. *e*; acc. sing. neut. *ya*, *aṁ*; nom. plur. masc. *yā*, which follows the analogy of the nouns in *-a*, and *[ye]*.

(8) Base *sarva*.

Nom. sing. neut. *sarve*.

D.—NUMERALS

Two: nom. neut. *duve*.
Twelve: *duvāḍasa*.
Nineteen: *ekunavīsati*.
Fifty-six: *sapaṁnā*. For *pannā* = Skt. *pañchāśat*, see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 445
Hundred: *satā* and *sata* (nom. plur.).

E.—CONJUGATION

(1) PRESENT.

(a) Indicative.

1. sing. *alahāmi*, *sumi*, *ichhāmi*, *likhā[pa]yāmi*.
3. sing. *athi*.

(b) Subjunctive.

2. plur. *[likhāpa]yāthā*.

(c) Optative.

3. sing. *adhigachh[e]yā, siyā, diseyā* (passive).
3. plur. *sun[e]yu* (= *shune[y]u* at Kālsī), *upadhāl[a]yeyū*.

(d) Imperative.

3. sing. *hotu*.
2. plur. *lekhāpeta*, [*likhāpayatha*].
3. plur. *pakamatu* (for °*mamtu*), *palakamamtu, jānamtu*.

(2) AORIST: 3. plur. *husu*.

(3) PERFECT: 3. sing. *āhā*.

(4) FUTURE.

3. sing. *hosatī, vaḍhisati* and *vaḍhisiti*.

(5) PARTICIPLES.

(a) Present Participle.

Active: *kalamtam, samta* (nom. plur.).
Middle: *pa[ka]mam[i]na, palakamamīna*.

(b) Past passive participle.

In *-ta*: *kaṭa, pakata* (= Skt. *prakrānta*), *vy[u]ṭha* and *vivutha* (from *vi-vas*), &c.
In *-na*: *dina* (i. e. *dinna*); see above, p. cxxii.

(c) Future passive participle.

In *-tavya*: *dakhitaviya, vataviya, lā(li)khāpetavaya, vivasetavā(vi)[ya]*.
In *-ya*: *sakiya* and *saka*, [*cha*]*kya* and *chakiya*.

(6) INFINITIVE.

adhigatave, v[ā]tave (from root *vach*), *p[ā]potave* (from Skt. *prāpnōti*), *pāv[a]t[a]ve* (from **prāpati*; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 504), *ārodheve* (read *ārādhetave*) and [*ā*]*lādheta*[*v*]*e*.

(7) ABSOLUTIVE.

abhivāde[tū]nam; cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 585.

II. THE THREE ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS IN THE MYSORE STATE

A.—PHONETICS

(1) VOWELS.

For *vaḍhisiti* and *munisā*, see above, p. cxxiii. Skt. *u* is represented by *a* in *garu* (= *guru*). For *o* = Skt. *u* in *kho*, see above, p. lvi and n. 2. *ṛi* becomes (1) *i* in *pakitī* (= *prakṛitiḥ*), *pitisu* (= *pitṛishu*); (2) *u* in *pitusu*; (3) *ra* in *drahyitavyam* (from *dṛihyati*). *au* becomes *o* in *porāṇā*.

Interconsonantal *a* or *i* are lengthened in *aḍhātiya* (= Ardhamāgadhī *aḍḍhāijja*; see above, p. cxxiii), *upayīta* (= Skt. *upēta*), *chira-ṭhitīke, Suvamṇagirīte*, and final *i*, which stands for *is*, in *pakitī*. Initial *a* and *i* are lost in *pi, hakam, ti*.

(2) Simple Consonants.

The three Mysore inscriptions agree with the Girnār, Shāhbāzgaṛhī, and Mānsehrā rock-edicts in retaining the letter *r*, which has become *l* in the Māgadha dialect.

Skt. *ṇ* is preserved in *guṇā*, *paka*[*m*]*i* . . *ṇeṇa* (read *pakamamīṇeṇa*), *porāṇā*, *prāṇesu*, *mahāmātāṇaṁ*, *li*[*pi*]*kareṇa*, *Suvaṁṇagirīte*, *sāvaṇe*, but is replaced by dental *n* in *aḍhātiyāni*, *khudakena*, *vasāni*. It is used instead of *n* in *Devāṇaṁpiya* (Brahmagiri and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara) = [*Dev*]*ā*[*na*]*ṁpiya* (Śiddāpura) and corresponds to Skt. *jñ* in *āṇapayati*.[1]

k appears to have become *y* in *diyaḍhiya* (= **dvikārdhya*). *bh* becomes *h* in *hoti*, *husaṁ*, *devehi*.

y is developed out of *i* in *upayīte* and becomes *v* before *u* in *dī*[*gh*]*āvuse*. *ayi* becomes *e* in *ārādhetave*. *ava* becomes *o* in *hoti*.

ś and *sh* have become *s* throughout; but *ś* is improperly used for *s* in [*ā*]*char*[*i*]*yaśa* (Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara) and *śa*[*cha*]*ṁ* (Śiddāpura). *h* is prefixed in *hevaṁ* and *hemeva*.

Final *as* becomes *e* in *Suvaṁṇagirīte*, *aṭhe*, &c., but *a* in *esa* (nom. sing. neut.). Final Anusvāra is omitted in *iya* and *bāḍha*.

(3) Sandhi.

Final *m* is preserved, and the syllable *va* is dropped, in *hemeva* (= Skt. *ēvam≠ēva*). Final *a* is elided before *u* in *chu* (=*cha*+*u*), and before *e* in *mahātpen≠eva*. *i*+*i* become *ī* in *hīyaṁ* (Brahmagiri, l. 4).

(4) Groups of Consonants.

The only groups which occasionally remain unassimilated are *ky*, *tm* (which becomes *tp*), *dr*, *pr*, *vy*, *sv*, *hy*.

A long vowel preceding a group is shortened in *ayaputasa*, *āchariya*, *avaradhiyā*, *diyaḍhiyaṁ*, *e*[*t*]*āyaṭhāya*, but the length remains in *āṇapayati*, *dī*[*gh*]*āvuse*, *pāpotave* (from Skt. *prāpnōti*), *mahāmāta*, *yathārahaṁ*. A short vowel preceding a group is lengthened in *vyūthena*.

The long nasal vowel *āṁ* is shortened before consonants in [*Dev*]*ā*[*na*]*ṁpiye*, *prakaṁte* and *pakaṁte*. Anusvāra is omitted after *a* in *atā* and *savachharaṁ*.

kt becomes *t* in *vataviya*.

ky remains in *sakye* (Brahmagiri), but becomes *k* in *sake* (Śiddāpura).

kr becomes *k* in *pakama*, *prakaṁte* and *pakaṁte*.

ksh becomes *kh* in *khudaka*.

khl becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

gy becomes *giy* in *ārogiyaṁ*.

jñ becomes *ñ* in *ñātika*; *ṇ* in *āṇapayati*.

As in *ātpa*- (= Skt. *ātman*) at Girnār, *tm* becomes *tp* in *mahātpa* (= *mahātman*).

ty becomes *ch* in *sachaṁ*.

tr becomes *t* in *ayaputasa*, *mahāmāta*.

ts becomes *chh* in *saṁvachhara*.

dr remains in *drahyitavyaṁ*, but becomes *d* in *khudaka*.

dv becomes *d* in *Jaṁbudīpasi* and *diyaḍhiyaṁ*.

pn becomes *p* in *pāpotave* (from Skt. *prāpnōti*).

pr remains in *prakaṁte* (Brahmagiri, l. 2), but becomes *p* in *pakaṁte*, &c.

rg becomes *g* in *svage*.

rgh becomes *gh* in *dī*[*gh*]*āvuse*.

rṇ becomes *ṁṇ* in *Suvaṁṇagirīte*.

rt becomes *t* in *pavatitaviya*; *ṭ* in *kaṭaviye*.

rth becomes *ṭh* in *aṭha*.

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[1] Cf. Prākṛit *āṇavedi*, and *aṇapemi*, *aṇapita*, &c. at Shāhbāzgaṛhī and Mānsehrā.

rdh becomes *ḍh* in *aḍhātiyāni* and *vaḍhisiti.*
rdhy becomes *dhiy* in *avaradhiyā*; *ḍhiy* in *diyaḍhiyaṁ.*
rm becomes *ṁm* in *dhaṁma.*
ry becomes *riy* in *āchariya*; *y* in *ayaputasa.*
rsh becomes *s* in *vasāni.*
rh becomes *rah* in *yathārahaṁ.*
vy remains in *vyūthena* and *drahyitavyaṁ*, but becomes *viy* in the remaining gerunds in *-taviya* (= Skt. *-tavya*).
śr becomes *s* in *misa, sāvaṇe, sāvite, sāvāpite, susūs[i]taviye.*
shṭ becomes *th* in *vyūthena.*
shy becomes *s* in *munisā* and *vaḍhisiti.*
sth becomes *ṭh* in *chira-ṭhitīke.*
sm becomes *s* in the loc. sing. in *-asi.*
sy becomes *s* in the gen. sing. in *-asa.*
sv remains in *svage.*
hy remains in *drahyitavyaṁ.*

B.—DECLENSION

(1) Masculines and neuters in *-a.*

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. *aṭhe*, &c.; neut. *phale*, &c.	Masc. *ñātikā*, &c.; neut. *vasāni*, &c.
Acc. masc. *ekaṁ*, *savachharaṁ*; neut. *ārogiyaṁ*, &c.	
Instr. *kālena*, &c.	*devehi.*
Dat. *aṭhāya.*	
Abl. *avaradhiyā.*	
Gen. *ayaputasa*, *pakamasa.*	*mahāmātāṇaṁ.*
Loc. *Isilasi*, *Jaṁbudīpasi.*	*ñātikesu*, *prāṇesu.*

The termination of the nom. sing. neut. is *-aṁ* in [*likhita*]*ṁ* (Jaṭinga-Rāmēśvara) = *likhite* (Brahmagiri), *vataviyaṁ*, *sachaṁ.*

(2) Feminine in *-ā*: nom. sing. *porāṇā.*
(3) Feminine in *-ī*: nom. sing. *pakitī.*
(4) Masculine in *-u*: loc. plur. *garu*[*su*].
(5) Masculine in *-ṛi*: loc. plur. *pitisu* (Brahmagiri) and *pitusu* (Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara).
(6) Masculine in *-an.* The Sanskrit base *mahātman* follows the *a*-declension: instr. sing. *mahātpen*[*a*]; nom. plur. *mahātpā.*
(7) Masculine in *-in*: instr. sing. *aṁtevāsinā.*

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Nom. sing. *hakaṁ*; instr. *mayā*, *me*; gen. *mai* (read *me*).

(2) Base *ta.*

Acc. sing. neut. *se*; nom. plur. masc. *se.*

(3) Base *ēta.*

Nom. sing. neut. *esa*; dat. sing. *e*[*t*]*āya*; nom. sing. fem. *esā.*

(4) Demonstrative *idaṁ*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. *iyaṁ*; neut. *iyaṁ, iya*.	Masc. *ime*.
Acc. masc. *imaṁ*.	
Instr. *iminā*.	

(5) Relative pronoun.

Acc. sing. neut. *ya, yaṁ*.

D.—CONJUGATION

(1) Present.

(a) Indicative: 3. sing. *hoti, āṇapayati*.
(b) Optative: 3. plur. *pakameyu, jāneyu* (which follows the *a*-conjugation).

(2) Aorist: 1. sing. *husaṁ*.

(3) Perfect: 3. sing. *āha*.

(4) Future: 3. sing. *vaḍhisiti*.

(5) Participles.

(a) Present middle participle: *paka*[*m*]*i* . . *ṇa* (read *pakamamīṇa*), *samāna* (from root *as*).

(b) Past passive participle: *upayīta* (from *upa-i*), *prakaṁta* and *pakaṁta* (= Skt. *prakrānta*), *vyūtha* (from *vi-vas*), &c.

(c) Future passive participle: *vataviya, kaṭaviya, drahyitavya* (from the present *dṛihyati*), *apachāyitaviya, pavatitaviya, susūs*[*i*]*taviya* (from the desiderative of *śru*).

(6) Infinitive.

pāpotave (from Skt. *prāpnōti*), *ārādhetave*.

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

FIRST PART: THE ROCK-EDICTS

I. THE GIRNAR ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

1 (A) इयं धंमलिपी देवानंप्रियेन
2 प्रियदसिना राञा लेखापिता (B) इध न किं-
3 चि जीवं आरभित्पा प्रजूहितव्यं
4 (C) न च समाजो कतव्यो (D) बहुकं हि दोसं
5 समाजम्हि पसति देवानंप्रियो प्रियदसि राजा
6 (E) अस्ति पि तु एकचा समाजा साधुमता देवानं-
7 प्रियस प्रियदसिनो राञो (F) पुरा महानसम्हि
8 देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो राञो अनुदिवसं ब-
9 हूनि प्राणसतसहस्रानि आरभिसु सूपाथाय
10 (G) से अज यदा अयं धंमलिपी लिखिता ती एव प्रा-
11 णा आरभरे सूपाथाय द्वो मोरा एको मगो सो पि
12 मगो न ध्रुवो (H) एते पि त्री प्राणा पछा न आरभिसरे

1 (A) iy[aṁ] dhaṁma-lipī **Devānaṁpriyena**
2 **Priyadasinā rāñā** lekh[ā]pitā (B) [i]dha na kiṁ-
3 chi jīvaṁ ārabhitpā prajūhitavyaṁ
4 (C) na cha samājo katavyo (D) bahukaṁ hi dosaṁ
5 samājamhi pasati **Devānaṁpriyo Priyadasi rājā**[1]
6 (E) asti pi tu ekachā samājā sādhu-matā **Devānaṁ-**
7 **priyasa Priyadasino rāño** (F) purā mahānas[amhi][2]
8 **Devānaṁpriyasa Priy[a]dasino rāño** anudivasaṁ ba-

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[1] Before *rājā* a superfluous *ra* seems to have been struck out by the writer.

[2] The first syllable of *mahānasa°* looks almost like *me*, and *sa* like *se*. Originally *mahānase* may have been written, to which *mhi* was added subsequently without correcting the *se* into *sa*. As noted by Bühler (EI, 2. 449, n. 10), a second *mhi* was added at the very end of the line.

9 hūni prāṇa-sata-sahasrāni ārabhisu sūpāthāya
10 (G) se aja yadā ayaṁ dha[ṁ]ma-lip[ī] likhitā tī eva prā-
11 nā ārabhare sūpāthāya dvo morā eko mago so pi
12 mago na dhruvo[1] (H) ete pi trī prāṇā pachhā na ārabhisare

TRANSLATION

(A) This rescript on morality[2] has been caused to be written by **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin.**

(B) Here[3] no living being must be killed and sacrificed.

(C) And no festival meeting[4] must be held.

(D) For **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** sees much evil in festival meetings.

(E) But there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin.**[5]

(F) Formerly in the kitchen of **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** many hundred thousands of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry.[6]

(G) But now, when this rescript on morality is written, only three animals are being killed (daily) for the sake of curry,[7] (viz.) two peacocks (and) one deer, (but) even this deer not regularly.

(H) Even these three animals shall not be killed in future.

SECOND ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

1 (A) सर्वत विजितम्हि देवानंप्रियस पियदसिनो राञो
2 एवमपि प्रचंतेसु यथा चोडा पाडा सतियपुतो केतलपुतो आ तंब-
3 पंणी अंतियको योनराजा ये वा पि तस अंतियकस सामीपं
4 राजानो सर्वत्र देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो राञो द्वे चिकीछ कता

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[1] *dhuvo* Senart and Bühler. There are two distinct strokes at the bottom of the *dh*, one of which is *u*, while the upper one is probably *r*. Cf. the *r* of [*A*]*ṁdhra* in the Girnār edict XIII, l. 9, and of *aprakaraṇamhi* in edict XII, l. 3.

[2] The literal meaning of *dhaṁma-lipi* (or *dhrama-dipi* in the two Kharōshṭhī versions) is 'a writing on morality'. To retain the sense of 'writing', I use the translation 'rescript on morality' instead of 'religious edict' as the term was rendered by Bühler.

[3] viz. 'in my territory'. Cf. the rock-edict XIII, Q and R. and the Rūpnāth rock-inscription, K.

[4] Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 93 f.), D. R. Bhandarkar (JBBRAS, 21. 395 ff.; IA, 42. 255 ff.), and Thomas (JRAS, 1914. 392 ff.) have shown by quotations that this is the actual meaning of the word *samāja*, which Pischel (GGA, 1881. 1324 f.) had translated by 'battue'.

[5] This remark seems to refer to the representations mentioned in the rock-edict IV, B.

[6] D. R. Bhandarkar (IA, 42. 257) quotes *Mahābhārata*, III, 208, 8–10, where 'we are told that 2,000 animals and 2,000 kine were slain every day in the kitchen (*mahānasa*) of king Rantidēva, and that by doling out meat to his people he attained to incomparable fame.' Cf. also XII, 29, 127 f., and VII, 67, 16–18: 'On the nights which guests spent with Rantidēva, the son of Saṁkṛiti, 21,000 kine were killed. Then the cooks, who wore ear-rings of bright jewels, were shouting: "Eat ye a lot of curry (*sūpa*)! There is not so much meat to-day, as formerly!"'

[7] Evidently on behalf of some members of the royal household who refused to turn strict vegetarians.

5 मनुसचिकीछा चं पसुचिकीछा च (B) ओसुढानि च यानि मनुसोपगानि च
6 पसोपगानि च यत यत नास्ति सर्वत्रा हारापितानि च रोपापितानि च
7 (C) मूलानि च फलानि च यत यत्र नास्ति सर्वत हारापितानि च रोपापितानि च
8 (D) पंथेसू कूपा च खानापिता व्रछा च रोपापिता परिभोगाय पसुमनुसानं

1 (A) sarvata vijitamhi **Devānaṁpriyasa Piyadasino**[1] **rāño**
2 evamapi prachaṁtesu yathā **Choḍā Pāḍā Satiyaputo Ketalaputo** ā **Taṁba-**
3 **paṁṇī Aṁtiyako Yona-rājā** ye vā pi tasa **Aṁtiy[a]kas[a]**[2] sāmīp[aṁ][3]
4 rājāno sarvatra **Devānaṁpriyasa Priyadasino rāño** dve chikīchha katā
5 manusa - chikīchhā cha pasu - chikīchhā cha **(B)** osuḍhāni cha yāni m[a]nusopagān[i] cha
6 paso[pa]gāni cha yata yata nāsti sarvatrā[4] hārāpitāni cha ropāpitāni cha
7 **(C)** mūlāni cha phalāni cha yata yatra[5] nāsti sarvata[6] hārāpitāni cha rop[ā]pitāni cha
8 **(D)** paṁthesū kūpā cha khānāpitā vrachhā cha ropāpit[ā] paribhogāya pasu-manusānaṁ

TRANSLATION

(A) Everywhere in the dominions of **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin,** and likewise among (his) borderers, such as the **Chōḍas,** the **Pāṇḍyas,** the **Satiyaputa,**[7] the **Kētalaputa,**[8] even[9] **Tāmraparṇī,**[10] the **Yōna king Antiyaka,**[11] and also the

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[1] *Priya°* Bühler.

[2] Thus Senart and Bühler, EI, 2. 449; *Aṁtiyokasā* Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 95.

[3] Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 95) would read *sāmīnaṁ*, which he considered to be a clerical error for *sāmaṁtā*, the reading of the other versions of this edict. It is quite possible that *sāmaṁtā* was the original reading of the rock, and that it was subsequently changed by the writer into *sāmīpaṁ* (or *sāmīpā ?*).

[4] *sarvatā* Senart, *sarvatra* Bühler.

[5] *yata* Bühler.

[6] *sarvatra* Bühler.

[7] Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 98 ff.) rejected Kern's identification of this term with the Sātpuṛā range, and explained it by 'the king of the Satvats', whom he located in Western India. D. R. Bhandarkar (JBBRAS, 21. 398) compares Satiyaputa, for which the Kālsī version reads Sātiyaputa, with Sātputē, a surname current among the present Marāṭhās. Lüders (ZDMG, 58. 693 f.) has shown that the Pāli *putta* (= Skt. *putra*) at the end of compounds frequently means 'belonging to a tribe'. He quotes as examples *Andhakaveṇhuputta*, *Videhaputta*, *Bhojaputta*, *Milāchaputta*, *devaputta* (cf. the feminine *devadhītā*), and Skt. *rājaputra*.

[8] Kētalaputa is perhaps a mistake for the reading of the Mānsehrā version: Kēralaputra, i.e. the king of Kērala or Malabar, the Κηρόβοθρος of Ptolemy; see Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, vol. I (sec. ed.), p. 188, note, and vol. III, p. 193.

[9] The syllable *ā* cannot be the preposition *ā*, 'as far as', because the latter would require after it the ablative *Taṁbapaṁṇiyā*, as at Mānsehrā, XIII, Q. Lüders therefore explains it as an Ardhamāgadhī form of the Skt. relative *yā*; see SPAW, 1914. 831.

[10] Tāmraparṇī (*Tambapaṇṇī* in Pāli) is one of the ancient names of the island of Ceylon. It occurs in the *Dīpavaṁsa*, and was known already to Megasthenes in the form Ταπροβάνη; see IA, 6. 129 and 348. Besides, Tāmraparnī is the name of a river in the Tinnevelly district, which was known to the author of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Bombay edition, IV, 41, 17).

[11] Kālsī and Mānsehrā read *Aṁtiyoga*, the remaining versions *Aṁtiyoka*. Antiochus II Theos

kings who are the neighbours[1] of this **Antiyaka,**—everywhere two (kinds of) medical treatment[2] were established by **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin,** (viz.) medical treatment for men and medical treatment for cattle.

(B) And wherever there were no herbs that are beneficial to men and beneficial to cattle, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(C) Wherever there were no roots and fruits, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(D) On the roads wells were caused to be dug, and trees were caused to be planted for the use of cattle and men.

THIRD ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

1 (A) देवानंपियो पियदसि राजा एवं आह (B) द्बादसवासाभिसितेन मया इदं आञपितं
2 (C) सर्वत विजिते मम युता च राजूके च प्रादेसिके च पंचसु पंचसु वासेसु अनुसं-
3 यानं नियातु एतायेव अथाय इमाय धंमानुसस्टिय यथा अञा-
4 य पि कंमाय (D) साधु मातरि च पितरि च सुसूसा मित्रसंस्तुतञातीनं बाम्हण-
5 समणानं साधु दानं प्राणानं साधु अनारंभो अपव्ययता अपभाडता साधु
6 (E) परिसा पि युते आञपयिसति गणनायं हेतुतो च व्यंजनतो च

1 **(A) Devānampiyo**[3] **Piyadasi** r[ā]jā evaṁ āha **(B) dbādasa-vāsābhisitena** mayā idaṁ āñ[a]pitaṁ
2 **(C)** sarvata vijite mama yutā cha rājūke cha prādesike cha paṁchasu paṁchasu vāsesu anusaṁ-
3 y[ā]na[ṁ n]iyātu etāyeva athāya imāya dhaṁmānusasṭiya yathā añā-
4 ya pi kaṁmāy[a] **(D)** [s]ādhu mātari cha pitari cha susrūsā mitra-saṁstuta-ñātīnaṁ[4] bāmhaṇa-
5 samaṇānaṁ sādh[u d]ānaṁ prāṇānaṁ sādhu anāraṁbho apa-vyayatā apa-bhāḍatā[5] sādhu
6 **(E)** parisā pi yute āñapayisati gaṇanāyaṁ hetuto cha vyaṁjanato cha

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of Syria (261–246 B.C.) is probably meant; see Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, vol. II (sec. ed.), p. 255, and Senart, IA, 20. 242.

[1] For *sāmaṁtā*, 'neighbours', and its equivalent *sāmīpaṁ*, literally 'neighbourhood', see JBBRAS, 21. 398, IA, 34. 245, and AJP, 30. 183 ff. The 'neighbours' of Antiochus II were probably the four kings named in the Kālsī edict XIII, Q.

[2] D. R. Bhandarkar (JBBRAS, 21. 398 f.) remarks that *chikitsā* means neither 'hospitals' (Bühler) nor 'remedies' (Senart); he translates it by 'provision or provident arrangement'.

[3] °*priyo* Bühler.

[4] *mitra-* looks almost like *mitā-*; see EI, 2. 450, n. 47.

[5] *apabhiṁḍatā* Senart, *apabhāṁḍatā* Bühler.



SCALE ONE-SIXTH

TRANSLATION

(A) **King Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** speaks thus.

(B) (When I had been) **anointed twelve years,** the following was ordered by me.

(C) Everywhere in my dominions the *Yuktas*,[1] the *Rājūka*,[2] and the *Prādēśika*[3] shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges)[4] every five years for this very purpose, (viz.) for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business.[5]

(D) 'Meritorious is obedience to mother and father. Liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas is meritorious. Abstention from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious.'[6]

(E) The council (of *Mahāmātras*)[7] also shall order the *Yuktas* to register (these rules) both with (the addition of) reasons and according to the letter.[8]

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

1 (A) अतिकातं अंतरं बहूनि वाससतानि वढितो एव प्राणारंभो विहिंसा च भूतानं ञातीसु

2 असंप्रतिपती ब्राम्हणस्रमणानं असंप्रतीपती (B) त अज देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो राञो

3 धंमचरणेन भेरीघोसो अहो धंमघोसो विमानदसणा च हस्तिदसणा च

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[1] For *yuta* = Sanskrit *yukta*, 'an officer', which occurs in the *Kauṭilīya*, see Thomas in IA, 37. 21, JRAS, 1909. 467, and 1914. 387 ff., and cf. the terms *āyuktaka* and *viniyuktaka* in the Valabhī inscriptions (Fleet's *Gupta Inscrs.*, p. 169, notes 4 and 5).

[2] Bühler (ZDMG, 47. 466 ff.) showed that this term means originally 'a field-measurer' (from *rajju*, 'a rope'), and is the designation of a revenue settlement officer. In the *Kauṭilīya*, the two terms *chōra-rajjū* (p. 60) and *chōra-rajjuka* (p. 232) seem to mean something like 'police' and 'police officer', respectively. Cf. I. J. Sorabji, *Notes on the Arthaśāstram*, p. 10 f., and Jolly in ZDMG, 71. 228.

[3] Thomas (JRAS, 1914. 383 ff., and 1915. 112) compares this term with *pradēshṭri* in the *Kauṭilīya*, which is, however, a *nomen agentis* of the verb *pradiśati*, 'to direct', while *prādēśika* is derived from the substantive *pradēśa*. Kern (JRAS, 1880. 393) translated *prādēśika* by 'a provincial governor'. In Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (IV, 126) *prādēśikēśvara* means 'a provincial chief'. A reference to the first separate edict (Dhauli, Z–CC; Jaugaḍa, AA–DD) suggests that the *Prādēśika* of the third rock-edict may have belonged to the class of the *Mahāmātras*, and that *Prādēśika-mahāmātra* would mean 'a provincial high officer'.

[4] Cf. Fleet in JRAS, 1908. 821.

[5] Cf. the Dhauli separate edict I, CC.

[6] This sentence has been successfully explained by Thomas, IA, 37. 20.

[7] Bühler translated *parisā* by 'school', and in edict VI by 'committee'. K. Jayaswal (IA, 42. 283) has drawn attention to the occurrence of the term *mantri-parishad*, 'the council of ministers', in the *Kauṭilīya*. This meaning fits admirably both here and in the rock-edict VI, F.

[8] I follow Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 839) in the translation of the difficult words *gaṇanāyaṁ hetuto cha vyaṁjanato cha*. For *vyañjana* cf. my note on the translation of the Sārnāth pillar-edict, section I.

4 अगिखंधानि च अञानि च दिव्यानि रूपानि दसयित्पा जनं (C) यारिसे बहूहि
वाससतेहि

5 न भूतपुवे तारिसे अज वढिते देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो राञो धंमानुसस्टिया अनारं-

6 भो प्राणानं अविहीसा भूतानं ञातीनं संपटिपती ब्रम्हणसमणानं संपटिपती
मातरि पितरि

7 सुसुसा थैरसुसुसा (D) एस अञे च बहुविधे धंमचरणे वढिते (E) वढयिसति चेव
देवानंप्रियो

8 प्रियदसि राञा धंमचरणं इदं (F) पुत्रा च पोत्रा च प्रपोत्रा च देवानंप्रियस
प्रियदसिनो राञो

9 प्रवधयिसंति इदं धंमचरणं आव सवटकपा धंमम्हि सीलम्हि तिस्टंतो धंमं
अनुसासिसंति

10 (G) एस हि सेस्टे कंमे य धंमानुसासनं (H) धंमचरणे पि न भवति असीलस
(I) त इमम्हि अथम्हि

11 वधी च अहीनी च साधु (J) एताय अथाय इदं लेखापितं इमस अथस वधि
युजंतु हीनि च

12 नो लोचेतव्या (K) द्वादसवासाभिसितेन देवानंप्रियेन प्रियदसिना राञा इदं
लेखापितं

1 **(A)** atikātaṁ aṁt[a]raṁ bahūni vāsa-satāni vaḍhito eva prāṇāraṁbho vihiṁsā cha
bhūtānaṁ ñātīsu

2 a[s]aṁpratipatī brā[m]haṇa-sramaṇānaṁ asaṁpratīpatī[1] **(B)** ta[2] aja **Devānaṁ-
priyasa Priyadasino**[3] **rāño**

3 dhaṁma-charaṇena [bhe]rī-ghoso aho dhaṁma-ghoso vimāna-darsaṇā[4] cha hasti-
da[sa]ṇā cha

4 agi-kh[a]ṁdhāni cha [a]ñāni cha divyāni rūpāni dasayitpā janaṁ **(C)** yārise bahūhi
v[āsa]-satehi

5 na bhūta-puve tārise aja vaḍhite **Devānaṁpriyasa Priyadasino rāño**
dhaṁmānusasṭiyā anāraṁ-

6 [bh]o prāṇānaṁ avihīsā[5] bhūtānaṁ ñātīnaṁ saṁpaṭipatī bramhaṇa-samaṇānaṁ
saṁpaṭipatī mātari pitari

7 [s]usrusā thaira-susrusā **(D)** esa añe cha bahuvidhe [dha]ṁma-charaṇe va[ḍhi]te
(E) vaḍhayisati cheva **Devānaṁpriyo**

8 **[Pri*]ya[da]si**[6] **rājā** dhaṁma-[cha]raṇaṁ idaṁ **(F)** putrā cha [p]otrā cha prapotrā
cha **Devānaṁpriyasa Priyadasino rāño**

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[1] The syllable *pa* was inserted subsequently.

[2] This syllable was inserted subsequently.

[3] The syllable *da* was inserted subsequently.

[4] *-dasaṇā* Senart and Bühler.

[5] The syllable *hī* was inserted subsequently.

[6] The first syllable of lines 8 and 9 (*pri* and *pra*) is invisible on my materials and is taken from the plate facing ASWI, 2. 102.

9 [pra*]vadhayisaṁti[1] idaṁ [dha]ṁma-charaṇaṁ āva savaṭa-kapā[2] dhaṁmamhi sīlamhi tisṭaṁto [dha]ṁmaṁ anusāsisaṁti

10 (G) [e]sa hi sesṭe kaṁme ya dhaṁmānusāsanaṁ (H) dhaṁma-charaṇe pi na [bha]vati asīlasa (I) [ta] imamhi aṭhamhi

11 [va]ḍhī cha ahīnī cha sādhu (J) e[t]āya athāya[3] ida[ṁ] lekhāpitaṁ imasa atha[sa] v[a]dhi yujaṁtu hīni[4] ch[a]

12 [no][5] lochetavyā (K) **dbādasa-vāsābhisitena Devān[a]ṁpriyena Priyadasinā rāñ[ā]** idaṁ lekhāpitaṁ

TRANSLATION

(A) In times past, for many hundreds of years, there had ever been promoted the killing of animals and the hurting of living beings, discourtesy to relatives, (and) discourtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas.

(B) But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin,** the sound of drums has become the sound of morality,[6] showing the people representations of aerial chariots, representations of elephants, masses of fire, and other divine figures.[7]

(C) Such as they had not existed before for many hundreds of years, thus there are now promoted, through the instruction in morality on the part of **king Dēvānāṁpriya**

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[1] See note 6 on previous page.

[2] *saṁvaṭa-* Bühler.

[3] Between *thā* and *ya* the rock shows a vacant space which may be due either to a natural fissure or to an erasure.

[4] There is a vacant space between *hī* and *ni*.

[5] Instead of *no* the plate facing EI, 2. 452 shows the syllable *mā*, which seems, however, to be due to retouching. Kern (IA, 5. 261 and 262) preferred to read *nālochetavyā*.

[6] For former translations of these words see my remarks in JRAS, 1911. 785 ff. I now adopt the explanation of D. R. Bhandarkar (IA, 42. 25), who says: 'The sound of a drum invariably precedes either a battle, a public announcement, or the exhibition of a scene to the people. But since Aśōka entered on his career of righteousness, it has ceased to be a summons to fight, but invites people to come and witness certain spectacles; and as those spectacles are of such a character as to generate and develop righteousness, the drum has thus become the proclaimer of righteousness.' Cf. the Girnār edict X, A, and the third note on the translation of it.

[7] D. R. Bhandarkar (p. 26 f.) suggests that the aerial chariots were exhibited in order to induce people to practise morality and thereby to become qualified for such celestial abodes. The elephants (*hathīni* at Dhauli) he explains as representations of Buddha in the shape of a white elephant; but we may also think of the celestial elephants, which are the usual vehicles of the four Mahārājas or Lōkapālas. In the 'masses of fire' Bhandarkar finds an allusion to the fire-pit of the *Khadiraṅgāra-jātaka*. But according to Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, p. 18, *aggikkhandha* is 'used figuratively of a person of brilliancy and distinction'. To the three quotations which he gives from the commentary on the *Dhammapada* may he added *Mahāvagga*, I, 16–18, where the guardians of the four directions, with Indra and Brahmā, are stated to resemble 'great masses of fire' (*mahantā aggikkhandhā*). Consequently, the expression 'masses of fire' (*agikhaṁdhāni*) in the fourth edict has perhaps to be taken in the sense of 'radiant beings of another world'. Thomas (JRAS, 1914. 395) would render *agniskandhāḥ* by 'bonfires'; but this meaning is precluded by the subsequent words 'and other divine figures'. In editing edict IV, Prinsep (JASB, 7. 266) quoted *Mahāvaṁsa*, XII, 34, where Buddha's sermon on the parable of *aggikkhandha* (*Aṅguttara-nikāya*, ed. Hardy, part IV, p. 128 ff.) is referred to. With *divyāni rūpāni* cf. *devā* in the Rūpnāth edict, E. See also above, p. 2, n. 5.

Priyadarśin, abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, obedience to mother (and) father, (and) obedience to the aged.

(D) In this and many other ways is the practice of morality promoted.

(E) And **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** will ever promote this practice of morality.

(F) And the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** will promote this practice of morality until the æon of destruction (of the world),[1] (and) will instruct (people) in morality, abiding by morality (and) by good conduct.

(G) For this is the best work, viz. instruction in morality.

(H) And the practice of morality is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct.

(I) Therefore promotion and not neglect of this object is meritorious.

(J) For the following purpose has this been caused to be written, (viz. in order that) they[2] should devote themselves to the promotion of this practice, and that the neglect (of it) should not be approved (by them).[3]

(K) This was caused to be written by **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** (when he had been) **anointed twelve years.**

FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

1 (A) देवानंप्रियो पियदसि राजा एवं आह (B) कलाणं दुकरं (C) यो आदिकरो कलाणस सो दुकरं करोति

2 (D) त मया बहु कलाणं कतं (E) त मम पुता च पोता च परं च तेन य मे अपचं आव संवटकपा अनुवतिसरे तथा

3 सो सुकतं कासति (F) यो तु एत देसं पि हापेसति सो दुकतं कासति (G) सुकरं हि पापं (H) अतिकातं अंतरं

4 न भूतप्रुवं धंममहामाता नाम (I) त मया त्रैदसवासाभिसितेन धंममहामाता कता (J) ते सवपासंडेसु व्यापता धामधिस्टानाय

5 ·········· धंमयुतस च योणकंबोजगंधारानं रिस्टिकपेतेणिकानं ये वा पि अंञे आपराता (K) भतमयेसु व

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[1] See Fleet's remarks in JRAS, 1911. 485, n. 1. Böhtlingk's Abridged Dictionary (vol. VII, addenda) quotes *saṁvarta-kalpa* from the *Mahāvyutpatti* (§ 253, No. 62).

[2] Hereby the successors of Aśōka appear to be meant; cf. section F, above.

[3] In the rock-edict XIII, section X, *lochetu* at Kālsī corresponds to *rochetu* (from Skt. *rōchayati*) at Shāhbāzgaṛhī. Here, however, we find forms of the verb *locheti* in all versions. Probably these are pure Māgadhisms at Girnār, Shāhbāzgaṛhī, and Mānsehrā, where forms of *rocheti* would have to be expected. The same applies to section E of the rock-edict XIV, where [*a*]*lochetpā* at Girnār and *alocheti* at Shāhbāzgaṛhī correspond to *alochayitu* at Kālsī.

6 . . . . सुखाय धंमयुतानं अपरिगोधाय व्यापता ते (L) बंधनबधस पटिविधानाय
7 . . . . प्रजा कताभीकारेसु वा थैरेसु वा व्यापता ते (M) पाटलिपुते च बाहिरसु च
8 . . . . ये वा पि मे अञे ञातिका सर्वत व्यापता ते (N) यो अयं धंमनिस्रितो ति व
9 . . . . ते धंममहामाता (O) एताय अथाय अयं धंमलिपी लिखिता
10 . . . .

1 (A) **D[e]vānaṁpriyo Piyadasi rājā**[1] evaṁ āha (B) kalāṇaṁ dukaraṁ (C) y[o ādikaro] kalāṇ[a]sa[2] so dukaraṁ karoti
2 (D) ta mayā bahu kalāṇaṁ kataṁ (E) t[a] mama putā cha potā[3] cha paraṁ cha tena y[a] me [a]pachaṁ āva saṁvaṭa-kapā anuvatisare tathā
3 so sukataṁ kāsati[4] (F) yo tu eta desaṁ pi hāpesati so [du]kataṁ kāsati (G) sukaraṁ hi pāpa[ṁ] (H) atikātaṁ aṁtaraṁ
4 na bhūta-pruvaṁ[5] dhaṁma-mahāmātā nāma (I) ta m[a]yā **traidasa-vāsābhi[s]i[tena]** dhaṁm[a]-mahāmātā katā (J) te sava-pāsaṁḍesu vyāpatā dhāmadhistānāya[6]
5 . . . . [dha]ṁma-yutasa cha **Yoṇa-K[a]ṁbo[ja]-Gaṁdhārānaṁ**[7] **Risṭika-P[e]teṇikānaṁ** ye vā pi a[ṁ]ñ[e ā]parātā[8] (K) bhatamayesu va
6 . . . . [su]khā[ya dhaṁma]-yutānaṁ apar[i]godhāya vyāpatā te (L) ba[ṁ]dhana-badhasa[9] paṭividhānāya
7 . . . . [p]rajā[10] katābhīkāresu vā thairesu vā vyāpatā te (M) **Pāṭaliputo** cha bāhirasu[11] cha
8 . . . . [y]e vā pi me añe ñātikā sarvata vyāpatā te (N) yo ayaṁ dhaṁma-nisrito ti va
9 . . . . [t]e [dha]ṁma-mahāmātā (O) etāya[12] athāya ayaṁ dhaṁma-lipī likhitā
10 . . . .

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[1] There is a vacant space before and after the syllable *rā*.
[2] *ye a . . . . . . kalāṇesa* Senart and Bühler.
[3] *potrā* Bühler.
[4] The Kālsī and Dhauli versions read correctly *se sukataṁ kachhaṁti*. As Michelson (AJP, 32. 441) suggests, the Girnār reading may be a corruption due to the influence of the next sentence.
[5] Read *-purvaṁ*, which is Senart's reading; *-prurvaṁ* Bühler.
[6] The other versions read *dhaṁmādhi°*. [7] *Yona-* Bühler. [8] *aparātā* Bühler.
[9] The *na* of *baṁdhana-* was inserted subsequently.
[10] [*p*]*rajā* looks exactly like [*p*]*ājā*. Cf. the *r* of *traidasa-* in line 4, and above, p. 4, n. 4.
[11] Read *bāhiresu*, which is Senart's and Bühler's reading.
[12] The syllable *ya* was inserted subsequently.

TRANSLATION

(A) **King Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** speaks thus.

(B) It is difficult to perform virtuous deeds.

(C) He who starts performing virtuous deeds accomplishes something difficult.

(D) Now, by me many virtuous deeds have been performed.

(E) Therefore (among) my sons and grandsons, and (among) my descendants (who shall come) after them until the æon of destruction (of the world), those who will conform to this (duty) will perform good deeds.

(F) But he who will neglect even a portion of this (duty) will perform evil deeds.

(G) For sin is easily committed.

(H) In times past (officers) called *Mahāmātras* of morality (*Dharma-mahāmātra*) did not exist before.

(I) But *Mahāmātras* of morality were appointed by me (when I had been) **anointed thirteen years.**

(J) These are occupied with all sects in establishing morality . . . . of those who are devoted to morality (even) among the **Yōṇas, Kambōjas,** and **Gandhāras,**[1] the **Ristikas** and **Pētēṇikas,**[2] and whatever other western borderers[3] (of mine there are).

(K) They are occupied with servants and masters[4] . . . . for the . . . . happiness of those who are devoted to morality, (and) in freeing (them) from desire (for worldly life).[5]

(L) They are occupied in supporting prisoners[6] (with money)[7] . . . . (if one has) children, or with those who are bewitched (i.e. incurably ill ?),[8] or with the aged.

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[1] i.e. the Greeks, Kābulīs, and north-western Panjābīs; see ASSI, 1. 123, n. 1, and, for the Kambōjas, Weber, *Indische Streifen*, 3. 353 f., and JRAS, 1911. 801 f., 1912. 255 ff., 1915. 171.

[2] Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 261) identified the Ristikas with the Rishṭikas of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. But *Ristika* is probably a clerical mistake for *Rāsṭika*; see my note on the translation of the Shāhbāzgaṛhī edict V, J. According to Michelson (IF, 24. 52 ff.), *Peteṇika* stands for **Paitrayaṇika*. Dhauli reads *Pitenika*, and the two Kharōshṭhī versions read *Pitinika*. The same tribe is mentioned in the rock-edict XIII, R; see my note on the translation of the Kālsī version of that passage.

[3] In Senart's and Bühler's translations the word *apara*, 'western', is disregarded; but it is noticed by Senart in IA, 20. 240. For *aṁta* see the Kālsī edict II, l. 1, and XIII, l. 6; Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Bairāṭ, H; Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura, I; and the second separate edict at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa. Later on Aparānta became the designation of a tract of land on the western coast, the capital of which was Sōpārā; cf. EI, 11. 220.

[4] The *m* between *bhata* (Sanskrit *bhṛita*) and *aya* (Sanskrit *ārya*) is euphonic; see Franke in GN, 1895. 533 f., and cf. Kuhn's *Pāli-Grammatik*, p. 63 f., and Windisch, *Berichte der Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1893. 240 f.

[5] Instead of *aparigodha* other versions read *apalibodha*, for which see my note on the translation of the corresponding passage at Kālsī. Thomas has traced the substantive *paligodha*, 'desire', and the participle *paliguddha* (= *parigriddha*), 'desirous', in Buddhist Sanskrit works; see his valuable article in JRAS, 1915. 99 ff.

[6] Cf. *baṁdhana-badhānaṁ munisānaṁ* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict IV, L, which renders Bühler's translation of this passage very improbable.

[7] Cf. *hiraṁṇa-paṭividhāno* in the Girnār edict VIII, E, and Lüders in SPAW, 1914. 840.

[8] With *katābhīkāra* Senart compares *abhikṛitvarīḥ*, '(female demons who are) bewitchers', and *abhinishkārin*, 'devising (against others)', in the *Atharvavēda*. Bühler (EI, 2. 468) translated 'overwhelmed by misfortune'; cf. his remarks in ZDMG, 48. 55.



SCALE ONE-SIXTH

(M) They are occupied everywhere, both in **Pāṭaliputra** and in the outlying .... and whatever other relatives of mine (there are).

(N) These *Mahāmātras* of morality .... whether one is eager for morality [1] ....

(O) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written ....

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

1 (A) देवा ·········· सि राजा एवं आह (B) अतिक्रातं अंतरं
2 न भूतप्रुव सव · · ल अथकंमे व पटिवेदना वा (C) त मया एवं कतं
3 (D) सवे काले भुंजमानस मे ओरोधनम्हि गभागारम्हि वचम्हि व
4 विनीतम्हि च उयानेसु च सवत्र पटिवेदका स्टिता अथे मे जनस
5 पटिवेदेथ इति (E) सर्वत्र च जनस अथे करोमि (F) य च किंचि मुखतो
6 आञपयामि स्वयं दापकं वा स्रावापकं वा य वा पुन महामात्रेसु
7 आचायिके अरोपितं भवति ताय अथाय विवादो निझती व संतो परिसायं
8 आनंतरं पटिवेदेतव्यं मे सर्वत्र सर्वे काले (G) एवं मया आञपितं (H) नास्ति हि
   मे तोसो
9 उस्टानम्हि अथसंतीरणाय व (I) कतव्यमते हि मे सर्वलोकहितं
10 (J) तस च पुन एस मूले उस्टानं च अथसंतीरणा च (K) नास्ति हि कंमतरं
11 सर्वलोकहितत्पा (L) य च किंचि पराक्रमामि अहं किंति भूतानं आनंणं गछेयं
12 इध च नानि सुखापयामि परत्रा च स्वगं आराधयंतु त (M) एताय अथाय
13 अयं धंमलिपी लेखापिता किंति चिरं तिस्टेय इति तथा च मे पुत्रा पोता च
   प्रपोत्रा च
14 अनुवतरं सवलोकहिताय (N) दुकरं तु इदं अञत्र अगेन पराक्रमेन

1 (A) [**Devā**] .... [**s**]**i rājā** evaṁ āha (B) atikrāt[a]ṁ aṁtara[ṁ]
2 na bhūta-pru[v] .[2] [s] . [v] . . . [l] .[3] atha-kaṁme va paṭivedanā vā (C) ta mayā
   evaṁ kataṁ
3 (D) s[a]ve kāle bhuṁj[a]mānasa me orodhanamhi gabhāgāramhi vachamhi va
4 vinītamhi cha uyānesu cha savatra paṭivedakā [4] sṭitā athe me [ja]nasa
5 paṭivedetha iti (E) sarvatra cha janasa athe karomi (F) ya cha kiṁchi mukhato
6 āñapayāmi svayaṁ dāpakaṁ vā srāvāpakaṁ vā ya vā puna mahāmātresu
7 āchāyi[ke] [5] aropitaṁ [6] bhavati tāya athāya vivādo nijhatī v[a s]aṁto parisāyaṁ

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[1] *nisrito* = Pāli *nissito* and Skt. **niśritaḥ* (Senart). For *yo ayaṁ* cf. my note on the translation of section L of the Kālsī version of this edict.

[2] Read *-purva*; *-puva* Senart, *-purva* Bühler.

[3] Restore *save kāle.*

[4] An apparent *u*-mark is attached to the bottom of *ṭi.*

[5] *āchāyika* Senart and Bühler.

[6] *āropitaṁ* Bühler.

8 ānaṁtaraṁ paṭ[i]vedeta[v]yaṁ me sa[r]vatra sarve kāle (G) evaṁ mayā āñapitaṁ (H) nāsti[1] hi me to[s]o

9 usṭānamhi atha-saṁtīraṇāya va (I) katavya-mate hi me sa[rva]-loka-hitaṁ

10 (J) tasa cha puna esa mūle usṭānaṁ cha atha-saṁtīraṇā cha (K) nāsti hi kaṁmataraṁ

11 sarva-loka-hitatpā (L) ya cha kiṁchi parākramāmi ahaṁ kiṁti bhūtānaṁ ānaṁṇaṁ gachheyaṁ

12 idha cha nāni sukhāpayāmi paratrā cha svagaṁ ārādhayaṁtu ta[2] (M) etāya athāya

13 ayaṁ dha[ṁ]ma-lipī lekhāpitā kiṁti chiraṁ tisṭeya iti tathā cha me putrā potā cha prapotrā cha

14 anuvataraṁ[3] sava-loka-hitāya (N) dukaraṁ [t]u idaṁ añatra[4] agena parākramena

TRANSLATION

(A) **King Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** speaks thus.

(B) In times past neither the disposal of affairs nor the submission of reports at any time did exist before.

(C) But I have made the following (arrangement).

(D) Reporters are posted everywhere, (with instructions) to report to me the affairs of the people at any time, while I am eating, in the harem, in the inner apartment,[5] even at the cowpen,[6] in the palanquin,[7] and in the parks.

(E) And everywhere I am disposing of the affairs of the people.

(F) And if in the council (of *Mahāmātras*)[8] a dispute arises,[9] or an amendment is moved,[10] in connexion with any donation or proclamation[11] which I myself am ordering

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[1] An ancient fissure of the rock, which extends from l. 8 to l. 11, must have existed already at the time when the inscription was incised. This would account for the spaces which were left vacant by the engraver after *nāsti* in l. 8, *-loka-* in l. 9, *kaṁmata°* in l. 10, and *ānaṁṇaṁ* in l. 11.

[2] Read *ti*.

[3] Senart and Bühler correct *anuvateraṁ*. Pischel (GGA, 1881. 1331) and Bühler read *anuvatarāṁ*, which the former considered to be an imperative like *duhrām* in the *Atharvavēda*. Cf. Johansson's *Shāhbāzgarhi*, 2. 89 f. The *ra* certainly resembles *rā*; but the same applies to the *ra* of *pakaraṇe* in the Girnār edict IX, l. 8, and of *samachairaṁ* in XIII, l. 7, where the reading *rā* is impossible.

[4] *añata* Senart and Bühler.

[5] Cf. Molesworth's *Marāṭhī Dictionary*, s. v. *gābhār*.

[6] The locative *vachamhi* (= *vrachaspi* in the two Kharōshṭhī versions) is generally rendered by 'in the latrine'. But Skt. *varchas* does not mean 'a latrine', but 'ordure'. As, in the rock-edict XII, M, *vacha* or *vracha* probably corresponds to Skt. *vraja*, 'a cowpen', it may be taken here in the same sense. Establishments for cattle-breeding are kept up by Rajas aud their governments even in the present time.

[7] With *vinīta* cf. Skt. *vinītaka* and *vainītaka*; see Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 277.

[8] See above, p. 5, n. 7.

[9] *saṁto* is a nominative singular absolute. Cf. my note on the translation of the Kālsī rock-edict VI, F.

[10] Bühler (ASSI, 1. 123) rendered *nijhatī* by 'fraud'. This translation seems to be due to an oversight; it would suit the former misreading *nikatī*, but not the actual reading *nijhatī*. Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1019 f.) has shown that the Sanskrit equivalent of this word would be **nidhyapti*, 'inducing to meditate', i. e. in the present case, 'moving a repeated consideration'.

[11] Cf. the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, K and M.

verbally, or (in connexion with) an emergent matter which has been delegated to the *Mahāmātras*,[1] it must be reported to me immediately, anywhere, (and) at any time.

(G) Thus I have ordered.

(H) For I am never content in exerting myself and in dispatching business.[2]

(I) For I consider it my duty (to promote) the welfare of all men.

(J) But the root of that (is) this, (viz.) exertion and the dispatch of business.

(K) For no duty is more important[3] than (promoting) the welfare of all men.

(L) And whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that[4] I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them[5] happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).

(M) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been caused to be written, (viz.) that it may last long, and that my sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons may conform to this for the welfare of all men.

(N) But it is difficult to accomplish this without great zeal.

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

1 (A) देवानंपियो पियदसि राजा सर्वत इछति सवे पासंडा वसेयु (B) सवे ते सयमं च

2 भावसुधिं च इछति (C) जनो तु उचावचछंदो उचावचरागो (D) ते सर्वं व कासंति एकदेसं व कसंति

3 (E) विपुले तु पि दाने यस नास्ति सयमे भावसुधिता व कतंञता व दढभतिता च निचा बाढं

1 **(A) Devānaṁpiyo Piyadasi rājā** sarvata ichhati save pāsaṁḍā vaseyu **(B)** save te sayamaṁ cha

2 bhāva-sudhiṁ cha ichhati **(C)** jano tu uchāvacha-chhaṁdo uchāvacha-rāgo **(D)** te sarvaṁ va kāsaṁti eka-desaṁ va kasa[ṁ]ti

3 **(E)** vip[ul]e tu pi dāne yasa nāsti sayame bhāva-sudhitā va kataṁñatā va daḍha-bhati[t]ā cha nichā bāḍhaṁ

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[1] K. Jayaswal (IA, 42. 283) quotes the *Kauṭilīya*, p. 29, l. 12: आत्ययिके कार्ये मन्त्रिणो मन्त्रिपरिषदं चाहूय ब्रूयात् 'in the case of an emergent matter the ministers and the council of ministers shall be called and told'.

[2] With *atha-saṁtīraṇā* cf. *tūlita-daṁḍa* in the pillar-edict IV, L.

[3] I adopt Bühler's explanation of *kaṁmataraṁ* as a comparative of *karman*.

[4] Franke (GN, 1895. 537) has shown that both in the Aśōka inscriptions and in literary Pāli *kiṁti* means 'that, in order that'. Cf. my note on the translation of the Dhauli separate edict I, B, and the rock-edict XIV, D, where *kiṁti* at Girnār, Dhauli, and Jaugaḍa corresponds to *yena* at Kālsī, Shāhbāzgaṛhī, and Mānsehrā.

[5] The form *nāni* occurs again in the pillar-edict V, C, and in the Queen's edict, l. 4; *nā* in the Kālsī edict XII, C. The pronoun *na* may be derived from Skt. *ēna*, and *sha*, which corresponds to it in the two Kharōshṭhī versions, from *ēsha*.

TRANSLATION

(A) **King Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** desires (that) all sects may reside everywhere.

(B) (For) all these desire both self-control and purity of mind.

(C) But men possess various desires (and) various passions.

(D) Either they will fulfil the whole, or they will fulfil (only) a portion (of their duties).

(E) But even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control, purity of mind, gratitude, and firm devotion, is very mean.[1]

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

1 (A) अतिकातं अंतरं राजानो विहारयातां ञयासु (B) एत मगव्या अञानि च एतारिसनि

2 अभीरमकानि अहुंसु (C) सो देवानंप्रियो पियदसि राजा दसवर्साभिसितो संतो अयाय संबोधिं

3 (D) तेनेसा धंमयाता (E) एतयं होति बाम्हणसमणानं दसणे च दाने च थैरानं दसणे च

4 हिरंणपटिविधानो च जानपदस च जनस दस्पनं धंमानुसस्टी च धमपरिपुछा च

5 तदोपया (F) एसा भुय रति भवति देवानंपियस प्रियदसिनो राञो भागे अंञे

1 (A) atikātaṁ aṁtaraṁ rājāno vihāra-yātāṁ ñayāsu (B) eta magavyā aññāni cha etārisani[2]

2 abhīramakāni ahuṁsu (C) so **Devānaṁpriyo**[3] **Piyadasi rājā dasa-varsābhisito**[4] **saṁto** ayāya **Saṁbodhiṁ**

3 (D) tenesā dhaṁma-yātā (E) etayaṁ hoti bāṁhana-samaṇānaṁ dasaṇe cha dāne cha thairānaṁ dasaṇe ch[a]

4 hiraṁṇa-paṭividhāno cha jānapadasa cha janasa[5] daspanaṁ[6] dhaṁmānus[a]sṭī cha dhama-paripuchhā cha

5 tadopayā (F) esā bhuya rati bhavati **Devānaṁpiyasa Priyadasino rāño** bhā[g]e aṁñe

TRANSLATION

(A) In times past kings used to set out on pleasure-tours.[7]

(B) On these (tours) hunting and other such pleasures were (enjoyed)

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[1] The translation of this section follows Lüders in SPAW, 1914. 844. He identifies *nichā* with the Vēdic adverb *nīchā*. The variant *nīche* at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa may correspond to Skt. *nīchaiḥ* or *nīchaḥ*.

[2] Read °*sāni*.

[3] °*piyo* Bühler.

[4] -*vasā*° Senart and Bühler.

[5] *jānasa* Bühler.

[6] Read *darsanaṁ*, which is Senart's reading; *dasanaṁ* Bühler.

[7] Michelson (JAOS, 31. 245) explains *ñayāsu* = **nyayāsuḥ* in the sense of *nirayāsuḥ*. See also Fleet in JRAS, 1908. 488, n. 2.



SCALE ONE-SIXTH

(C) But **when king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin had been anointed ten years**, he went to **Saṁbōdhi.**[1]

(D) Therefore these tours of morality (were undertaken).[2]

(E) On these (tours) the following[3] takes place, (viz.) visiting Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas and making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold,[4] visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality, as suitable for this (occasion).[5]

(F) This second period[6] (of the reign) of **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** becomes a pleasure in a higher degree.[7]

NINTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

1 (A) देवानंपियो प्रियदसि राजा एव आह (B) अस्ति जनो उचावचं मंगलं करोते आबाधेसु वा

2 आवाहवीवाहेसु वा पुचलाभेसु वा प्रवासंम्हि वा एतम्ही च अञम्हि च जनो उचावचं मंगलं करोते

3 (C) एत तु महिडायो बहुकं च बहुविधं च छुदं च निरथं च मंगलं करोते (D) त कतव्यमेव तु मगलं (E) अपफलं तु खो

4 एतरिसं मंगलं (F) अयं तु महाफले मंगले य धंममंगले (G) ततेत दासभतकम्हि सम्यप्रतिपती गुरूनं अपचिति साधु

5 पाणेसु सयमो साधु बम्हणसमणानं साधु दानं एत च अञ च एतारिसं धंममंगलं नाम (H) त वतव्यं पिता व

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[1] D. R. Bhandarkar (IA, 42. 160) suggests that this word may refer to the sacred spot (at Bōdh-Gayā, south of Paṭnā) on which the Buddha attained to perfect knowledge. Aśōka's visit to the *bōdhi*-tree is described in the *Divyāvadāna* (ed. Cowell and Neil), p. 393. His visit to the Buddha's birth-place is recorded by himself on the Rummindēī pillar.

[2] The singular *esā dhaṁmayātā* seems to be used in the sense of the plural, just as *vihāra-yātāṁ* in section A.

[3] Bühler (EI, 2. 457, n. 95) explained *etayaṁ* by *eta iyaṁ*. As *ayaṁ* is used for the neuter *idam* in the Girnār edict IX, F, and XII, N, it may as well stand for *eta ayaṁ*; cf. Michelson in JAOS, 31. 238.

[4] Cf. above, p. 10, n. 7.

[5] With *tadopaya* Senart compares the Pāli words *tadūpiya* and *opāyika*. Franke (VOJ, 9. 345) connects it with *opaga* in the rock-edict II, B, and in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, R. Previous translators (except Lüders in SPAW, 1914. 845) have construed this word with the next section.

[6] Hitherto the two words *bhāge aṁñe* and *bhāge aṁne* at Kālsī and Dhauli have been taken as locatives = Pāli *apara-bhāge*. As Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 990) remarks, this is impossible, because in the eastern dialect the two locatives would end in *-asi*.

[7] The word *bhuya* (= *bhuye* in the remaining versions) is perhaps an adverb, as *bhuye* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, KK and NN. Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 846) takes *bhuya-rati* to be a Karmadhāraya compound, which he connects with *esā*, and *bhāge aṁñe* to be locatives. But *esā* need not be a nom. sing. fem., but may be a nom. sing. masc., as in the Girnār edict XIII, I, and may as such be connected with *bhāge aṁñe*, as [*e*]*se* at Kālsī and *eshe* in the two Kharōshṭhī versions.

6 पुतेन वा भात्रा वा स्वामिकेन वा इदं साधु इदं कतव्य मंगलं आव तस अथस
निस्टानाय (I) अस्ति च पि वुतं

7 साधु दन इति (J) न तु एतारिसं अस्ता दानं व अनगहो व यारिसं धंमदानं व
धमनुगहो व (K) त तु खो मित्रेन व सुहदयेन वा

8 ञतिकेन व सहायन व ओवादितव्यं तम्हि तम्हि पकरणे इदं कचं इदं साध इति
इमिना सक

9 स्वगं आराधेतु इति (L) कि च इमिना कतव्यतरं यथा स्वगारधी

1 (A) **Devānampiyo Priyadasi rājā** eva[1] āha (B) asti jano uchāvacham mamgalam
karote ābādhesu vā

2 āvāha-vīvāhesu vā putra-lābhesu vā pravāsammhi vā etamhī cha añamhi cha jano
uchāvacham mamgalam karote

3 (C) eta tu mahiḍāyo bahukam cha bahuvidham cha chhudam cha nirath[am] cha
mamgalam karote (D) ta katavyameva tu magalam[2] (E) apa-phalam tu kho

4 etarisam[3] mamgalam (F) ayam tu mah[ā]-phale mamgale ya dhamma-mamgale
(G) ta[te]ta[4] dāsa-bhatakamhi samya-pratipatī gurūnam apachiti sādhu

5 pānesu sayamo sādhu bamhaṇa-samaṇānam sādhu dānam et[a] cha añ[a] cha
etārisam dhamma-mamgalam nāma (H) ta vatavyam pitā va

6 putena vā bhātrā vā svāmikena vā idam sādhu idam katavya[5] mamgalam āva tasa
athasa nisṭānāya (I) asti cha pi vutam

7 sādhu dana[6] iti (J) na tu etārisam astā[7] dānam va ana[ga]ho[8] va yārisam dhamma-
dānam va dhamanugaho[9] va (K) ta tu kho mitrena va suhadayena [v]ā

8 ñatikena[10] va sahāyana[11] va ovāditavyam tamhi tamhi pakaraṇe[12] [i]dam kacham
idam sādha[13] iti iminā sak[a][14]

9 svagam ārādhetu iti (L) ki cha iminā katavyataram yathā svagāradhī[15]

TRANSLATION

(A) **King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** speaks thus.

(B) Men are practising various ceremonies during illness, or at the marriage of a son or a daughter,[16] or at the birth of a son, or when setting out on a journey; on these and other (occasions) men are practising various ceremonies.

(C) But in such (cases) women are practising many and various vulgar and useless ceremonies.

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[1] *evam* Bühler.

[2] Read *mamgalam*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler. [3] Read *etārisam*.

[4] *tata* Senart and Bühler; but the *te* can be clearly distinguished on the back of the estampage, and is supported by the other versions.

[5] *katayvam* Bühler. [6] Read *dānam*; *danam* Bühler.

[7] Read *asti*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

[8] Read *anugaho*. [9] *dhammānugaho* Bühler. [10] Read *ñāti°*.

[11] Read *°yena*. [12] The syllable *ra* looks almost like *rā*.

[13] Read *sādhu*. [14] *sakam* Bühler. [15] *°radhi* Bühler.

[16] For *āvāha* and *vivāha* cf. *Jātaka*, Translation, vol. V, p. 145, n. 1.

(D) Now, ceremonies should certainly be practised.

(E) But ceremonies like these bear little fruit indeed.

(F) But the following practice bears much fruit, viz. the practice of morality.

(G) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders,[1] gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas; these and other such (virtues) are called the practice of morality.

(H) Therefore a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master ought to say:—'This is meritorious. This practice should be observed until the (desired) object is attained.'

(I) And it has been said also: 'Gifts are meritorious.'

(J) But there is no such gift or benefit as the gift of morality or the benefit of morality.[2]

(K) Therefore a friend, or a well-wisher, or a relative, or a companion should indeed admonish (another) on such and such an occasion:—'This ought to be done; this is meritorious. By this (practice) it is possible to attain heaven.'

(L) And what is more desirable than this,[3] viz. the attainment of heaven?

TENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

1 (A) देवानंपियो प्रियदसि राजा यसो व कीति व न महाथावहा मञते अञत तदात्पनो दिघाय च मे जनो

2 धंमसुसुंसा सुसुसता धंमवुतं च अनुविधियतां (B) एतकाय देवानंपियो पियदसि राजा यसो व किति व इछति

3 (C) यं तु किचि परिकमते देवानं प्रियदसि राजा त सवं पारत्रिकाय किंति सकले अपपरिस्रवे अस (D) एस तु परिसवे य अपुंञं

4 (E) दुकरं तु खो एतं छुदकेन व जनेन उसटेन व अञत्र अगेन पराक्रमेन सवं परिचजित्पा (F) एत तु खो उसटेन दुकरं

1 (A) **Devānaṁpiyo**[4] **Priyadasi rājā**[5] yaso va kīti va na mahāthāvah[ā] mañate[6] añata tadātpano[7] dighāya cha me [ja]no

2 dhaṁma-susru[ṁ]sā[8] susrusatā[9] dhaṁma-vutaṁ cha anuvidhiyatāṁ (B) etakāya **Devānaṁpiyo Piyadasi rājā** yaso va kiti va i[chha]ti

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[1] The word *sādhu* after *apachiti*, *sayamo*, and *-samaṇānaṁ* is missing in the other versions. It seems to have crept into the Girnār text, because the person who drafted the latter had in his mind passages like the rock-edict III, D.

[2] Bühler (ZDMG, 48. 57 f.) has traced the two terms *dhamma-dāna* and *dhammānuggaha* in the *Itivuttaka*.

[3] A number of instances in which a comparative is construed with the instrumental (instead of the ablative) have been collected by Pischel, GGA, 1881. 1332.

[4] *°priyo* Bühler.

[5] An obliterated *de* is visible between the syllables *si* and *rā*, and an obliterated *vā* between *rā* and *jā*.

[6] *maṁñate* Bühler.

[7] Read, with Kern (*Jaartelling*, p. 87), *tadātpane*.

[8] *-susuṁsā* Senart, *-susrusā* Bühler.

[9] *°satāṁ* Senart and Bühler.

3 (C) ya[ṁ] tu kich[i][1] parik[a]mate[2] **Devānaṁ**[3] **Priyadasi rājā** ta savaṁ pāratrikāya kiṁti sakale a[pa]-parisrave[4] asa (D) esa tu parisave[5] ya apuṁñaṁ

4 (E) dukaraṁ tu kho etaṁ chhudakena va janena usaṭena va añatra agena parāk[r]amena[6] savaṁ parichajitpā (F) et[a] t[u] kho usaṭena dukaraṁ

TRANSLATION

(A) **King Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** does not think that either glory or fame[7] conveys much advantage, except (on account of his aim that) in the present time, and in the distant (future),[8] men may (be induced) by him to practise obedience to morality, and that they may conform to the duties of morality.[9]

(B) On this (account) **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** is desiring glory and fame.

(C) But whatever effort **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** is making, all that (is) for the sake of (merit) in the other (world), (and) in order that all (men) may run little danger.

(D) But the danger is this, viz. demerit.

(E) But it is indeed difficult either for a lowly person or for a high one to accomplish this without great zeal (and without) laying aside every (other aim).[10]

(F) But among these (two) it is indeed (more) difficult[11] to accomplish for a high (person).

ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

1 (A) देविनंप्रियो पियदसि राजा एवं आह (B) नास्ति एतारिसं दानं यारिसं धंमदानं धंमसंस्तवो वा धंमसंविभागो वा धंमसंबधो व

2 (C) तत इदं भवति दासभतकम्हि सम्यप्रतिपती मातरि पितरा साधु सुसुसा मित-सस्तुतञातिकानं बाम्हणस्रमणानं साधु दानं

3 प्राणानं अनारंभो साधु (D) एत वतव्यं पिता व पुत्रेन व भाता व मितसस्तुत-ञातिकेन व आव पटीवेसियेहि इद साधु इद कतव्यं

4 (E) सो तथा करु इलोकचस आरधो होति परत च अनंतं पुञं भवति तेन धंमदानेन

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[1] *kiṁchi* Bühler.

[2] Read *parākamate*; *parākāmate* Senart, *parākamate* Bühler.

[3] Add °*priyo*.

[4] *appa-* (probably a misprint) Bühler.

[5] *parisrave* Bühler.

[6] *parākamena* Senart and Bühler.

[7] i.e., as shown by Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 575), glory in this life and fame after death.

[8] Instead of *tadātpano(ne) dighāya cha* the Jaugaḍa version has the synonymous expression *tadatvāye āyatiye cha*, which occurs also in the *Kauṭilīya*, p. 248, l. 9 (*tadātvē cha āyatyāṁ cha*), and p. 240, l. 2. For numerous examples of abstracts formed with the Prākrit affix *-tvana* or *-ttaṇa*, see Pischel's *Grammatik*, p. 405.

[9] With this passage cf. the Girnār edict IX, E, F, and XI, B, and the Shāhbāzgaṛhī edict XIII, P: 'And this conquest is considered the principal one by Dēvānāṁpriya, viz. the conquest by morality'.

[10] I adopt Fleet's translation of the last words in JRAS, 1909. 1014, n. 4. The usual translation, 'renouncing everything', is improbable because Aśōka nowhere advocates absolute poverty, though he recommends 'moderation in possessions' in the rock-edict III, D.

[11] The Jaugaḍa version reads *dukalatale* for *dukaraṁ*.

1 (A) **Devinaṁpriyo**[1] **Piyadasi rājā** ev[a]ṁ āha (B) nāsti etārisaṁ dānaṁ yārisaṁ dhaṁma-dānaṁ dhaṁma-saṁstavo vā dhaṁma-saṁvibhāgo [vā][2] dhaṁma-saṁbadho[3] va

2 (C) tata idaṁ bhavati dāsa-bhatakamhi samya-p[r]atipatī mātari pitarā[4] sādhu sus[r]usā mita-[sa]stuta-ñātikānaṁ bāmhaṇa-s[r]amaṇā[naṁ][5] sādhu dā[naṁ]

3 prāṇānaṁ anāraṁbho sādhu (D) eta vatavyaṁ pitā va putrena va bhāt[ā] va mita-sastut[a]-ñāt[i]k[e]na va āva paṭīvesiyehi[6] ida[7] sādhu ida[7] ka[tav]ya[ṁ]

4 (E) so t[a]thā karu[8] ilokachasa āradho hoti parata cha aṁnaṁtaṁ[9] puiñaṁ[10] bhavati tena dhaṁma-dānena

TRANSLATION

(A) **King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** speaks thus.

(B) There is no such gift as the gift of morality, or acquaintance through morality, or the distribution of morality, or kinship through morality.[11]

(C) Herein the following are (comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to mother (and) father, liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, (and) abstention from killing animals.[12]

(D) Concerning this[13] a father, or a son, or a brother, or a friend, an acquaintance, or a relative, (or) even (mere) neighbours, ought to say: 'This is meritorious. This ought to be done.'[14]

(E) If one is acting thus,[15] the attainment[16] of (happiness) in this world is (secured), and endless merit is produced in the other (world) by that gift of morality.

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[1] Read *Devānaṁ*°, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

[2] *va* Bühler.

[3] Read *-saṁbaṁdho*.

[4] Read *pitari*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

[5] *-samaṇānaṁ* Senart and Bühler.

[6] *paṭi*° Senart and Bühler.

[7] *idaṁ* Bühler.

[8] Read *karuṁ*, as in the Girnār edict XII, F.

[9] Read *anaṁtaṁ*.

[10] *puṁñaṁ* Senart and Bühler.

[11] The two expressions *dhamma-dāna* and *dhamma-saṁvibhāga* occur in a passage of the *Itivuttaka*; see Bühler, ZDMG, 48. 57 f.

[12] The other versions omit the superfluous word *sādhu* after *pitarā*, *-sramaṇānaṁ*, and *anāraṁbho*; cf. above, p. 17, n. 1.

[13] Cf. the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, C, I, and RR.

[14] Cf. the Girnār edict IX, H and K.

[15] Senart and Bühler take *karuṁ* as a nominative absolute. According to Michelson (JAOS, 31. 244) it is a participle formed of a stem which is a compromise between *karo-* and *kuru-*.

[16] In the Girnār version *āradho* seems to be used as a substantive, just as *āradhi* in the Girnār edict IX, L, and *āladhi* in the Dhauli separate edict I, S, and the Jaugaḍa separate edict I, T. In the other versions of the rock-edict XI the wording is slightly different.

TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि राजा सवपासंडानि च पवजितानि च घरस्तानि च
  पूजयति दानेन च विवाधाय च पूजाय पूजयति ने

2 (B) न तु तथा दानं व पूजा व देवानंपियो मंञते यथा किति सारवढी अस
  सवपासंडानं (C) सारवढी तु बहुविधा.

3 (D) तस तु इदं मूलं य वचिगुती किंति आत्पपासंडपूजा व परपासंडगरहा व नो
  भवे अप्रकरणम्हि लहुका व अस

4 तम्हि तम्हि प्रकरणे (E) पूजेतया तु एव परपासंडा तेन तन प्रकरणेन (F) एवं करुं
  आत्पपासंडं च वढयति परपासंडस च उपकरोति

5 (G) तदंञथा करोतो आत्पपासडं च छणति परपासंडस च पि अपकरोति (H) यो
  हि कोचि आत्पपासंडं पूजयति परपासंडं व गरहति

6 सवं आत्पपासंडभतिया किंति आत्पपासंडं दीपयेम इति सो च पुन तथ करातो
  आत्पपासंडं बाढतरं उपहनाति (I) त समवायो एव साधु

7 किंति अञमंञस धंमं स्रुणारु च सुसुंसेर च (J) एवं हि देवानंपियस इछा किंति
  सवपासंडा बहुस्रुता च असु कलाणागमा च असु

8 (K) ये च तत्र तत प्रसंना तेहि वतव्यं (L) देवानंपियो नो तथा दानं व पूजां व
  मंञते यथा किंति सारवढी अस सर्वपासडानं (M) बहका च एताय

9 अथा व्यापता धंममहामाता च इथीझखमहामाता च वचभूमीका च अञे च
  निकाया (N) अयं च एतस फल य आत्पपासंडवढी च होति धंमस च
  दीपना

1 (A) **Devānaṁpiye Piyad[a]si rājā** sava-pāsaṁḍāni cha [pa]vajitāni cha gharastāni cha pūjayati d[ā]nena cha vivādhaya[1] [cha] pūjāya pūjayati ne

2 (B) na tu tathā dānaṁ va pū[jā] va **D[e]vānaṁpiyo** maṁñate yathā kiti sāra-vaḍhī asa sa[va-pā]saṁḍānaṁ (C) sār[a]-vaḍhī tu bahuvidhā

3 (D) tasa[2] tu idaṁ mūlaṁ ya vachi-gutī kiṁti ātpa-pāsaṁḍa-pūjā va para-pāsaṁḍa-garahā[3] va no bhave aprakaraṇamhi[4] lahukā va asa

4 tamhi tamhi prakaraṇe (E) pūjetayā tu eva para-pāsaṁḍā tena tana[5] prakaraṇena (F) evaṁ karuṁ ātpa-pāsaṁḍaṁ cha vaḍhayati para-pāsaṁḍasa cha upakaroti

5 (G) tad-aṁñathā karoto ātpa-pāsaḍaṁ[6] cha chhaṇati para-pāsaṁḍasa cha pi apakaroti (H) yo hi kochi ātpa-pāsaṁḍaṁ pūjayati para-pāsaṁḍaṁ v[a][7] garahati

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[1] Read *vividhāya*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

[2] The writer had originally written *tasa tasa*, but he scored out the first *sa* and the second *ta*.

[3] The syllable *saṁ* of *-pāsaṁḍa-* was inserted subsequently.

[4] The syllable *pra* looks almost like *ha*; the horizontal stroke attached to *pa* is probably intended for *r*. Cf. *abhipretaṁ* near the end of the Calcutta-Bairāṭ rock-inscription.

[5] Read *tena*.

[6] *-pāsaṁḍaṁ* Bühler.

[7] *vā* Bühler.

6 savaṁ ātpa-pāsaṁḍa-bhatiyā [1] kiṁti ātpa-pāsaṁḍaṁ dīpayema iti so cha puna tatha karāto [2] ātpa-pāsaṁḍa[ṁ] bāḍhataraṁ upahanāti (I) ta samavāyo eva sādhu

7 kiṁti [a]ñamaṁñasa [3] dhaṁmaṁ sruṇāru [4] cha susuṁsera [5] cha (J) evaṁ hi **D[e]vānaṁpiyasa** ichhā kiṁti [6] sava-pāsaṁḍā bahu-srutā cha asu kal[ā]ṇāgamā cha [a]su

8 (K) ye cha tatra tata [7] prasaṁnā tehi vatavyaṁ (L) **Devānaṁpiyo** no tathā dānaṁ va pūjāṁ [8] va maṁñate yathā kiṁti sāra-vaḍhī asa sarva-pāsaḍānaṁ (M) bahakā [9] cha etāya

9 athā vyāpatā dhaṁma-mahāmātā cha ithījhakha-mahāmātā cha vacha-bhūmīkā cha añe cha nikāyā (N) ayaṁ cha etasa phala ya ātpa-pāsaṁḍa-vaḍhī cha hoti dhaṁmasa cha dīp[a]nā

TRANSLATION

(A) **King Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** is honouring all sects: [10] both ascetics and householders; both with gifts and with honours of various kinds he is honouring them.

(B) But **Dēvānāṁpriya** does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.

(C) But a promotion of the essentials (is possible) in many ways.

(D) But its root is this, viz. guarding (one's) speech, [11] (i. e.) that neither praising one's own sect nor blaming other sects should take place on improper occasions, or (that) it should be moderate in every case.

(E) But other sects ought to be duly honoured in every case.

(F) If one is acting thus, he is both promoting his own sect and benefiting other sects.

(G) If one is acting otherwise than thus, he is both hurting his own sect and wronging other sects as well.

(H) For whosoever praises his own sect or blames other sects,—all (this) [12] out of devotion to his own sect, (i. e.) with the view of glorifying his own sect,—if he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect very severely.

(I) Therefore concord alone is meritorious, (i. e.) that they should both hear and obey each other's morals.

(J) For this is the desire of **Dēvānāṁpriya**, (viz.) that all sects should be full of learning, and should be pure in doctrine.

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[1] *-pāsaḍa-* Bühler. [2] Read *karoto*. [3] *maña°* Senart, *aṁña°* Bühler.

[4] Pischel (GGA, 1881. 1336) proposed to read *sruṇeru*. But the form *sruṇāru* is probably an imperative; see Introduction, chapter VI.

[5] *susuṁserā* Senart, *sususera* Bühler.

[6] The syllable *ti* was inserted subsequently. [7] *tate* Bühler.

[8] *pūjā* Senart and Bühler. [9] Read *bahukā*.

[10] The *cha* after *sava-pāsaṁḍāni* is superfluous; see Bühler, EI, 1. 19, n. 42. It is missing in the other versions.

[11] Instead of *vachi-gutī* the other versions read *vacha-guti*. With *vachi* cf. the Ardhamāgadhī from *vaī* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 413.

[12] The readings *shave* at Kālsī and *savre* in the two Kharōshṭhī versions show that *savaṁ* at Girnār is the nom. sing. neut.; see Franke in KZ, 34. 422.

(K) And those who are attached to their respective (sects) ought to be spoken to[1] (as follows).

(L) Dēvānāṁpriya does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.

(M) And many (officers)[2] are occupied for this purpose,[3] (viz.) the *Mahāmātras* of morality, the *Mahāmātras* controlling women,[4] the inspectors of cowpens,[5] and other classes (of officials).[6]

(N) And this is the fruit of it, (viz.) that both the promotion of one's own sect takes place, and the glorification of morality.

THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

1 (A) ·········· ञो कलिंगा वज ·········· वढे सतसहस्रमात्रं तत्रा
हतं बहुतावतकं मत (C) तता पछा अधुना लधेसु कलिंगेसु तीवो धंमवायो

2 ·········· सयो देवानंप्रियस वज ·········· वधो व मरणं व
अपवाहो व जनस त बाढं वेदनमत च गुरुमत च देवानंपि ·· स

3 ·········· बाम्हणा व समणा व अञे ·········· सा मात्रि पितरि
सुसुंसा गुरुसुसुंसा मितसंस्ततसहायञातिकेसु दासभ ······

4 ·········· अभिरतानं व विनिखमणं (H) येसं वा प ··········
हायञातिका व्यसनं प्रापुणति तत सो पि तेस उपघातो हाति (I) पटीभागो
चेसा सव ······

5 ·········· स्ति इमे निकाया अञत्र योनेसु ·········· म्हि यत्र नास्ति
मानुसानं एकतरम्हि पासंडम्हि न नाम प्रसादो (K) यावतको जनो तदा

6 ·········· स्रभागो व गरुमतो देवानं ·········· न य सक छमितवे
(M) या च पि अटवियो देवानंपियस पिजिते पाति

7 ·········· चते तेसं देवानंपियस ·········· सवभूतानां अछतिं च
सयमं च समचैरं च मादव च

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[1] Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 586) noted other instances of the dative plural in *-ehi* at Jaugaḍa (*-samanehi*, III, l. 3, and *mahāmātehi*, VI, l. 3), and at Kālsī (*mahāmatehi*, VI, end of l. 18). See also Mānsehrā, VI, l. 28, and XII, l. 7, and *ājīvikehi* in the second and third Barābar Hill cave-inscriptions.

[2] As pointed out by Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 849), the two words *bahukā cha*, which previous translators had connected with section L, are in reality the first words of section M.

[3] For the dative *athā* (= *athāya*), see the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, W, and E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 67.

[4] With *ithījhakha* cf. *gaṇikādhyaksha*, 'the overseer of courtesans', in the *Kauṭilīya*, II, 27.

[5] Bühler (EI, 2. 470, n. 18) suggested that *vacha* (= *vracha* at Mānsehrā) may be a Prākṛit form of *vraja*, 'a cowpen', and compared *gavādhyaksha*, 'the overseer of cows', in the *Kāmasūtra*, p. 290, l. 1. Cf. also *gōdhyaksha* in the *Kauṭilīya*, II, 29. For the hardening of *j* in *vracha* cf. *vrachaṁti* and *v[r]acheyaṁ* (from Skt. *vrajati*) at Shāhbāzgaṛhī, XIII, S, and VI, L.

[6] The Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, Z, mentions officers whose special duty it was to attend to Buddhists, Brāhmaṇas, Ājīvikas, Nirgranthas, and other sects.



SCALE ONE-SIXTH

8 ··········· लधो ···· नंप्रियस इध सवेसु च ··········· योनराज
परं च तेन चत्पारो राजानो तुरमायो च अंतेकिन च मगा च
9 ··········· इध राजविसयम्हि योनकंबो ··········· ॱअपारिंदेसु सवत
देवानंपियस धंमानुसस्टिं अनुवतरे (S) यत पि दूति
10 ··········· नं धमानुसस्टिं च धमं अनुविधियरे ··········· विजयो
सवथा पुन विजयो पीतिरसो सा (U) लधा सा पीती होति धंमवीजयम्हि
11 ··········· ॱप्रियो (X) एताय अथाय अयं धंमल ··········· वं विजयं
मा विजेतव्यं मंञा सरसके एव विजये छाति च
12 ··········· किको च पारलोकिको ··········· इलोकिका च
पारलोकिका च

1 (A) .... ño **Kaliṁgā** [v . j .] .... [v . ḍh]e [sa]ta-sahasra-mātraṁ tatrā hataṁ bahu-tāvatakaṁ mata[1] (C) tatā pachhā adh[u]nā[2] ladhesu **Kaliṁgesu** tī[v]o dhaṁmavāyo

2 .... [sa]yo **Devānaṁpriyasa** [v . j .] .... [va]dho va maraṇaṁ va apavāho va janasa ta[3] bāḍhaṁ vedana-mata[4] cha g[u]r[u]-mata[4] cha **Devā[naṁpi]** . . [**sa**]

3 .... bāṁhaṇā va samaṇā va añe .... [s]ā mātr[i][5] pitari susuṁsā guru-susuṁsā[6] mita-saṁstata-sahāya-ñātike[su][7] dāsa-[bha] ......

4 .... abhiratānaṁ va vinikhamaṇa (H) yesaṁ vā [p .] .... [h]āya-ñātikā vyasanaṁ prāpuṇati tata[8] so pi tesa[9] [u]paghāto hāti[10] (I) paṭībhā[g]o chesā s[ava] ......

5 .... sti ime nikāyā añatra **Yone[su]**[11] .... [mh]i yatra nāsti mānusānaṁ[12] ekataramhi pāsaṁḍamhi na nāma prasā[d]o (K) y[ā]vata[k]o j[ano ta]d[ā]

6 .... sra-bhāgo va garu-mat[o] **Devānaṁ** .... na ya saka[13] chhamitave (M) yā cha pi aṭaviyo **D[e]vānaṁpiya[sa]**[14] pijite[15] pāti[16]

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[1] *mataṁ* Bühler.
[2] *adhanā* Bühler.
[3] *taṁ* Senart and Bühler.
[4] *-mataṁ* Bühler.
[5] *mātā-* Senart and Bühler; the horizontal stroke on the right of *t* seems to be intended for *r*.
[6] *-susūsā* Bühler.
[7] Read *-saṁstuta-*, which is Bühler's reading.
[8] *tatā* Senart, *tatra* Bühler.
[9] *tesaṁ* Senart and Bühler.
[10] Read *hoti*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.
[11] *yo nesa* Senart; Mānsehrā reads *Yoneshu* quite distinctly.
[12] *manu°* Bühler.
[13] *sakaṁ* Bühler.
[14] Two old fissures of the rock, the first after *pi* and the second after *sa*, run on to the next line, where they divide the word *samachairaṁ* into three parts; *°priyasa* Bühler.
[15] Read *vijite*.
[16] Read *hoti*.

7 . . . . chate te[sa]ṁ **Devānaṁpiyasa** . . . . sava-bhūtānāṁ [1] achhatiṁ [2] cha sayamaṁ cha samachairaṁ [3] ch[a] māḍava [4] cha

8 . . . . [la]dh[o] . . . . **naṁpriyasa** idha [sa]vesu [ch .] . . . . [Yo]**na-rāja** [5] paraṁ cha tena **chatpāro rājāno Turamāyo** cha [**A**]**ṁt**[**ek**]**ina** [6] cha **Magā** cha

9 . . . . idha rāja-vi[sa]yamhi [**Y**]**o**[**na**]**-Kaṁbo** . . . . **ṁdhra-Pāriṁdesu** [7] savata **Devānaṁpiyasa** dhaṁmānus[a]sṭiṁ anuv[a]tare **(S)** yata pi dūti [8]

10 . . . . [na]ṁ dhamānusasṭiṁ cha dhamaṁ anuvidhiyare [9] . . . . [v]ijayo savathā puna vijayo pīti-raso sā [10] **(U)** ladhā sā pītī hoti dhaṁma-vījayamhi

11 . . . . **ṁ**[**p**]**riyo (X)** etā[ya athā]ya ayaṁ dhaṁma-[l] . . . . [va]ṁ vijayaṁ mā vijetavyaṁ maṁñā [11] sarasake eva vijaye chhāti [12] cha

12 . . . . kik[o] ch[a pā]r[alo]ki[ko] . . . . ilokikā cha pāralokikā [13] cha

TRANSLATION

(A) . . . . the **Kaliṅgas** . . . .

(B) . . . . one hundred thousand in number were those who were slain there, (and) many times as many those who died.

(C) After that, now that (the country of) the **Kaliṅgas** has been taken, a zealous study of morality [14] . . . .

(D) . . . . . [the repentance] of **Dēvānāṁpriya** . . . .

(E) . . . . slaughter, death, and deportation of people, this is considered very painful and deplorable by **Dēvānāṁpriya.**

(G) . . . . Brāhmaṇas or Śramaṇas, [or] other . . . . obedience to mother (and) to father, obedience to elders . . . . to friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives, [to] slaves . . . . or deportation of (their) beloved ones.

(H) . . . . [companions] and relatives are then incurring misfortune, this (misfortune) as well becomes an injury to those (persons).

(I) This is shared [by] all . . . .

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1 *-bhūtānaṁ* Bühler.

2 An old fissure of the rock, between *chha* and *tiṁ*, runs on to the two next lines of the edict.

3 *samacheraṁ* Senart, *samacherāṁ* Bühler.

4 *mādavaṁ* Bühler.

5 *-rājā* Bühler.

6 *Aṁtakāna* Senart, *Aṁtekinā* Bühler.

7 The apparent *e*-stroke attached to *dha* is probably meant for *r*; *ṁdha-P*[*i*]*riṁdesu* Bühler.

8 Read *dūtā*.

9 *dhama* Senart; *anuv*[*i*]*dh*[*ī*]*yare* Bühler.

10 *so* Bühler.

11 *maññā* Bühler.

12 *chhāti*[*ṁ*] Bühler.

13 Between *pāra* and *lo* a rough portion of the rock was left blank by the writer.

14 Instead of *dhaṁmavāyo* Shāhbāzgaṛhī seems to read *dhrama-śilana*, 'the practice, or study, of morality'. Hence Senart is probably correct in explaining *dhaṁmavāyo* by *dharmāvāya*.

(J) . . . . these classes . . . . except among the **Yōnas**[1] . . . . where men are not indeed attached to some sect.[2]

(K) As many people as at that time . . . . part is considered deplorable by **Dēvānāṁ[priya]**.

(L) . . . . what can be forgiven.

(M) And even the forests which are (included) in the dominions of **Dēvānāṁpriya** . . . .

(N) They are [told] . . . . of **Dēvānāṁpriya** . . . .

(O) . . . . towards all beings abstention from hurting, self-control, impartiality, and kindness.

(Q) . . . . has been won by **[Dēvā]nāṁpriya** here and among all . . . . the **Yōna king**,[3] and beyond him **four kings**, (viz.) **Turamāya**, **Antekina**, **Magā** . . . .

(R) . . . . . here in the king's territory, [among] the **Yōnas** and **Kambō[jas]** . . . . among the **[A]ndhras** and **Pārindas**,—everywhere (people) are conforming to **Dēvānāṁpriya's** instruction in morality.

(S) Even where the envoys . . . . and the instruction in morality, are conforming to morality . . . .

(T) . . . . this conquest,—a conquest (won) in every respect (and) repeatedly,[4]—causes the feeling of satisfaction.

(U) This satisfaction has been obtained (by me) at the conquest by morality.

(W) . . . . **[Dēvānā]ṁpriya**.

(X) For the following purpose this [rescript] on morality . . . . should not think that a [fresh] conquest ought to be made, (that), if a conquest does please them,[5] mercy . . . .

(Y) . . . . in the other world.

(AA) . . . . both in this world and in the other world.

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

1 (A) अयं धंमलिपी देवानंप्रियेन प्रियदसिना राञा लेखापिता अस्ति एव
2 संखितेन अस्ति मझमेन अस्ति विस्ततन (B) न च सर्वं सर्वत घटितं
3 (C) महालके हि विजितं बहु च लिखितं लिखापयिसं चेव (D) अस्ति च एत कं
4 पुन पुन वुतं तस तस अथस माधूरताय किंति जनो तथा पटिपजेथ
5 (E) तत्र एकदा असमातं लिखितं अस देसं व सछाय कारणं व
6 अलोचेत्पा लिपिकरापरधेन व

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[1] i. e. the Greeks.

[2] As remarked by Senart, the last negation of this sentence (*na*) is redundant.

[3] For the proper names mentioned in this passage see my notes on the translation of the Kālsī version.

[4] Cf. the Kālsī version, Q.

[5] Bühler divided *sarasake* into *sara-sake*, which he translated by 'possible by arrows'. The various readings of Kālsī (*shayakashi*) and Shāhbāzgaṛhī (*spa[kaspi]*) induce me to consider it as a Bahuvrīhi of *sva + rasa*.

1 (A) ayaṁ dhaṁma-lipī **Devānaṁpriyena Priyadasinā** r[ā]ñā l[e]khāpitā asti eva
2 saṁkhit[e]na asti majhamena asti vistatana [1] (B) na cha sarvaṁ [sa]rvata ghaṭitaṁ
3 (C) mahālake hi vijitaṁ bahu cha likhitaṁ likhāpayisaṁ cheva (D) asti cha eta kaṁ
4 puna puna vutaṁ tasa tasa athasa [2] mādhūratāya kiṁti jano tathā paṭipajetha
5 (E) tatra ekadā asamāt[a]ṁ likhita[ṁ] asa desaṁ va sachhāya [kā]raṇaṁ va
6 [a]lochetpā lipikarāparadhena va

TRANSLATION

(A) These rescripts on morality have been caused to be written by **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** either in an abridged (form), or of middle (size), or at full length.

(B) And [3] the whole was not suitable everywhere.

(C) For (my) dominions are wide, and much has been written, and I shall cause still (more) to be written.

(D) And some of this [4] has been stated again and again because of the charm of certain topics, (and) [5] in order that men should act accordingly.

(E) In some instances (some) of this may have been written incompletely, either on account of the locality,[6] or because (my) motive was not liked,[7] or by the fault of the writer.

BELOW THE THIRTEENTH GIRNAR ROCK-EDICT, LEFT SIDE

1 . . . . तेष . . . .
2 . . . . पिपा . . . .

1 . . . . , ... t[esha] [8] . . . .
2 . . . . [p]i[p]ā [9] . . . .

BELOW THE THIRTEENTH GIRNAR ROCK-EDICT, RIGHT SIDE

. . . . र्वस्वेतो हस्ति सर्वलोकसुखाहरो नाम

. . . . rva-sveto [10] hasti sarva-loka-sukhāharo nāma

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[1] Read *vistatena.*

[2] The syllable *sa* was inserted subsequently.

[3] The other versions read 'for' instead of 'and'. The Girnār reading would suit Senart's translation of *ghaṭitaṁ* by 'put together'.

[4] The other versions suggest that *eta kaṁ* must not be joined into one word, but corresponds to *atra kiṁchit.* Cf. also *ata k[i]chhi* in the Kālsī version, E.

[5] The particle *cha* is inserted at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa.

[6] Thus the two separate edicts were substituted at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa for the rock-edicts XI to XIII. Bühler considered *sachhāya* = *saṁkhyēyam,* and connected it with *kāraṇaṁ*; see ZDMG, 40. 142, and 48. 59 f. It seems more natural to take it as a gerund = *saṁkśāya* or *saṁkhyāya.*

[7] Senart translates: 'perhaps that the sense has been misunderstood'. I take *locheti* = Skt. *rōchayati*; see above, p. 8, n. 3.

[8] This word is perhaps a portion of the well-known Buddhist formula *hētuṁ tēshāṁ Tathāgatō hy=avadat* । *tēshāṁ cha* &c.

[9] Bühler (VOJ, 8. 320) suggested that this line may have contained the name of the writer. I feel tempted to conjecture *lipi[kareṇa*]*, which is the last word of the three Mysore edicts.

[10] Restore *sarva-*.

XIII

2 4 6 8 10 12



SCALE ONE-SIXTH

TRANSLATION

. . . . the entirely white [1] elephant [2] bringing indeed happiness to the whole world.

II. THE KALSI ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

A.—East Face of Kālsī Rock.

1 (A) इयं धंमलिपि देवानंपियेना पियदसिना लेखिता (B) हिदा नो किछि जिवे आलभितु पजोहितविये

2 (C) नो पि चा समाजे कटविये (D) बहुका हि दोसा समाजसा देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा दखति (E) अथि पि चा एकतिया समाजा साधुमता देवानंपियसा पियदसिसा लाजिने

3 (F) पुले महानससि देवानंपियसा पियदसिसा लाजिने अनुदिवसं बहुनि पातसहसानि अलंभियिसु सुपठाये (G) से इदानि यदा इयं धंमलिपि लेखिता तदा तिंनि येवा पानानि अलभियंति

4 दुवे मजूला एके मिगे से पि चू मिगे नो ध्रुवे (H) एतानि पि चु तिनि पानानि नो अलाभियिसंति

1 (A) iyaṁ dhaṁma-lipi **Devānaṁpiyenā Piyadas[i]nā** [lekhit]ā (B) [h]idā no [3] kichhi jive ālabhitu pajohitaviye

2 (C) no pi ch[ā] samāje kaṭaviye (D) bahuk[ā] hi dosā samājasā **Devān[aṁ]piye Pi[ya]dasī lājā** dakhati (E) athi pi ch[ā e]katiyā samājā [4] sādh[u]-matā [5] **Devānaṁpiyasā Piyadasis[ā] lājine**

3 (F) [p]ule mahānasasi **Devānaṁpiyasā Piyadasisā lājin[e]** [6] anudivasaṁ bahuni pāta-sahasāni [7] alaṁbhiyisu [8] supaṭhāy[e] (G) se i[d]āni ya[dā] iyaṁ dhaṁma-lipi lekhitā tadā tiṁni yevā pānāni alabhi[yaṁ]ti [9]

4 duve majūl[ā] [10] eke mige se pi [chū] [11] mige no dhruve [12] (H) e[t]āni pi ch[u] [13] tini pānā[n]i no alābhi[y]isa[ṁ]ti [14]

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[1] Cf. *sabbaseto* in Childers's *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *sabbo*.

[2] As stated by Kern (*Jaartelling*, p. 44), Senart (*Inscriptions*, vol. I, p. 323 f.), and Bühler (ZDMG, 39. 490), the Girnār rock must have borne, like the Kālsī and Dhauli rocks, the figure of an elephant representing the Buddha. This figure was probably destroyed during the construction of a causeway for pilgrims from Junāgaṛh to Girnār, and along with it those adjacent portions of the fifth and thirteenth edicts which are now missing.

[3] *nā* Bühler.

[4] *sa[m]āja* Bühler.

[5] There is a fissure in the rock here.

[6] *lajine* Bühler.

[7] *sata-* Senart, *pāna-* Bühler; read *pāna-sata-*.

[8] *ālabhi°* Bühler.

[9] *alābhi°* Senart, *ālabhi°* Bühler.

[10] *majali* Senart, *majulā* Bühler.

[11] *ye* Senart, *cha* Bühler.

[12] *dhave* Senart, *dhuve* Bühler.

[13] *cha* Bühler.

[14] *ālābhi°* Senart, *ālabhi°* Bühler.

TRANSLATION

(A) This rescript on morality has been caused to be written by **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin.**

(B) Here no living being must be killed and sacrificed.

(C) And also no festival meeting must be held.

(D) For **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** sees much evil in festival meetings.

(E) And there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin.**

(F) Formerly in the kitchen of **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** many hundred thousands of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry.

(G) But now, when this rescript on morality is caused to be written, then only three animals are being killed (daily), (viz.) two peacocks (and) one deer, but even this deer not regularly.

(H) But even these three animals shall not be killed (in future).

SECOND ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

4 (A) सवता विजितसि देवानंपियसा पियदसिसा लाजिने ये च अंता अथा चोडा पंडिया सातियपुतो केललपुतो तंबपंनि

5 अंतियोगे नाम योनलाजा ये चा अंने तसा अंतियोगसा सामंता लाजानो सवता देवानंपियसा पियदसिसा लाजिने दुवे चिकिसका कटा मनुसचिकिसा चा पसुचिकिसा चा (B) ओसधीनि मनुसोपगानि चा पसोपगानि चा अतता नथि

6 सवता हालापिता चा लोपापिता चा (C) एवमेवा मुलानि चा फलानि चा अतता नथि सवता हालापिता चा लोपापिता चा (D) मगेसु लुखानि लोपितानि उदुपानानि चा खानापितानि पटिभोगाये पसुमुनिसानं

4 **(A)** sav[a]tā vijitasi **Devānampiyas[ā] Piyadasis[ā] lājine** ye cha aṁtā [a]thā **Choḍā Paṁ[ḍi]yā Sātiyaputo Ke[lala]puto Taṁba[pa]ṁni**

5 **Aṁtiyoge** [n]āma **Yona-lājā** ye chā aṁne tas[ā **A**]**ṁtiyogasā** sā[ma]ṁtā lā[j]āno [sa]vatā **Devānampiyasā Piyadasisā lājine** duve chikisakā kaṭā manusa-chikisā chā pasu-chikisā chā **(B)** osadhīn[i] [1] manusopagāni chā pasopagāni chā [2] a[ta]tā n[a]th[i]

6 [sa]vatā [h]ālāpitā chā lo[p]āpit[ā] chā **(C)** [e]vamevā mulāni chā phalāni chā a[ta]t[ā] nathi savatā hālāp[i]tā chā lopāpitā [ch]ā **(D)** ma[g]e[s]u [lu]khāni [3] lopitāni ud[u]pānā[n]i chā khānāpitāni paṭibhogāye pasu-munis[ā]naṁ

TRANSLATION

(A) Everywhere in the dominions of **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** and (of those) who (are his) borderers, such as the **Chōḍas,** the **Pāṇḍyas,** the **Sātiyaputa,** the

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[1] *osadhāni* Senart and Bühler.

[2] *cha* Senart and Bühler.

[3] There is a fissure in the rock here.

Kēlalaputa,[1] **Tāmraparṇī,** the **Yōna king** named **Antiyoga,** and the other kings who are the neighbours of this **Antiyoga,**—everywhere two (kinds of) medical men were established by **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin,** (viz.) medical treatment for men and medical treatment for cattle.

(B) Wherever there were no herbs beneficial to men and beneficial to cattle, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(C) Likewise, wherever there were no roots and fruits, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(D) On the roads trees were planted, and wells were caused to be dug for the use of cattle and men.

THIRD ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

6 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा

7 (B) दुवाडसवसाभिसितेन मे इयं आनपयिते (C) सवता विजितसि मम युता लजूके पादेसिके पंचसु पंचसु वसेसु अनुसंयानं निखमंतु एताये वा अठाये इमाय धंमनुसथिया यथा अंनाये पि कंमाये (D) साधु

8 मातपितिसु सुसुसा मितसंथुतनातिक्यानं चा बंभनसमनानं चा साधु दाने पानानं अनालंभे साधु अपवियाता अपभंडता साधु (E) पलिसा पि च युतानि गननसि अनपयिसंति हेतुवता चा वियंजनते चा

6 **(A) De[vā]naṁpiye Piyadasi** lājā h[e]vaṁ āhā

7 **(B) du[v]āḍasa-v[a]sābhisitena** me iyaṁ ānapayite **(C)** savatā vijitasi [mama] yutā laj[ū]k[e][2] pādesike pa[ṁ]cha[s]u paṁchasu vasesu [a]nusa[ṁ]yānaṁ[3] nikham[aṁ]tu etāye vā a[ṭh]āye imāya[4] dhaṁmanusathiyā yathā aṁ[nāye] pi kaṁmāye **(D)** sādhu

8 māta-pitisu sususā mita-saṁthuta-nātikyān[aṁ] chā baṁbhana-sama[nā]naṁ [chā] sādhu d[ā]ne pānānaṁ anālaṁbh[e] sādhu [a]pa-v[i]yātā[5] [a]pa-[bha]ṁ[ḍa]t[ā] sādhu **(E)** palisā pi cha yutāni [ga]nanasi anap[a]yisaṁti hetuvatā chā viyaṁjanat[e] chā[6]

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) (When I had been) **anointed twelve years,** the following was ordered by me.

(C) Everywhere in my dominions the *Yuktas*, the *Lajūka*, (and) the *Prādēśika* shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years for this very purpose, (viz.) for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business.

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[1] As the Kālsī dialect replaces *r* by *l*, this form is the correct equivalent of *Kēralaputra* at Mānsehrā.

[2] *lajaki* Senart, *lajuke* Bühler. [3] *anusiyānaṁ* Senart, *anus[a]yānaṁ* Bühler.

[4] *athāye imāy[e]* Bühler.

[5] The other versions read °*yatā* or °*yata*. There is a fissure in the rock here.

[6] *cha* Senart and Bühler.

(D) 'Meritorious is obedience to mother and father. Liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, and to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas is meritorious. Abstention from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious.'

(E) And the councils (of *Mahāmātras*) also shall order the *Yuktas*[1] to register (these rules) both with (the addition of) reasons[2] and according to the letter.

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

9 (A) अतिकंतं अंतलं बहुनि वससतानि वधिते वा पानालंभे विहिसा चा भुतानं नातिना असंपटिपति समनबंभनानं असंपटिपति (B) से अजा देवानंपियसा पियदसिने लाजिने धंमचलनेना भेलिघोसे अहो धंमघोसे विमनदसना

10 हथिनि अगिकंधानि अंनानि चा दिव्यानि लुपानि दसयितु जनस (C) आदिसा बहुहि वससतेहि ना हुतपुलुवे तादिसे अजा वढिते देवानंपियसा पियदसिने लाजिने धंमनुसथिये अनालंभे पानानं अविहिसा भुतानं नातिनं

11 संपटिपति बंभनसमनानं संपटिपति मातापितिसु सुसुसा (D) एसे चा अंने चा बहुविधे धंमचलने वधिते (E) वधियिसति चेवा देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज इमं धंमचलनं (F) पुता च कं नताले चा पनातिक्या चा देवानंपियसा पियदसिने लाजिने

12 पवढयिसंति चेव धंमचलनं इमं आवकपं धंमसि सीलसि चा चिठितु धंमं अनुसासिसंति (G) एसे हि सेठे कंमं अं धंमानुसासनं (H) धंमचलने पि चा नो होति असिलसा (I) से इमसा अथसा वधि अहिनि चा साधु (J) एताये अथाये इयं लिखिते

13 इमसा अथसा वधि युजंतु हिनि च मा अलोचयिसु (K) दुवाडसवशाभिसितेना देवानंपियेना पियदशिना लाजिना लेखिता

9 (A) atika[ṁ]taṁ a[ṁ]ta[la]ṁ bahuni vasa-satāni v[adh]it[e] vā pā[nā]laṁbhe vi[h]isā chā bhutānaṁ nātinā[3] asaṁ[pa]ṭip[a]ti samana-b[aṁ]bhanānaṁ asaṁpaṭipati (B) s[e] ajā **Devānaṁpiyasā Piyadasine lājine** dhaṁm[a]-chal[an]enā bheli-ghose aho dhaṁma-ghose vimana-dasan[ā]

10 [ha]thini agi-kaṁdh[ā]ni aṁnāni chā[4] divyāni lupāni dasayitu jana[sa] (C) [ā]disā[5] ba[h]u[hi v]asa-[sa]tehi nā huta-puluve tādise ajā vaḍhite **Devānaṁpiyasā Piyadasine [l]ājine** dhaṁmanusathiye a[n]ālaṁbhe pānānaṁ avihisā bhutānaṁ nāti[naṁ][6]

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[1] Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 993 ff.) has been the first to remark that in the eastern dialect the accusative plural of masculines ends in *-āni*. Cf. *yutāni* in E with *yutā* in C, and *Kaligyāni* in XIII, D, with *Kaligyā* in A; also XII, A, and *pulisāni* in the pillar-edict IV, G.

[2] Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 108) explained *hetuvatā* by *hētumatā vākyēna*, i.e. 'by a syllogism'. The other versions read *hetuto* or *hetute*.

[3] *nātinaṁ* Bühler.

[4] There is a fissure in the rock here.

[5] *ādisaṁ* Senart, *ādis[e]* Bühler.

[6] *nātisaṁ* Senart, *nāti[su]* Bühler.

11 saṁpaṭipati baṁbha[na-sa]manānaṁ saṁpaṭipati mātā-pitisu sususā (D) ese[1] chā aṁne chā ba[h]uvidhe dhaṁma-chalane vadh[i]te (E) vadhiyisati chevā **Devānaṁpiy[e] Piyadasi lāja**[2] ima[ṁ] dha[ṁ]ma-chalanaṁ (F) putā cha kaṁ natāle chā panātikyā ch[ā] **Devānaṁpiyasā Piyadasine lājine**

12 [pa]v[a]ḍhayisaṁt[i ch]ev[a] dhaṁma-chalanaṁ i[maṁ][3] āva-kapa[ṁ] dhaṁmasi s[ī]lasi[4] chā chiṭhit[u] dhaṁmaṁ anusāsisaṁti (G) ese hi seṭhe kaṁm[aṁ] aṁ dhaṁmānusāsanaṁ (H) dhaṁma-chalane pi chā no hoti asilasā (I) se im[a]s[ā a]thasā v[a]dhi ahini chā sādhu (J) etāye [a]thāye iyaṁ likhite

13 imas[ā] a[tha]s[ā] vadhi yujaṁtu hini ch[a] mā alochayisu (K) **duv[ā]ḍas[a]-vaś[ā]bhisitenā Dev[ā]naṁp[i]yen[ā] Piyadaśinā lājinā** lekhitā[5]

TRANSLATION

(A) In times past, for many hundreds of years, there had ever been promoted the killing of animals and the hurting of living beings, discourtesy to relatives, (and) discourtesy to Śramanas and Brāhmanas.

(B) But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin,** the sound of drums has become the sound of morality, showing the people representations of aerial chariots, elephants, masses of fire, and other divine figures.

(C) Such as they had not existed before for many hundreds of years, thus there are now promoted, through the instruction in morality on the part of **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin,** abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brāhmanas and Śramaṇas, (and) obedience to mother and father.

(D) Both in this and in many other ways is the practice of morality promoted.

(E) And **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** will ever promote this practice of morality.

(F) And the sons,[6] grandsons, and great-grandsons of **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** will ever promote this practice of morality until the æon (of destruction of the world), (and) will instruct (people) in morality, abiding by morality and by good conduct.

(G) For this is the best work, viz. instruction in morality.

(H) And the practice of morality also is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct.

(I) Therefore promotion and not neglect of this object is meritorious.

(J) For the following purpose has this been written, (viz. in order that) they should devote themselves to the promotion of this practice, and that they should not approve[7] the neglect (of it).

(K) (This rescript) was caused to be written by **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** (when he had been) **anointed twelve years.**

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[1] *esha* Bühler. [2] *lājā* Bühler. [3] There is a fissure in the rock here.

[4] *sīlaṣī* Senart, *silasi* Bühler. [5] *lekhitaṁ* Bühler.

[6] The two syllables *cha kaṁ* seem to have the same meaning as the simple *cha*. They occur twice again at Kālsī (XI, E, and XIII, Z), once at Shāhbāzgaṛhī (IV, F), three times at Mānsehrā, and once at Brahmagiri (l. 11). Cf. *kaṁ* after *nú, sú, hí* in the *Ṛigvēda*.

[7] See above, p. 8, n. 3. Here, and in three other versions, the augment *a-* is retained after the particle *mā*, while Shāhbāzgaṛhī has *lo[chi]e[sh]u* in accordance with Sanskrit grammar.

FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

13 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा अहा (B) कयाने दुकले। (C) ए आदिकले कयानसा से दुकलं कलेति (D) से ममया बहु कयाने कटे (E) ता ममा पुता चा नताले चा

14 पलं चा तेहि ये अपतिये मे आवकपं तथा अनुवटिसंति से सुकटं कछंति (F) ए चु हेता देसं पि हापयिसति से दुकटं कछति (G) पापे हि नामा सुपदालये (H) से अतिकंतं अंतलं नो हुतपुलुव धंममहामता नामा (I) तेदस-वसाभिसितेना ममया धंममहामाता कटा (J) ते सवपासंडेसु वियापटा

15 धंमाधियानाये चा धंमवढिया हिदसुखाये वा धंमयुतसा योनकंबोजगंधालानं ए वा पि अंने अपलंता (K) भटमयेसु बंभनिभेसु अनथेसु वुधेसु हिदसुखाये धंमयुताये अपलिबोधाये वियपटा ते (L) बंधनबधसा पटिविधानाये अपलिबोधाये मोखाये चा एयं अनुबधा पजाव ति वा

16 कटाभिकाले ति वा महालके ति वा वियापटा ते (M) हिदा बाहिलेसु चा नगलेसु सवेसु ओलोधनेसु भातिनं च ने भगिनिना ए वा पि अंने नातिक्ये सवता वियापटा (N) ए इयं धंमनिसिते ति वा दानसुयुते ति वा सवता विजितसि ममा धंमयुतसि वियापटा ते धंममहामता (O) एताये अठाये

17 इयं धंमलिपि लेखिता चिलथितिक्या होतु तथा च मे पजा अनुवततु

13 (A) **Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lājā** ahā (B) kayāne dukale ।[1] (C) e ādikale kay[ā]nasā se dukalaṁ kaleti (D) se mamayā bahu kayāne kaṭ[e] (E) t[ā ma]m[ā[2] putā] ch[ā] nat[āle chā]

14 palaṁ [chā] tehi [ye] apatiye [m]e āva-kapaṁ tathā anuvaṭisa[ṁ]ti s[e] s[u]kaṭaṁ kachhaṁ[t]i (F) e chu het[ā] desaṁ pi hāpa[y]i[sat]i[3] s[e] dukaṭaṁ kachhati (G) p[ā]pe hi nāmā[4] supadālaye (H) se atikaṁtaṁ aṁtalaṁ no huta-puluva[5] dhaṁ[ma]-mahāmatā[6] nāmā[7] (I) **t[e]dasa-vasābh[i]sitenā** mamayā dhaṁma-mahāmāt[ā ka]ṭ[ā] (J) [te] sav[a]-pāsaṁ[ḍe]su viyā[pa]ṭā

15 dhaṁ[m]ādhithā[nāye ch]ā dhaṁma-vaḍhiyā hi[da]-sukhāye vā[8] dhaṁm[a]-yutas[ā] **Yona-Kaṁb[o]ja-Gaṁdhālānaṁ** e vā [pi] aṁne apalaṁtā (K) bhaṭamayesu baṁbhanibhesu anathesu [v]udhesu hida-sukhāye dhaṁma-yutāye apalibodhāye viyapaṭā[9] te (L) baṁdha[na-badha]sā paṭividhānāy[e] apalibodhāye mokh[ā]ye chā eyaṁ anubadh[ā][10] pajāva ti v[ā]

16 [kaṭābhikā]le ti vā m[ah]ā[la]ke ti v[ā] viy[ā]paṭā te (M) hid[ā] bā[h]ilesu chā naga[l]esu s[a]ves[u olodha]n[esu] bhā[tina]ṁ cha ne bh[agi]ni[nā] e vā [pi] aṁn[e] nātikye savatā viyā[pa]ṭā (N) e iyaṁ dhaṁma-nisite ti vā dāna-suyute[11]

[1] Senart and Bühler omit this sign, which marks the end of the section.
[2] *mama* Bühler. [3] *°saṁti* Bühler. [4] *nāma* Senart and Bühler.
[5] *-puluvā* Senart and Bühler. [6] *-mahāmātā* Senart and Bühler.
[7] *nāma* Bühler. [8] *vi* Senart, *chā* Bühler. [9] *viyāpaṭā* Bühler.
[10] *anubaṁdha* Senart, *anuba[dhaṁ]* Bühler.
[11] *-sayute* Senart, *-saṁyute* Bühler.

ti [v]ā sav[a]tā v[i]jitas[i] mamā [dha]ṁma-yutasi viyāpaṭā te dhaṁma-m[a]hām[a]tā [1] (O) etāye aṭhāye

17 [i]yaṁ dhaṁma-lipi lekhitā chi[la]-thitikyā hotu [tathā] cha me [pa]jā [a]nuva[ta]tu [2]

TRANSLATION

(A) **King Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** speaks (thus).

(B) It is difficult to perform virtuous deeds.

(C) He who starts performing virtuous deeds accomplishes something difficult.

(D) Now, by me many virtuous deeds have been performed.

(E) Therefore (among) my sons and grandsons, and (among) my descendants (who shall come) after them until the æon (of destruction of the world), those who will conform to this (duty) will perform good deeds.

(F) But he who will neglect even a portion of this (duty) will perform evil deeds.

(G) For sin indeed steps fast.[3]

(H) Now, in times past (officers) called *Mahāmātras* of morality did not exist before.

(I) *Mahāmātras* of morality were appointed by me (when I had been) **anointed thirteen years.**

(J) These are occupied with all sects in establishing morality, in promoting morality, and for the welfare and happiness[4] of those who are devoted to morality (even) among the **Yōnas, Kambōjas,** and **Gandhālas,**[5] and whatever other western borderers (of mine there are).

(K) They are occupied with servants and masters, with Brāhmaṇas and Ibhyas,[6] with the destitute, (and) with the aged, for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality,[7] (and) in releasing (them) from the fetters (of worldly life).[8]

(L) They are occupied in supporting prisoners (with money), in causing (their) fetters to be taken off, and in setting (them) free, if one has children, or is bewitched, or aged, respectively.[9]

(M) They are occupied everywhere, here[10] and in all the outlying towns, in the harems[11] of our brothers, of (our) sisters, and (of) whatever other relatives (of ours there are).

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[1] °*mātā* Senart and Bühler.

[2] *anuvataṁtu* Senart and Bühler.

[3] Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 267) explained *supadālaye* (for which Mānsehrā reads *supadarave*) by *supradāryam*. Girnār and Shāhbāzgaṛhī read instead of it *sukaraṁ*, 'easily committed'. Perhaps *padālaya* is formed from *pada*, 'a step', as *mahālaka* (l. 16) = Prākṛit *mahālaya* from *mahat*.

[4] Here and in K the Dhauli version reads *hita-* instead of *hida-*.

[5] Here the remaining versions insert the names of two other tribes.

[6] i.e. Vaiśyas; see Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 269. The readings of the Dhauli and Mānsehrā versions, *ibhiya* and *ibhya*, show that *ibha* at Kālsī and Shāhbāzgaṛhī is meant for *ibbha*. The same follows from the *Jātaka*, No. 544, where, as noted by Bühler (VOJ, 12. 76), the compound *brāhmaṇ-ibbhā* occurs several times.

[7] The reading *dhaṁma-yutāye* seems to be a mere corruption of that of the Girnār version, *dhaṁma-yutānaṁ*.

[8] According to Childers's *Pāli Dictionary*, *palibodha* means 'obstacle, hindrance, drawback, impediment'. Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 841) has shown that its original meaning was 'fetters, to be fettered'. As its equivalent at Girnār (*parigodha*), the word seems to be used here in a metaphorical sense, while it has its original meaning in the next section.

[9] Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 269) took *eyaṁ anubadhā* = Skt. *ētam anubandham* in the sense of *ētad-artham*. But *eyaṁ* may stand for *e ayaṁ* (cf. *e iyaṁ* in section N = *yo ayaṁ* at Girnār), and *anubadhā* for the ablative *anubandhāt*, 'in succession, respectively'.

[10] Instead of 'here' the Girnār version reads 'both in Pāṭaliputra'.

[11] The Dhauli version inserts 'of myself'.

(N) These *Mahāmātras* of morality are occupied everywhere in my dominions[1] with those who are devoted to morality, (in order to ascertain) whether one is eager for morality[2] or properly devoted to charity.[3]

(O) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been caused to be written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my descendants[4] may conform to it.

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

17 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (B) अतिकंतं अंतलं नो हुतपुलुवे सवं कलं अठकंमे वा पटिवेदना वा (C) से ममया हेवं कटे (D) सवं कालं अदमानसा मे

18 ओलोधनसि गभागालसि वचसि विनितसि उयानसि सवता पटिवेदका अठं जनसा .... वेदेतु मे (E) सवता चा जनसा अठं कछामि हकं (F) यं पि चा किछि मुखते आनपयामि हकं दापकं वा सावकं वा ये वा पुना महामतेहि

19 अतियायिके आलोपिते होति तायेठाये विवादे निझति वा संतं पलिसाये अनंतलियेना पटि ...... विये मे सवता सवं कालं (G) हेवं आनपयिते ममया (H) नथि हि मे दोसे उठानसा अठसंतिलनाये चा (I) कटवियमुते हि मे सवलोकहिते (J) तसा चा पुना एसे मुले उठाने

20 अठसंतिलना चा (K) नथि हि कंमतला सवलोकहितेना (L) यं च किछि पलकमामि हकं किति भुतानं अननियं येहं हिद च कानि सुखायामि पलत चा स्वगं आलाधयितु (M) से एतायेठाये इयं धमलिपि लेखिता चिल-ठितिक्या होतु तथा च मे पुतदाले पलकमातु सवलोकहिताये

21 (N) दुकले चु इयं अनता अगेना पलकमेना

17 **(A) Dev[ā]nampi[y]e Piyadas[i] lājā** hevaṁ āhā **(B)** atikaṁtaṁ aṁtalaṁ no huta-puluv[e] sav[a]ṁ kalaṁ[5] aṭha-k[aṁ]me [v]ā [paṭ]i[veda]nā vā **(C)** s[e] ma[may]ā hevaṁ kaṭe **(D)** s[a]vaṁ kālaṁ adamānas[ā][6] me

18 olodhanasi gabhāgālas[i] va[chas]i vin[itasi u]y[ānasi sava]t[ā paṭive]dakā aṭha[ṁ] janasā .... vedetu[7] [m]e **(E)** sa[va]tā [ch]ā[8] ja[nas]ā aṭhaṁ kachhāmi hakaṁ **(F)** yaṁ pi ch[ā k]i[chhi m]u[kha]t[e ānapayā]mi [ha]kaṁ dā[pakaṁ] v[ā sāvakaṁ] vā ye vā punā mahāmat[e]hi[9]

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[1] The Dhauli version reads 'on the whole earth'.

[2] Other versions insert 'or established in morality'.

[3] In the translation of this sentence I differ from Bühler and follow on the whole Senart. Instead of *dāna-suyute* the Mānsehrā version reads *dana-saṁyute*, which might mean 'furnished with gifts'. The distribution of gifts was one of the duties of the *Dharma-Mahāmātras*; see the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, CC and DD.

[4] See Lüders in SPAW, 1914. 841 f.

[5] *kālaṁ* Senart and Bühler.

[6] *adam[a]nasā* Bühler.

[7] Restore *paṭivedeṁtu*, which is Bühler's reading.

[8] Senart and Bühler omit *chā*.

[9] °*māteh*i Bühler.

19 a[tiyāyike ālopite[1] h]o[t]i tā[yeṭh]ā[ye] vivāde n[i]jhati v[ā] saṁtaṁ palis[ā]ye anaṁ[ta]l[i]yenā paṭ[i] ...... viye[2] me sav[a]t[ā] savaṁ kālaṁ (G) hevaṁ ānapayite m[a]mayā (H) nathi hi me dose[3] uṭhān[a]sā aṭha-saṁtil[a]nāye chā (I) kaṭ[a]viya-mute hi me s[a]va-loka-hi[te] (J) t[asā ch]ā[4] [p]u[n]ā es[e] mule uṭh[āne]

20 [a]ṭha-saṁtilanā chā (K) [na]thi hi kaṁ[ma]talā sava-lo[ka]-hitenā (L) yaṁ cha kichhi[5] palakamāmi hakaṁ kiti bhutānaṁ [a]naniyaṁ ye[haṁ hi]da cha [kā]ni sukhāyāmi palata chā svagaṁ ālādhayitu[6] (M) s[e] etā[y]eṭhāye iyaṁ dhama-lipi lekhitā chila-ṭhitikyā hotu tathā cha me puta-dāle palakamātu sava-loka-hitā[ye]

21 (N) dukale ch[u][7] iyaṁ anat[ā][8] agenā palakam[e]nā

TRANSLATION

(A) **King Dēvānaṁpriya Priyadarśin** speaks thus.

(B) In times past neither the disposal of affairs nor the submission of reports at any time did exist before.

(C) But I have made the following (arrangement).

(D) Reporters have to report to me the affairs of the people at any time (and) anywhere, while I am eating, in the harem, in the inner apartment, at the cowpen, in the palanquin, (and) in the park.

(E) And everywhere I shall dispose of the affairs of the people.

(F) And also, if in the council (of *Mahāmātras*) a dispute arises,[9] or an amendment is moved, in connexion with any donation or proclamation which I am ordering verbally, or (in connexion with) an emergent matter which has been delegated to the *Mahāmātras*, it must be reported to me immediately, anywhere, (and) at any time.

(G) Thus I have ordered.

(H) For I am never content in exerting myself and in dispatching business.

(I) For I consider it my duty[10] (to promote) the welfare of all men.

(J) But the root of that (is) this, (viz.) exertion and the dispatch of business.

(K) For no duty is more important than (promoting) the welfare of all men.[11]

(L) And whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them[12] happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).

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[1] °*pitaṁ* Bühler. [2] Restore *paṭivedetaviye*.

[3] Jaugaḍa reads *tose*; Bühler adds *va*. [4] Bühler omits *chā*. [5] *kichi* Bühler.

[6] Read *ālādhayaṁtu*. [7] *cha* Senart and Bühler.

[8] *aṁnata* Senart, *anata* Bühler.

[9] The form *saṁtaṁ* corresponds to *saṁto* at Girnār, and must be a nominative singular, just as in the Kālsī edict VIII, C, and as *kalaṁtaṁ* in XII, H; see also *kala[ṁta]*, XI, E, and *kalata*, XII, F and G, and cf. my note on the translation of the Dhauli separate edict I, X.

[10] *muta* for *mata* occurs also in the Kālsī edict XIII, E (*vedaniya-mute gulu-mute chā*). The change of *a* to *u* is due to the preceding labial, as in *uchāvucha* (Kālsī, VII, C, and IX, B) for *uchāvacha* (Girnār).

[11] For the use of the instrumental with the comparative see above, p. 17, n. 3.

[12] As *kāni* corresponds to *nāni* at Girnār, and to *sha* or *she* in the two Kharōshṭhī versions, it seems to be used as a demonstrative. The same meaning fits in the pillar-edict IV, H and M; V, C; VI, C; and VII, H. The singular *kaṁ* occurs in the Jaugaḍa separate edict I C, and II, C.

(M) Now, for the following purpose has this rescript on morality been caused to be written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my sons and wives[1] may display the same zeal for the welfare of all men.

(N) But it is difficult to accomplish this without great zeal.

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

21 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा सवता इछति सवपासंड वसेवु (B) सवे हि ते सयमं भावसुधि चा इछंति (C) जने चु उचावुचाछंदे उचावुचलागे (D) ते सवं एकदेसं पि कछंति (E) विपुले पि चु दाने असा नथि

22 सयमे भावसुधि किटनाता दिढभतिता चा निचे बाढं

21 **(A) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lājā** [savat]ā [i]chhati sava-[pāsa]ṁḍa vas[e]vu **(B)** [sa]ve hi te sayama[ṁ] bhāva-sudhi chā ichhaṁti **(C)** jane [ch]u uchāvuchā-chh[a]ṁde uchāvucha-lā[g]e **(D)** te savaṁ eka-des[a]ṁ pi k[a]chhaṁ[t]i **(E)** vipule pi chu dān[e][2] asā nathi

22 sayame bhā[va]-sudh[i] kiṭanāt[ā[3] d]iḍha-bhatitā chā ni[che] bāḍhaṁ

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin desires (that) all sects may reside everywhere.

(B) For all these desire self-control and purity of mind.

(C) But men possess various desires (and) various passions.

(D) They will fulfil (either) the whole (or) only a portion (of their duties).

(E) But even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control, purity of mind, gratitude, and firm devotion, is very mean.

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

22 (A) अतिकंतं अंतलं देवानंपिया विहालयातं नाम निखमिसु (B) हिदा मिगविया अंनानि चा हेडिसाना अभिलामानि हुसु (C) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा दसवसाभिसिते संतं निखमिथा संबोधि

23 (D) तेनता धंमयाता (E) हेता इयं होति समनबंभनानं दसने चा दाने च वुधानं दसने च हिलंनपटिविधाने चा जानपदसा जनसा दसने धंमनुसथि चा धम-पलिपुछा चा ततोपया (F) एसे भुये लाति होति देवानंपियसा पियदसिसा लाजिने भागे अंने

22 **(A)** atikaṁtaṁ a[ṁ]talaṁ Devānaṁpiyā [vihāla-yātaṁ nāma] nikhamisu **(B)** hidā migaviyā aṁnāni chā heḍisānā[4] abhilāmān[i] husu **(C) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lājā das[a]-vasābhisite saṁtaṁ** nikhamithā[5] **Saṁbodhi**

23 **(D)** tenatā dhaṁma-yātā **(E)** [h]etā iyaṁ hoti samana-baṁbhanānaṁ dasane chā

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[1] The other versions render it probable that *-dāle* is a clerical mistake for *-natāle*, 'grandsons'.

[2] *dān[aṁ]* Bühler. [3] Read °*natā.*

[4] Read °*sāni*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

[5] °*miṭhā* Senart and Bühler.

dāne cha vudh[ā]naṁ dasa[n]e ch[a] hilaṁna-paṭi[v]idhāne chā [jā]napadasā [ja]n[a]sā das[a]ne dhaṁmanusathi chā dhama-palipuchhā chā[1] tatopa[yā] **(F)** [e]se bh[u]ye lāti[2] hoti **Devānaṁpiyasā Piyadas[i]sā lājine** bh[ā]g[e] aṁne

TRANSLATION

(A) In times past the *Dēvānāṁpriyas*[3] used to set out on so-called pleasure-tours.

(B) On these (tours) hunting and other such pleasures were (enjoyed).

(C) When king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin had been anointed ten years,[4] he went out to **Saṁbōdhi.**

(D) Therefore tours of morality (were undertaken) here.[5]

(E) On these (tours) the following takes place, (viz.) visiting Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas and making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality, as suitable for this (occasion).

(F) This second period (of the reign) of **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** becomes a pleasure in a higher degree.

NINTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

24 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा आहा (B) जने उचावुचं मंगलं कलेति आबाधसि अवाहसि विवाहसि पजोपदाने पवाससि एताये अंनाये चा एदिसाये जने बहु मगलं कलेति (C) हेत चु अबकजनियो बहु चा बहुविधं चा खुदा चा निलथिया चा मगलं कलंति

25 (D) से कटवि चेव खो मंगले (E) अपफले चु खो एसे (F) इयं चु खो महाफले ये धंममगले (G) हेता इयं दासभटकसि सम्यापटिपति गुलुना अपचिति पानानं संयमे समनबंभनानं दाने एसे अंने चा हेडिसे। धंममगले नामा (H) से वतविये पितिना पि पुतेन पि भातिना पि सुवामिकेन पि मित-संथुतेना अव पटिवेसियेना पि

26 इयं साधु इयं कटविये मगले आव तसा अथसा निवुतिया इमं कछामि ति (I) ए हि इतले मगले संसयिक्ये से (J) सिया व तं अठं निवटेया सिया पुना नो (K) हिदलोकिके चेव से (L) इयं पुना धंममगले अकालिक्ये (M) हंचे पि तं अठं नो निटेति हिद अठं पलत अनंतं पुना पवसति (N) हंचे पुन तं अठं निवतेति हिदा ततो उभयेसं

27 लधे होति हिद चा से अठे पलत चा अनंतं पुना पसवति तेना धंममगलेना

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[1] *cha* Bühler. [2] Read *lati.*

[3] Instead of this title of Aśōka's predecessors the Girnār and Dhauli versions have the word 'kings'.

[4] For the form *saṁtaṁ* see above, p. 35, n. 9.

[5] viz. 'in my territory'; cf. above, p. 2, n. 3. The Girnār version reads *tenesā*, but Shāhbāzgaṛhī and Mānsehrā read *tenada*, which seems to stand for *tenatra.* Therefore Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 426) was probably right in explaining *tenatā* at Kālsī and Dhauli by *tena atā.*

24 (A) **Devānaṁpiye Piy[a]da[s]i lā[jā]** āhā (B) jan[e] uch[āv]uchaṁ maṁgalaṁ ka[l]eti ābādhasi av[āha]si vivāhasi pajopadāne[1] pavāsasi e[tā]ye aṁnāye chā edisāye jane bahu magala[ṁ] k[a]leti (C) heta [ch]u abaka-jani[yo] bahu chā bahuvidhaṁ chā khudā [ch]ā nilathiyā[2] chā magalaṁ ka[la]ṁti

25 (D) se kaṭavi[3] cheva kho maṁgale (E) apa-phale [ch]u[4] kho [e]s[e] (F) [i]yaṁ chu kho mah[ā]-ph[a]le ye dhaṁma-magale (G) he[tā] iyaṁ dāsa-bhaṭakasi s[a]myā-paṭip[a]ti[5] gulunā apachiti [p]ā[n]ān[aṁ] saṁyame[6] s[a]man[a]-baṁbhanānaṁ dāne ese aṁne chā heḍise ı[7] dhaṁma-magale nāmā (H) se vata[v]iye pitinā pi putena pi bh[ā]tinā pi suvāmiken[a][8] pi mita-saṁthuten[ā] ava[9] paṭivesiyenā [p]i

26 iyaṁ sādhu iyaṁ kaṭaviye [ma]g[a]le āva [ta]sā athasā ni[v]utiyā imaṁ kachhāmi ti[10] (I) e hi i[ta]le[11] magale sa[ṁ]sayikye se[12] (J) siyā va taṁ aṭhaṁ nivaṭey[ā] siyā punā no (K) hi[da]lokike chev[a] se[13] (L) iyaṁ punā dhaṁma-magale akālikу[e] (M) haṁche pi taṁ aṭhaṁ[14] no niṭeti[15] hida aṭhaṁ[16] palata anaṁtaṁ punā pavasati[17] (N) haṁche puna[18] taṁ aṭhaṁ nivateti hidā[19] tato ubhaye[sa]ṁ

27 ladhe hoti hida chā se aṭhe palata[20] chā anaṁtaṁ punā[21] pasavati tenā dhaṁma-magalen[ā]

TRANSLATION

(A) **King Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** speaks (thus).

(B) Men are practising various ceremonies during illness, at the marriage of a son or a daughter, at the birth of a child,[22] (and) when setting out on a journey; on these and other such (occasions) men are practising many ceremonies.

(C) But in such (cases) mothers and wives[23] are practising many and various vulgar and useless ceremonies.

(D) Now, ceremonies should certainly be practised.

(E) But these (ceremonies) bear little fruit indeed.

(F) But the following bears much fruit indeed, viz. the practice of morality.

(G) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas; these and other such (virtues) are called the practice of morality.

(H) Therefore a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, (or) a friend or an acquaintance, or even a (mere) neighbour ought to say:—'This is meritorious. This

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[1] This word cannot be correct, because in the Kālsī dialect the locative of *upadāna* would end in *-asi*. Read therefore (with Dhauli and Jaugaḍa) *°dāye*, which is the actual reading of Senart and Bühler. [2] *nilathiyaṁ* Senart, *nilathiyāṁ* Bühler.

[3] Read *kaṭaviye*. [4] *vu* Bühler. [5] *-paṭipāti* Bühler. [6] *sāyaṁme* Senart, *sayame* Bühler.

[7] Instead of this mark of punctuation Senart and Bühler read *taṁ*.

[8] *°ken[ā]* Bühler. [9] *āva* Bühler. [10] *ka[tha]ṁiti* Bühler.

[11] *ivale* Bühler. [12] Bühler adds [*hoti*]. [13] *cha vase* Senart and Bühler.

[14] *athaṁ* Bühler. [15] Read, as at Mānsehrā, *nivaṭeti*. [16] Read (with Shāhbāzgaṛhī) *atha*.

[17] Read *puṁnaṁ pasavati*. [18] *sukā* Senart, *punā* Bühler. [19] *hida* Senart and Bühler.

[20] *°tā* Senart and Bühler. [21] Read *puṁnaṁ*, which is Bühler's reading.

[22] Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 431 f.) derived the locative *upadāye* from a supposed Skt. feminine **utpad*. Shāhbāzgaṛhī reads *upadane*, which either corresponds to Skt. *utpādanē*, or is a mistake for the Mānsehrā reading, *upadaye*.

[23] Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 433) proposed translating 'nurses and mothers'. Cf. *ambika-mādukehiṁ* in the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*, act VIII, verse 19.

practice should be observed until the (desired) object is attained, (thinking):[1] I shall observe this'.

(I) For other[2] ceremonies are of doubtful (effect).

(J) One may attain his object (by them), but he may not (do so).

(K) And they (bear fruit) in this world only.

(L) But that practice of morality is not restricted to time.

(M) Even if one does not attain (by it) his object in this (world), then endless merit is produced in the other (world).[3]

(N) But if one attains (by it) his object in this (world), the gain[4] of both (results) arises from it; (viz.) the (desired) object (is attained) in this (world), and endless merit is produced in the other (world) by that practice of morality.

TENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

27 (A) देवानंपिये पियद्षा लजा यषो वा किति वा नो महथावा मनति अनता यं पि यसो वा किति वा इछति तदत्वाये अयतिये चा जने धंमसुसुषा सुसुषातु मे ति धंमवतं वा अनुविधियंतु ति (B) धतकाये देवानंपिये पियदसि

28 लाजा यषो वा किति वा इछ (C) अं चा किछि लकमति देवनंपिये पियदषि लजा त षव पालंतिक्याये वा किति सकले अपपलाषवे षियाति ति (D) एषे चु पलिसवे ए अपुने (E) दुकले चु खो एषे खुदकेन वा वगेना उषुटेन वा अनत अगेना पलकमेना षवं पलितिदितु (F) हेत चु खो

29 उषटेन वा दुकले

27 (A) **Devā[naṁ]piye Piy[a]dashā**[5] **lajā**[6] y[a]sho vā kiti vā no [ma]hathāvā[7] manati an[a]tā [ya]ṁ pi yaso vā ki[t]i vā ichh[at]i tadatvāye ayatiye chā jane dhaṁma-susushā sushātu me ti dhaṁma-vataṁ vā anuvi[dh]iya[ṁ]tu[8] ti (B) dhata[k]āye[9] **Devāna[ṁ]piye Piyadasi**

28 **lājā** yasho vā kiti vā ichha[10] (C) aṁ ch[ā] kichhi lakamati[11] **Devanaṁpiye**[12] **Piyadashi lajā** ta [sha]va[13] pālaṁtikyāye[14] vā kiti sakale apa-p[a]lāshave[15] shiyāti ti (D) [e]she chu palisave e apune[16] (E) dukale chu kho eshe khudakena vā vagenā[17] ushuṭena vā ana[ta] agen[ā pa]lakamenā shava[ṁ] palitiditu (F) [h]e[ta chu] kho

29 [u]shaṭe[na] vā dukale

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[1] From this word to the end of the edict the Kālsī version differs completely from the Girnār one. Dhauli and Jaugaḍa agree with Girnār, but the two Kharōshṭhī versions with Kālsī.

[2] *i[ta]le* is the regular equivalent of *[i]tare* at Mānsehrā. Shāhbāzgaṛhī reads however *etake*.

[3] The words *palata anaṁtaṁ puṁnaṁ pasavati* occur again in N, and in the Kālsī edict XI, E. In these two cases *pasavati* is construed with an instrumental, and in the last case it corresponds to *bhavati* in the Girnār version. Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 580) was therefore right in explaining it by *pasavvati*=Sanskrit *prasāvyatē*.

[4] Cf. above, p. 19, n. 16.

[5] Read *Piyadashi*.

[6] *lāja* Senart, *lājā* Bühler.

[7] The Girnār version reads *mahāthāvah[ā]*.

[8] *°yāta* Senart, *°yatu* Bühler.

[9] Read *etakāye*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

[10] Read *ichhati*.

[11] Read *palakamati*.

[12] *Devānaṁ°* Senart and Bühler.

[13] *savaṁ* Senart, *shavaṁ* Bühler.

[14] *pāliti°* Senart, *pālati°* Bühler.

[15] Read *-palishave*.

[16] The syllable *ne* was entered subsequently; *apuṁne* Senart and Bühler.

[17] *vagena* Senart and Bühler.

TRANSLATION

(A) **King Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** does not think that either glory or fame conveys much advantage, except whatever glory or fame he desires (on account of his aim) that in the present time, and in the future, men may (be induced) by him to practise obedience to morality, or that they may conform to the duties of morality.

(B) On this (account) **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** is desiring glory and fame.

(C) And whatever effort **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** is making, all that (is) only for the sake of (merit) in the other (world), (and) in order that all (men) may run little danger.[1]

(D) But the danger is this, viz. demerit.

(E) But it is indeed difficult either for a lowly person[2] or for a high one to accomplish this without great zeal (and without) laying aside every (other aim).

(F) But among these (two) it is indeed (more) difficult to accomplish just for a high (person).

ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

29 (A) देवानंपिये पियदषि लाजा हेवं हा (B) नथि हेडिषे दाने अदिष धंमदाने। धमषविभगे। धंमषंबधे। (C) तत एषे दाषभटकषि। षम्यापटिपति माता-पितिषु। षुषुषा। मितषंथुतनातिक्यानं समनाबंभनाना दाने

30 पानानं अनालंभे (D) एषे वतविये पितिना पि पुतेन पि भातिना पि षवामिक्येन पि मितशंथुताना अवा पटिवेषियेना इयं षाधु इयं कटविये (E) शे तथा कलंत हिदलोकिक्ये च कं आलधे होति पलत चा अनत पुना पशवति तेना धंमदानेना

29 (A) **Devānaṁp[i]ye Piyadashi [l]ājā** hevaṁ hā[3] (B) nathi h[e]ḍishe dāne adisha[4] dha[ṁ]ma-dāne । dhama-shav[i]bhage[5] । dhaṁma-shaṁbadh[e] । (C) ta[ta] eshe dāsha-bhaṭakashi । shamyā-paṭipati mātā-pitishu । shushushā । mita-shaṁthuta-nātikyānaṁ samanā-[ba]ṁbhanānā[6] [dā]ne

30 pānānaṁ anāl[aṁ]bhe (D) eshe vatav[i]ye pi[t]inā pi pute[na][7] pi bhā[t]inā pi sh[a]vām[i]kyena[8] pi mita-śaṁthutānā[9] avā p[a]ṭiveshiyen[ā][10] iy[a]ṁ shādhu[11] iyaṁ kaṭaviye (E) [ś]e tathā kala[ṁta] hidalokikye cha kaṁ āladhe hoti palata ch[ā][12] anata[13] punā[14] paśavati tenā dhaṁma-dānenā

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[1] The form *shiyāti* occurs again in the Kālsī edict XII, B, where it is spelt *śiyāti*. Cf. also *siyati* in the Shāhbāzgaṛhī edict XII, L, and in the Mānsehrā edict X, C.

[2] In Sanskrit the word *varga* means 'a class'; but here and in the two Kharōshṭhī versions it corresponds to *jana*, 'a person', at Girnār. The same is the case in the first separate rock-edict, where Dhauli (K) reads *jane*, and Jaugaḍa (L) *[va]ge*. See also *hedisameva vagaṁ*, 'a person of the same description', in section AA of the same edict at Dhauli.

[3] Read *āhā*.

[4] *yādisaṁ* Senart, *[ā]dishaṁ* Bühler.

[5] *dhaṁma-shaṁvibhage* Bühler.

[6] *samana-* and *°nānaṁ* Bühler.

[7] *pute* Senart and Bühler; the syllable *na* seems to be entered below the line.

[8] Read *shuvāmi°*.

[9] The *ta* of *mita-* stands below the line; read *°tenā*.

[10] *paṭivesi°* Bühler.

[11] *sādhu* Bühler.

[12] *cha* Senart and Bühler.

[13] *aṁnataṁ* Senart, *anaṁta* Bühler.

[14] *puṁnā* Bühler; read *anaṁtaṁ puṁnaṁ*.

TRANSLATION

(A) **King Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** speaks thus.

(B) There is no such gift as the gift of morality, the distribution of morality, (and) kinship through morality.

(C) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to mother and father, liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas, (and) abstention from killing animals.

(D) Concerning this a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, (or) a friend or an acquaintance, (or) even a (mere) neighbour, ought to say:—'This is meritorious. This ought to be done'.

(E) If one is acting thus,[1] (happiness) in this world is attained,[2] and endless merit is produced[3] in the other (world) by that gift of morality.

TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

30 (A) देवानापिये पियदषि

31 लाजा षावापाषंडानि पवजितानि गहथानि वा पुजेति दानेन विविधये च। पुजाये (B) नो चु तथा दाने वा पुजा वा देवानंपिये मनति अथा कित शालावढि शियाति शवपाशडान (C) शालावढि ना बहुविधा (D) तश चु इनं मुले अ वचगुति किति ति अतपशड वा पुजा वा पलपाशंडगलहा व नो शया

32 अपकलनशि लहका वा शिया तगि तशि पकलनशि (E) पुजेतविय चु पलपाशडा तेन तेन अकालन (F) हेव कलत अतपाशडा बढं वढियति पलपाशड पि वा उपकलेति (G) तदा अनथ कलत अतपाशड च छनति पलपाशड पि वा अपकलेति (H) ये हि केछ अतपाशड पुनाति

33 पलपाषड वा। गलहति। षवे अतपाषंडभतिया वा किति। अतपाषंड। दिपयेम षे च पुना तथा। कलंतं। बाढतले। उपहंति। अतपाषंडषि। (I) षमवाये वु षाधु किति। अंनमनषा धंमं। षुनेयु चा। षुषुषेयु चा ति। (J) हेवं हि देवानंपियषा इछा किंति

34 सवपाषंड। बहषुता चा कयानागा च। हुवेयु ति। (K) ए च तत तत। पषंना। तेहि वतविये। (L) देवानापिये नो तथा। दानं वा। पुजा वा। मंनति। अथा किति षालावढि शिया। षवपाषंडतिं। (M) बहुका चा। एतायाठाये। वियापटा। धंममहामाता। इथिधियखमहामाता। वचभुमिक्या। अने वा निक्याया

35 (N) इयं च एतिषा। फले। यं अतपाषंडवढि चा। होति धंमष चा दिपना।

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[1] For the form *kalaṁtaṁ* see above, p. 35, n. 9.

[2] For *cha kaṁ* see above, p. 31, n. 6.

[3] See above, p. 39, n. 3.

30 (A) [D]**evānāpiye** [P]**iyadash**[i]

31 lājā shāvā-pāshaṁ[ḍān]i[1] pav[a]jitā[n]i gahathāni vā pujeti dānena vividh[aye][2] cha ı[3] puj[ā]ye (B) n[o] ch[u] tathā dāne vā pujā vā **Devāna**[ṁ]**piye** m[a]nati athā k[i]ta[4] ś[ā]lā-v[a]ḍhi[5] śiyāti ś[a]va-pāśaḍāna[6] (C) śālā-vaḍhi[7] nā[8] bahuvidhā[9] (D) taśa chu inaṁ[10] mule a va[cha]-guti kiti t[i][11] ata-paśaḍa-[12] [v]ā[13] pujā vā pala-pāśaṁḍa-galahā va[14] no [śa]yā[15]

32 ap[a]k[a]l[a]naś[i] lahakā[16] vā śiyā [ta]gi[17] taśi pakalan[a]ś[i] (E) pujetav[i]ya chu p[a]la-pā[śa]ḍā tena tena akālana[18] (F) heva[19] kalata ata-pāśaḍā[20] baḍhaṁ[21] vaḍhiyati pala-pāśaḍa pi[22] vā upakaleti (G) tadā[23] anatha[24] kalata ata-pāśaḍa cha chhanati pala-pāśaḍa[25] pi vā apakaleti (H) ye [h]i kechha [a]ta-pāśaḍa punāti[26]

33 pala-pāshaḍa vā ı ga[la]hati ı shave ata-pāshaṁ[ḍa]-bhatiyā vā kiti ı ata-pāshaṁḍa[27] ı [d]ipayema she cha punā tathā ı kalaṁtaṁ ı bāḍhatale ı up[a]haṁt[i] ı ata-pāshaṁḍashi ı (I) shamavāye[28] vu[29] shādhu kiti ı aṁnamanashā dhaṁmaṁ ı shune[y]u chā ı shushusheyu chā ti ı (J) hevaṁ hi **Devānaṁpiyashā** ichhā kiṁti[30]

34 sava-pāshaṁḍa ı baha-shutā[31] chā kayānāgā[32] cha ı huveyu ti ı (K) e [cha][33] tata t[a]t[a][34] ı p[a]sh[aṁ]nā[35] ı te[hi va]taviye ı (L) **Devānāpiye** no tathā ı dānaṁ vā ı pujā vā ı maṁnat[i] ı athā kiti sh[ā]lā-v[a]ḍhi[36] śiyā ı shava-pāshaṁḍatiṁ[37] ı

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[1] Read *shava-*; *shavā pāshaṁḍani* Bühler.
[2] *vividhaya* Senart, *vividhena* Bühler.
[3] Bühler omits this sign. [4] Read *kiti.*
[5] *śāla-* Senart and Bühler.
[6] The syllable *na* (*naṁ* Bühler) was inserted subsequently.
[7] *śāla-* Bühler. [8] The other versions read *tu.*
[9] The syllable *vi* was inserted subsequently.
[10] Read *iyaṁ*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.
[11] *ta* Senart and Bühler.
[12] The syllable *ta* of *ata-* is entered above the line; *-pāśaḍa* Senart, *-pāśaṁḍe* Bühler.
[13] Cancel *vā.*
[14] The words *pala-pāśaṁḍa-galahā va* are entered above the line; below them the words *ti apaśalahā vā* are struck out.
[15] Read *śiyā.* [16] Read *lahukā.*
[17] Read *taśi*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.
[18] Read *ākālena.* [19] *hevaṁ* Senart and Bühler.
[20] *-paśaḍā* Bühler.
[21] *bāḍhaṁ* Senart and Bühler.
[22] *pi* is entered above the line.
[23] The syllable *dā* is entered above the line.
[24] *aṁnathā* Bühler; read *tad-anatha.*
[25] The syllable *pā* is entered above the line; *-paśaḍa* Bühler.
[26] *puyāti* Senart, *punati* Bühler; read probably *pujeti.*
[27] One feels tempted to read *-pāshaṁḍaṁ.* But the point after *ḍa* stands much lower than an Anusvāra, and a similar point occurs quite below the *ḍa* in three other cases: *ata-pāśaḍa* in G, *sava-pāshaṁḍa* in J, and *shava-pāshaṁḍatiṁ* in L.
[28] *sama°* Bühler. [29] Read *chu*; *va* Senart and Bühler. [30] *kiti* Bühler.
[31] Read *bahu-*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.
[32] Read *°nāgamā.* [33] *va* Senart and Bühler.
[34] *tatā* Senart and Bühler. [35] *pashaṁna* Bühler.
[36] *shāla-* Bühler. [37] Read *°ḍānaṁ ti.*

(**M**) bahukā ch[ā] । etāyāṭhāye । viyāpaṭā । dha[ṁ]ma-mahāmātā । ithidhiyakha-mahāmātā । vacha-bh[u]mikyā । ane vā [n]iky[ā]y[ā][1]

35 (**N**) iyaṁ cha etishā । phale । yaṁ ata-pāshaṁḍa-vaḍhi chā । hoti dhaṁmasha[2] chā dipanā ।

TRANSLATION

(**A**) **King Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** is honouring all sects: ascetics or householders, with gifts and with honours of various kinds.

(**B**) But **Dēvānāṁpriya** does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.[3]

(**C**) This[4] promotion of the essentials (is possible) in many ways.

(**D**) But its root is this, viz. guarding (one's) speech, (i. e.) that neither praising one's own sect nor blaming other sects should take place on improper occasions, or (that) it should be moderate in every case.

(**E**) But other sects ought to be honoured in every way.

(**F**) If one is acting thus,[5] he is promoting his own sect considerably and is benefiting other sects as well.

(**G**) If one is acting otherwise than thus, he is both hurting his own sect and wronging other sects as well.

(**H**) For whosoever praises his own sect or blames other sects,—all (this) out of pure devotion to his own sect, (i. e.) with the view of glorifying his own sect,—if he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect very severely.

(**I**) But concord is meritorious, (i. e.) that they should both hear and obey each other's morals.

(**J**) For this is the desire of **Dēvānāṁpriya**, (viz.) that all sects should be both full of learning and pure in doctrine.

(**K**) And those who are attached to their respective (sects), ought to be spoken to (as follows).

(**L**) **Dēvānāṁpriya** does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.

(**M**) And many (officers) are occupied for this purpose, (viz.) the *Mahāmātras* of morality, the *Mahāmātras* controlling women, the inspectors of cowpens, or other classes (of officials).

(**N**) And this is the fruit of it, (viz.) that both the promotion of one's own sect takes place, and the glorification of morality.

THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

35 (A) **अठवषा- । भिषित- । षा देवानंपियष पियदषिने । लाजिने । कलिग्या विजिता । (B) दियढमिते । पानषतषहशे । ये तफा अपवुढे । शतषहषमिते । तत हते । बहुतावतके । वा मटे** (C) **ततो पछा । अधुना लधष । कलिग्येषु । तिवे । धंमवाये**

[1] *nikāye* Senart, *nikā[yā]* Bühler.
[2] *dhamasha* Bühler.
[3] For *śiyāti* see above, p. 40, n. 1.
[4] For the pronoun *nā* see above, p. 13, n. 5.
[5] For the form *kalaṁtaṁ* see above, p. 35, n. 9.

36 धंमकामता । धंमानुषथि चा । देवानंपियषा । (D) षे अथि अनुषये । देवानं-
पियषा । विजिनितु । कलिग्यानि । (E) अविजितं हि । विजिनमने । ए
तता । वध वा । मलने वा । अपवहे वा । जनषा । षे बाढ । वेदनियमुते ।
गुलुमुते चा । देवानंपियषा । (F) इयं पि चु । ततो । गलुमततले ।
देवानंपियषा

37 (G) य तता वषति बाभना व षम वा अने वा पाशंड गिहिथा वा येशु विहिता
एष अगभुतिषुषुषा मातापितिषुषुषा गलुषुषा मितषंथुतषहायनातिकेषु
दाशभटकषि षम्यापटिपति दिढभतिता तेषं तता होति उपघाते वा वधे वा
अभिलतानं वा विनिखमने

38 (H) येषं वा पि षुविहितानं षिनेहे अविपहिने ए तानं मितशंथुतषहायनातिक्य
वियषनं पापुनात तता षे पि तानमेवा उपघाते होति (I) पटिभागे चा
एष षवमनुषानं गुलुमते चा देवानंपियषा (J) नथि चा षे जनपदे यता
नथि इमे निकाया आनता योनेषु

39 बंभने चा षमने चा नथि चा कुवापि जनपदषि यता नथि मनुषान । एकतलषि
पि । पाषडषि । नो नाम पषादे । (K) षे अवतके जने । तदा कलिंगेषु ।
लधेषु हते चा मटे चा । अपवुढे चा । ततो षते भागे वा । षहषभागे वा ।
अज गुलुमते वा । देवानंपियषा

B.—South Face of Kālsī Rock.

1 . . . .

2 . . . .

3 . . . . नेयु (O) इछ . . . .

4 षवभु . . . . षयम षमचलियं मदव ति (P) इयं वु मु . . . .

5 देवानंपियेषा ये धंमविजये (Q) षे च पुना लधे देवानंपि . . . . च

6 षवेषु च अतेषु अ षषु पि योजनषतेषु अत अतियोगे नाम योनला . . पलं
चा तेना

7 अंतियोगेना चतालि ४ लजाने तुलमये नाम अंतेकिने नाम मका ना-

8 म अलिक्यषुदले नाम निचं चोडपंडिया अवं तंबपंनिया हेवमेवा (R) हेवमेवा

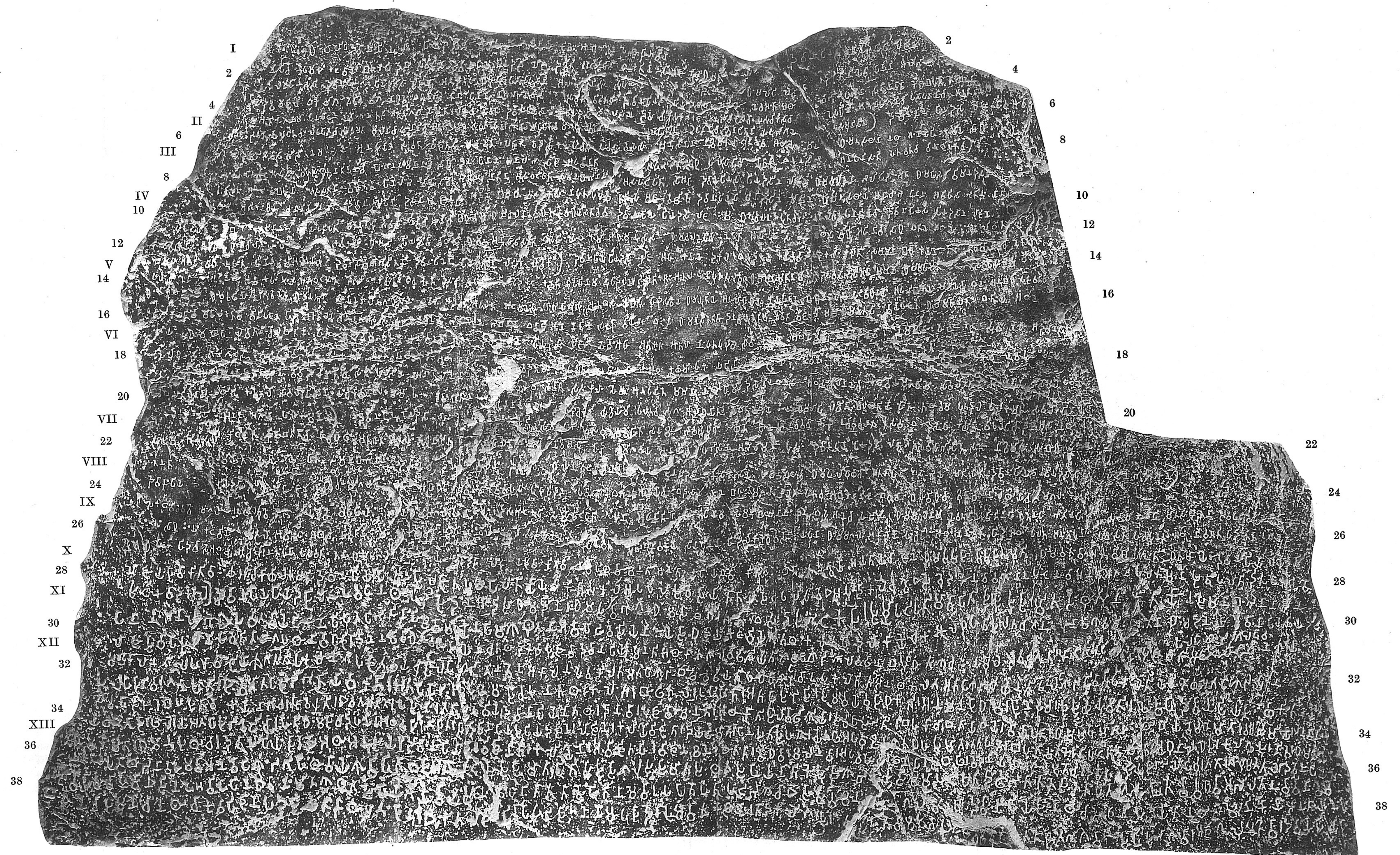
9 हिदा लाजविशवषि योनकंबोजेषु नाभकनाभपंतिषु भोजपितिनिक्येषु

10 अधपालदेषु षवता देवानंपियषा धंमानुषथि अनुवतंति (S) यत पि दुता

11 देवानंपियसा नो यंति ते पि सुतु देवानंपिनंय धंमवुतं विधनं

12 धंमानुसथि धंमं अनुविधियंअ अनुविधियिसंअ चा (T) ये से लधे

13 एतकेना होति सवता विजये पितिलसे से (U) गधा सा होति पिति पिति
धंमविजय-



SCALE ONE-SIXTH

14 षि (V) लहुका वु खो सा पिति (W) पालंतिक्यमेवे महफला मंनंति देवेनंपिने
15 (X) एताये चा अठाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखिता किति पुता पपोता मे असु
16 नवं विजय म विजयतविय मनिषु षयकषि नो विजयषि खंति चा ल । हु-
17 दंडता चा लोचेतु तमेव चा विजयं मनतु ये धंमविजये (Y) षे हिदलोकिक्य पललो-
18 किये (Z) षवा च क निलति होतु उयामलति (AA) षा हि हिदलोकिक पललोकिक्या

35 (A) aṭha-[va]shā- । **bhishita-** [1] । **shā [De]vānaṁpiyasha Piyadashine** । **lājine** । **Kaligyā** vijitā । (B) diyaḍha-mite [2] । pāna-shat[a]-shaha[ś]e । ye [ta]phā apavuḍhe [। śa]ta-[sha]hasha-mite [3] । tata hate । bahu-tāvatake [4] । vā maṭe (C) tat[o [5] pa]chhā । adhunā ladhesha [6] । **Kaligyeshu** । tive । dhaṁma[vāy]e

36 dhaṁma-k[ā]matā । dhaṁmānushathi chā । **Devānaṁpiyashā** । (D) sh[e] athi anushaye । **Devānaṁpiya[sh]ā** । vijin[i]tu [7] । **Kaligyāni** । (E) avijitaṁ hi । vijinamane । e tatā । vadha [8] vā । malane vā । apavahe [vā] । jan[a]shā । [sh]e bāḍha । vedaniya-mute । g[u]l[u]-mut[e] chā । **Devānaṁ[pi]yashā** । (F) iyaṁ pi chu । tato । galu-matatale । **D[e]vānaṁpiyashā** [9]

37 (G) [ya] tatā [10] vashati b[ā]bhanā [11] va shama [12] vā ane vā pāśaṁḍa gih[i]thā vā yeśu vihitā [e]sh[a] a[gabhu]t[i]-shushushā [13] m[ā]tā-piti-shushushā [14] galu-shushā [15] mita-shaṁthuta-shahāya-nātikeshu dāśa-bha[ta]kash[i [16] sha]m[y]ā-paṭipati diḍha-bhatitā teshaṁ tatā hoti [upa]ghāte vā vadhe vā abhilatānaṁ vā vinikhamane

38 (H) yeshaṁ vā pi shuvihi[t]ānaṁ [17] shinehe avipahine e tānaṁ mita-śaṁth[u]ta-sha[h]āya-[nā]tikya [18] viyashanaṁ [19] pāpunāta [20] tatā [21] she [p]i t[ā]namev[ā] [22] upaghāt[e] hoti (I) paṭibhāge chā esh[a] sh[a]va-manu[shāna]ṁ gul[u]-m[a]te chā **Devāna[ṁ]piyashā** (J) n[a]thi chā she jan[a]pade yatā nathi ime nikāyā ānatā [23] **Y[o]nesh[u]** [24]

39 baṁhmane ch[ā] shamane chā nathi chā kuvāpi jan[a]padashi [ya]tā n[a]thi m[a]nushān[a] [25] । ekatalash[i p]i । pāshaḍashi । no n[ā]ma pashāde । (K) she ava[ta]ke [26] jaṅe । t[a]dā **Kali[ṁ]geshu** । [27] [ladheshu ha]te ch[ā] [28] maṭ[e] chā । [apavuḍhe chā ।] tato [29] shat[e] bhāge vā । shah[a]sha-bhāge vā । aja gulu-mate vā । **Devāna[ṁ]piyashā**

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[1] *bhisita-* Bühler. [2] *-m[ā]te* Bühler. [3] *-māte* Bühler. [4] *-tāvaṁtake* Bühler.
[5] *tatā* Senart and Bühler. [6] Read *ladheshu*, which is Bühler's reading.
[7] This word may be read also *vijiniti*, as both an *i* and a *u* are affixed to the last consonant.
[8] *vadhaṁ* Bühler. [9] Bühler adds ।.
[10] Read *ye tatā* in accordance with the Shāhbāzgaṛhī version, which reads *ye tatra*; *savatā* Senart and Bühler, who adds ।.
[11] *baṁbhanā* Senart and Bühler. [12] Read *shamanā*.
[13] *ag[a]bh[uta]-* Bühler. [14] *matā-* Bühler.
[15] *-shusha* Bühler; read *-shushushā*. [16] *-bha[ta]kashi* Bühler.
[17] *[sha]ṁvihitānaṁ* Bühler. [18] The syllable *nā* seems to be entered above the line.
[19] *viyashane* Bühler. [20] Read *pāpunāti*, which is Bühler's reading.
[21] *tata* Bühler. [22] °*meva* Bühler. [23] *ānaṁtā* Senart and Bühler.
[24] *yenesha* Bühler. [25] °*shānaṁ* Bühler. [26] *āvatake* Bühler. [27] Bühler omits ।.
[28] *cha* । Bühler. [29] *tatā* Senart and Bühler.

B.—South Face of Kālsī Rock.

1 . . . .
2 . . . .
3 . . . . [ney]u (O) ichha[1] . . . .
4 sha[va-bhu][2] . . . . [shayama shamacha]liya[ṁ] madava ti (P) iyaṁ vu[3] mu . . . .
5 **Devānaṁpiyeshā**[4] ye dha[ṁ]ma-vijaye (Q) sh[e] cha punā ladhe **Devāna[ṁ-p]i** . . . . cha[5]
6 shaveshu cha ateshu a shashu pi [yo]jana-shateshu[6] at[a] **Atiyoge** nām[a] **Yo[na-lā]** . .[7] [pa]laṁ chā tenā
7 **A[ṁ]tiyogenā chatāli** 4 **lajāne Tulamaye** [nā]m[a] **Aṁteki[ne** nā]ma **Makā** nā-
8 ma **Alikyashudale** nāma nichaṁ **Choḍa-Paṁḍiyā** avaṁ **Taṁbapaṁniyā** hevamev[ā][8] (R) hevamevā
9 [hi]dā lā[ja]-viśavashi[9] **Yona-Kaṁbojeshu Nābhak[a]-Nābhapaṁtishu**[10] **Bhoja-Pitinikye[sh]u**
10 **[Adha]-P[ā]lade[sh]u** [sha]vatā **[D]evā[na]ṁpi[ya]shā** dhaṁmānu[sha]thi anuvataṁti (S) y[a]ta pi dutā
11 **Devāna[ṁp]iyasā** no yaṁti t[e] pi sutu **Dev[āna]ṁp[i]naṁya**[11] dh[aṁma]-vutaṁ v[i]dh[a]na[ṁ]
12 dhaṁmānusa[th]i dha[ṁ]ma[ṁ] anuvidhiyaṁa[12] [a]nuvidhiyisaṁa[13] [ch]ā (T) ye se [la]dhe
13 etakenā hoti savatā vi[ja]ye[14] piti-lase se (U) gadhā sā hoti piti piti dhaṁm[a]-vijaya-
14 shi (V) lahukā v[u][15] kho sā piti (W) pālaṁtikyameve maha-phalā maṁnaṁ[ti] **Dev[e]naṁ[pi]ne**[16]
15 (X) etāye chā aṭhāye iyaṁ dha[ṁ]ma-lipi likhitā kiti putā papotā[17] me a[su]
16 nava[ṁ] vijay[a] ma vijayataviya[18] manishu shayakashi no[19] vi[ja]yashi khaṁti[20] chā la ı hu-[21]
17 daṁḍatā [chā] lochetu tameva chā vijayaṁ manatu ye dhaṁma-vijaye (Y) she hidalokikya palalo-
18 kiye[22] (Z) shavā cha ka[23] nilati hot[u] uyāma-lati (AA) shā hi hi[da]lokika pa[la]lokikyā

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[1] Restore *ichhati*. [2] Restore *-bhutānaṁ*. [3] Read *chu*.
[4] Read *°piyashā*. [5] Restore *°piyasa hida cha*.
[6] There is a fissure in the rock between *yojana* and *shateshu*.
[7] Restore *-lājā*. [8] *hevameva* Bühler. [9] *[Hi]da-lājā Viśa-Vaji-* Bühler.
[10] *Nābhaku-* Senart, *Nābhake* Bühler.
[11] *°piniya* Senart, *°piyaṁya* Bühler; read *°piyasa*.
[12] Read *°yaṁti*, which is Bühler's reading.
[13] Read *°saṁti*, which is Bühler's reading.
[14] This word is entered above the line.
[15] Read *chu*.
[16] Read *pālaṁtikyameva mahā-phalaṁ maṁnati Devānaṁpiye*.
[17] *pāpotā* Senart and Bühler. [18] *vijayaṁtaviya* Bühler.
[19] Read perhaps *yo* (= Prākṛit *yeva*), as at Shāhbāzgaṛhī.
[20] There is a fissure in the rock here.
[21] Cancel the sign of punctuation and join *lahu-*. [22] *ki . ye* Bühler.
[23] Bühler omits *ka*; read *kaṁ* and see above, p. 31, n. 6.

TRANSLATION

(A) **When king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin had been anointed eight years,** (the country of) the **Kaliṅgyas** was conquered by (him).

(B) One hundred and fifty thousand in number were the men who were deported thence, one hundred thousand in number were those who were slain there, and many times as many those who died.

(C) After that, now that (the country of) the **Kaliṅgyas** has been taken, **Dēvānāṁpriya** (is devoted) to a zealous study of morality, to the love of morality, and to the instruction (of people) in morality.

(D) This is the repentance of **Dēvānāṁpriya** on account of his conquest of (the country of) the **Kaliṅgyas.**

(E) For, this is considered[1] very painful and deplorable by **Dēvānāṁpriya,** that, while one is conquering[2] an unconquered (country), slaughter, death, and deportation of people (are taking place) there.

(F) But the following is considered even more deplorable than this by **Dēvānāṁpriya.**

(G) (To) the Brāhmaṇas or Śramaṇas, or other sects or householders,[3] who are living there, (and) among whom the following are practised: obedience to those who receive high pay,[4] obedience to mother and father, obedience to elders, proper courtesy to friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives, to slaves and servants, (and) firm devotion,—to these then happen injury or slaughter or deportation of (their) beloved ones.

(H) Or if there are then incurring misfortune[5] the friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives of those whose affection (for the latter) is undiminished, although they are (themselves) well provided for,[6] this (misfortune) as well becomes an injury to those (persons) themselves.[7]

(I) This is shared by all men[8] and[9] is considered deplorable by **Dēvānāṁpriya.**

(J) There is no country where these (two) classes, (viz.) the Brāhmaṇas and the Śramaṇas, do not exist, except among the **Yōnas;** and there is no (place) in any country where men are not indeed attached to some sect.[10]

(K) Therefore even the hundredth part or the thousandth part of all those people

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[1] For *muta* = *mata* see above, p. 35, n. 10.

[2] *vijinamane* is a nominative singular absolute; see my note on the translation of the Dhauli separate edict I, S.

[3] Cf. the rock-edict XII, A, and the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, Y.

[4] Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 592 f.) took *agabhuti*=*agrajanman*, 'a member of a higher caste' or 'a Brāhmaṇa'; but the various reading in the two Kharōshṭhī versions, *agrabhuṭi*, suggests that the second member of the compound is Skt. *bhṛiti.*

[5] *pāpunāti* is used in the same way in the Dhauli separate edict I, J, and the Jaugaḍa separate edict I, K.

[6] For this meaning of *suvihita* see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v. *vidahati.*

[7] The correct construction of this section is due to Lüders, who showed that *etānaṁ* must be divided into *e tānaṁ*; see SPAW, 1914. 850.

[8] I.e. 'a share of this falls upon all men'; see Thomas in V. A. Smith's *Asoka*, sec. ed., p. 173, n. 1.

[9] The *chā* after *gulu-mate* corresponds to the preceding *chā* after *paṭibhāge.* In the same way the double *nathi chā* in the next section co-ordinates the two sentences.

[10] See above, p. 25, n. 2.

who were slain, who died, and who were deported at that time when (the country of) the **Kaliṅgas** was taken, (would) now be considered very deplorable by **Dēvānāṁpriya.**

(O) .... desires towards all beings .... self-control, impartiality, (and) kindness.

(P) But this .... by **Dēvānāṁpriya,** viz. the conquest by morality.

(Q) And this (conquest) has been won repeatedly by **Dēvānāṁpriya** both [here][1] and among all (his) borderers, even as far as at (the distance of) six hundred *yōjanas*, where the **Yōna king** named **Antiyoga**[2] (is ruling), and beyond this **Antiyoga,** (where) **four**—4—**kings** (are ruling), (viz. the king) named **Tulamaya,**[3] (the king) named **Antekina,**[4] (the king) named **Makā,**[5] (and the king) named **Alikyashudala,**[6] (and) likewise[7] towards the south,[8] (where) the **Chōḍas** and **Pāṇḍyas** (are ruling), as far as **Tāmraparṇī.**

(R) Likewise here in the king's territory, among the **Yōnas** and **Kambōjas,**[9] among the **Nābhakas** and **Nābhapaṅktis,**[10] among the **Bhōjas**[11] and **Pitinikyas,**[12] among the **Andhras**[13] and **Pāladas,**[14]—everywhere (people) are conforming to **Dēvānāṁpriya's** instruction in morality.

(S) Even those to whom the envoys of **Dēvānāṁpriya** do not go, having heard of the duties of morality,[15] the ordinances, (and) the instruction in morality of **Dēvānāṁpriya,** are conforming to morality and will conform to (it).

(T) This conquest, which has been won by this everywhere, causes the feeling of satisfaction.

(U) Firm[16] becomes this satisfaction, (viz.) the satisfaction at the conquest by morality.

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[1] viz. 'in my territory'; see section R below, and cf. above, p. 2, n. 3.

[2] The Shāhbāzgaṛhī version reads *Aṁtiyoka.* For Antiochus II of Syria see above, p. 3, n. 11.

[3] The Girnār version reads *Turamāya*, and the Shāhbāzgaṛhī one *Turamaya.*

[4] The Shāhbāzgaṛhī version reads *Aṁtikini.* [5] The Girnār version reads *Magā.*

[6] The two Kharōshṭhī versions read *Alikasudara.* The four kings are Ptolemy II Philadelphos of Egypt (B.C. 285–247), Antigonus Gonatas of Macedonia (276–239), Magas of Cyrene (c. 300–250), and either Alexander of Epirus (272–c. 255) or, more probably, Alexander of Corinth (252–c. 244); see Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, vol. II, p. 255, and Beloch's *Griechische Geschichte*, 3. 2, 105.

[7] The two Kharōshṭhī versions omit this word.

[8] This is Senart's rendering of *nichaṁ* (i. e. *nīchaṁ*). Bühler (ZDMG, 40. 137) added that the *Ṛigvēda* uses its synonym *nyak* in the same sense. [9] See above, p. 10, n. 1.

[10] As remarked by Bühler (ZDMG, 40. 138), Prākṛit *paṁti*=Skt. *paṅkti.*

[11] Bühler (ZDMG, 40. 138) connected the Bhōjas with the city of Bhōjakaṭa in East Berar, which is mentioned in a Vākāṭaka grant (*Gupta Inscrs.*, p. 241) and in the Bharaut inscriptions (IA, 21. 240). But as, in the rock-edict V, J, the Pitinikas appear among Aśōka's *western* borderers, the Bhōjas, who are coupled with them here, will have to be looked for in the west as well.

[12] The Pitinikyas are identical with the Pētēṇikas in the Girnār edict V; see above, p. 10, n. 2. The Shāhbāzgaṛhī and Mānsehrā versions read *Pitinika.*

[13] Andhra is the old name of the Telugu country and people.

[14] The Girnār version seems to read *Pāriṁda*, and the Shāhbāzgaṛhī one *Palida.* Bühler (ZDMG, 40. 138) identified this word with *Pulinda* and noted that the Andhras and Pulindas are mentioned together already in the *Aitarēya-Brāhmaṇa*, VII, 18. But the variants at Girnār and Kālsī render this identification very improbable. *Pārinda* reminds us of the Sanskrit *pārīndra*, 'a lion'. [15] Cf. *dhaṁma-vutaṁ cha anuvidhiyatāṁ* in the Girnār edict X, A.

[16] As suggested by Bühler (ZDMG, 40. 138), *gadhā* (instead of which two other versions read *ladhā* or *ladha*) may represent **gāḍdhā*, from Pāli *gādhati*, 'to stand fast.'

(V) But this satisfaction is indeed of little (consequence).

(W) **Dēvānāmpriya** thinks that only the fruits in the other (world) are of great (value).[1]

(X) And for the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz.) in order that the sons (and) great-grandsons (who) may be (born) to me, should not think that a fresh conquest ought to be made; (that), if a conquest does please them,[2] they should take pleasure[3] in mercy and light punishments; and (that) they should regard the conquest by morality as the only (true) conquest.

(Y) This (conquest bears fruit) in this world (and) in the other world.

(Z) And let all (their) pleasure be the pleasure in exertion.[4]

(AA) For this (bears fruit) in this world (and) in the other world.

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

19 (A) इयं धमलिपि देवानंपियेना पियदसिना लजिना लिखापिता अथि येवा सुखि-

20 तेना अथि मझिमेना अथि विथटेना (B) नो हि सवता सवे घटिते (C) महालके हि वि-

21 जिते बहु च लिखिते लेखापेशामि चेव निक्यं (D) अथि चा हेता पुन पुना लपि-

22 ते तष तषा अथषा मधुलियाये येन जने तथा पटिपजेया (E) षे षाया अत किछि अ-

23 समति लिखिते दिषा वा षंखेये कालनं वा अलोचयितु लिपिकलपलाधेन वा

19 (A) iyaṁ dhama-lipi **Dev[ānaṁp]i[y]e[n]ā [P]iyadasinā**[5] **lajinā** likhāpitā athi yevā sukhi-

20 tenā[6] [a]thi majhimenā athi vithaṭenā (B) no hi savatā save [gha]ṭite[7] (C) mahālake hi vi-

21 jite bahu cha likhite lekhāpeśāmi cheva nikyaṁ (D) athi chā hetā puna pun[ā][8] la[p]i-

22 t[e] tasha tashā athashā madhuliyāye yena jane tathā paṭipajeyā (E) she shāyā[9] ata k[i]chhi a-

23 samati likhite dishā vā shaṁkheye[10] kālanaṁ vā alochayitu li[p]ikalapalādhena vā

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[1] *mahā-phala* is perhaps a Karmadhāraya, while it may be a Bahuvrīhi in the rock-edict IX, F. Cf. the first separate rock-edict, where *mahā-apāye* (Dhauli, R) or *mahāpāy[e]* (Jaugaḍa, S) must be a Karmadhāraya, as it forms the predicate of the feminine *asaṁpaṭipati*; the preceding word *mahā-phale* may be a Bahuvrīhi at Dhauli, but a Karmadhāraya at Jaugaḍa.

[2] *shayaka* may be an adjective formed of *svayam*, and having the same meaning as *spa[ka]* (=Skt. *svaka*) at Shāhbāzgaṛhī, and as *sarasaka* at Girnār, for which see above, p. 25, n. 5.

[3] For *lochetu* see above, p. 8, n. 3.

[4] *uyāma* is synonymous with *utthāna* and *parākrama* in the rock-edicts VI and X.

[5] °*dashinā* Bühler.

[6] Girnār reads *saṁkhitena*.

[7] The syllable *te* was entered subsequently.

[8] *punaṁ puna* Bühler.

[9] Read *shiyā*, which is Bühler's reading. The syllable *shā* is entered above the line.

[10] Read probably *shaṁkhāya* in accordance with the Girnār version (*sachhāya*) and the Shāhbāzgaṛhī one (*saṁkhay[a]*).

TRANSLATION

(A) These rescripts on morality have been caused to be written by **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** either in an abridged (form), or of middle (size), or at full length.

(B) For the whole was not suitable everywhere.

(C) For (my) dominions are wide, and much has been written, and I shall constantly[1] cause still (more) to be written.

(D) And (some) of this has been stated again and again because of the charm of certain topics, (and) in order that men should act accordingly.

(E) But some of this may have been written incompletely, either on account of the locality,[2] or because (my) motive was not liked, or by the fault of the writer.

BELOW THE FIGURE OF AN ELEPHANT ON THE NORTH FACE OF THE KALSI ROCK

गजतमे

gajatame

TRANSLATION

The best elephant.[3]

III. THE SHAHBAZGARHI ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

A.—East Face of Shāhbāzgaṛhī Rock.

1 (A) **अय ध्रमदिपि देवनप्रिअस रञो लिखपितु (B) हिद् नो किचि जिवे अरभितु प्रयुहोतवे (C) नो पि च समज कटव (D) बहुक हि दोष समयस्पि देवणप्रिये प्रिअद्रशि रय दखति**

2 (E) **अस्ति पि चु एकतिअ समये ससुमते देवनपिअस प्रिअद्रशिस रञो (F) पुर महनससि देवनप्रिअस प्रिअद्रशिस रञो अनुदिवसो बहुनि प्रणशतसहसनि अरभियिसु सुपठये (G) सो इदनि यद् अय**

3 **ध्रमदिपि लिखित तद् चयो वो प्रण हंञंति मजुर दुवि २ म्रुगो १ सो पि म्रुगो नो ध्रुवं (H) एत पि प्रण चयो पच न अरभिशंति**

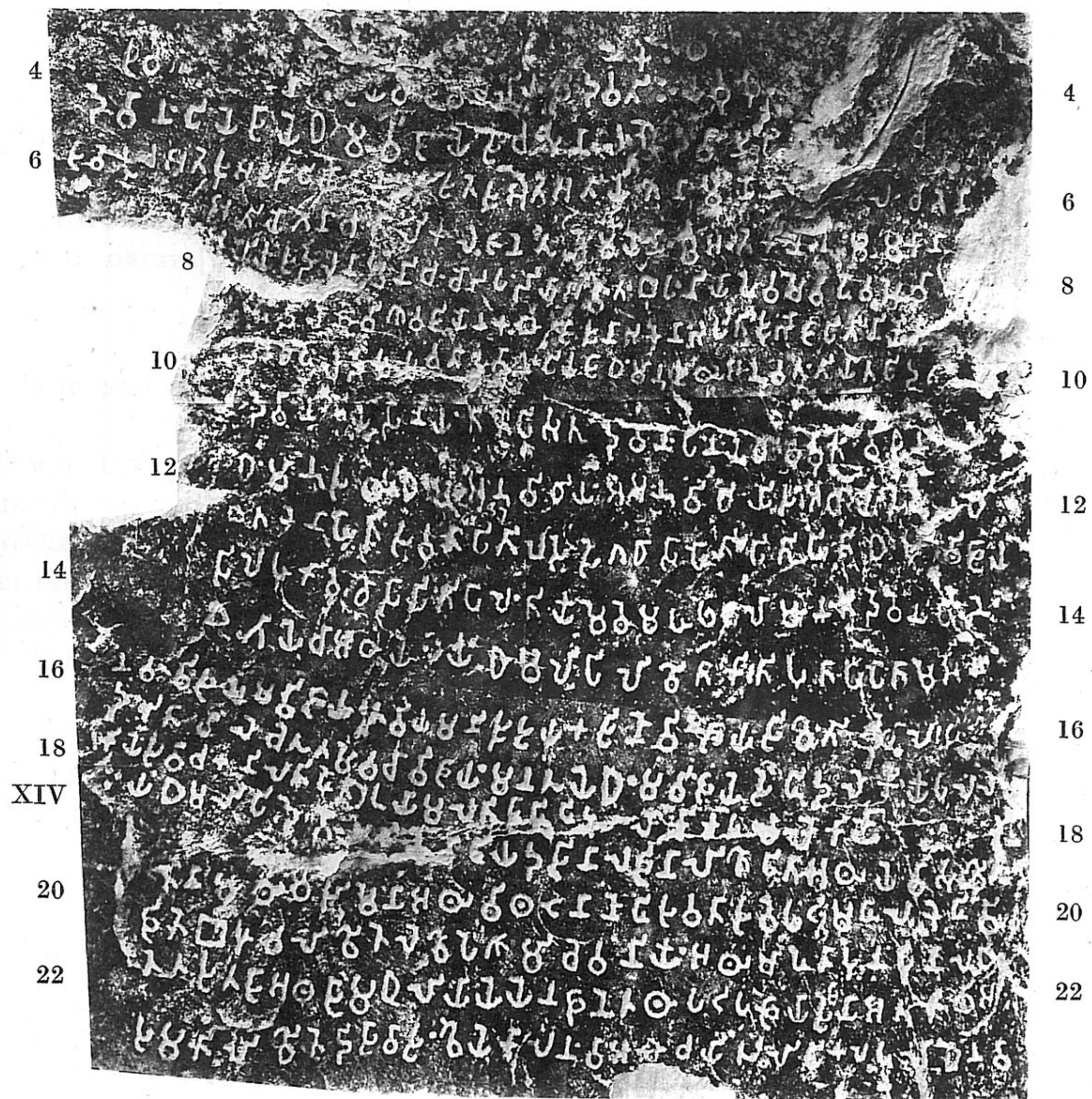
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[1] Senart and Bühler consider *nikyaṁ* a dialectical variant of *nityam.*

[2] *diś* is used in the sense of *dēśa,* unless *dishā* is simply a clerical mistake for the Girnār reading *desaṁ.*

[3] Cf. the similar labels at Girnār (below edict XIII) and at Dhauli (at the end of edict VI), and see above, p. 27, n. 2.

KALSI ROCK; SOUTH FACE



KALSI ROCK; NORTH FACE



Scale One-sixth

1 (A) [aya][1] dhrama-dipi **Devanapriasa raño** likhapitu[2] (B) hida no kich[i] jive ara[bhitu p]rayuhotave (C) no pi ch[a] sama[ja] kaṭava (D) ba[hu]ka [hi] dosha sa[maya]spi **Devaṇapriy[e]**[3] **Priadraśi ray[a** da]khati

2 (E) [a]sti pi chu ekatia[4] samaye sasu-mate[5] **Devanapiasa**[6] **Priadraśisa raño** (F) pura mahana[sas]i **[Devana]pr[i]asa**[7] **Priadraśisa raño** anudivaso bahuni pra[ṇa]-śata-sahasani[8] [arabhi]yis[u] supaṭhay[e] (G) s[o i]dani yada aya

3 dhrama-dipi likhita tada trayo vo praṇa haṁñaṁt[i] majura duv[i] 2 mrugo 1 so pi mrugo no dhruva[ṁ] (H) eta pi praṇa trayo pacha na arabhiśaṁti

TRANSLATION

(A) This rescript on morality has been caused to be written by **king Dēvānāṁpriya.**

(B) Here no living being must be killed and sacrificed.

(C) And also no festival meetings must be held.

(D) For **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** sees much evil in festival meetings.

(E) But there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin.**

(F) Formerly in the kitchen of **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** many hundred thousands of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry.

(G) But now, when this rescript on morality is written, then only three animals are being killed (daily), (viz.) two—2—peacocks (and) 1 deer, (but) even this deer not regularly.

(H) Even these three animals shall not be killed in future.

SECOND ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

3 (A) सव्रत्र विजिते देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस ये च अंत यथ चोड

4 पंडिय सतियपुत्रो केरडपुत्रो तंबपंणि अंतियोको नम योनरज ये च अंञे तस अंतियोकस समंत रजनो सव्रत्र देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस रञो दुवि २ चिकिस क्रिट मनुशचिकिस · · पशुचिकिस च

5 (B) ओषढनि मनुशोपकनि च पशोपकनि च यत्र यत्र नस्ति सवत्र हरपित च वुत च (C) कुप च खनपित प्रतिभोगये पशुमनुशनं

3 (A) sav[r]atra vijite **[De]va[naṁ]priyasa Priyadraśisa** y[e] cha [a]ṁta yatha **[Choḍa]**

4 **Paṁḍiya Satiyaputro Keraḍaputro**[9] **Taṁbapaṁṇi**[10] **Aṁtiyo[k]o** nama **Yona-raja** ye cha aṁñe tasa **Aṁtiyokasa** samaṁta rajano savratra **Devanaṁ-priyasa Priyadraśisa raño** du[vi] 2 chik[i]sa [kr]i[ṭa][11] manuśa-chikisa . . pa[śu-ch]ikisa [cha]

5 (B) [o]sha[ḍha]ni[12] manuśopakani cha paśopakani cha yat[r]a yatra nasti savatra harapita[13] cha vuta cha (C) kupa cha khanapita pratibh[o]gaye paśu-manuśanaṁ

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[1] *[a]ya[ṁ]* Bühler. [2] Read probably *likhapita*, as at Mānsehrā.
[3] *doshaṁ sama . . sa Devanapriy[o]* Bühler.
[4] *cha ekatie* Bühler. [5] Read *sadhu-*; *sresta-mati* Bühler. [6] *°priasa* Bühler.
[7] *Devanaṁpri°* Bühler. [8] *-[sa]has[r]ani* Bühler. [9] *Satiyaputra Keralaputra* Bühler.
[10] *°paṁni* Bühler. [11] *ki[tra]* Bühler. [12] *[oshudh]ani* Bühler. [13] *har[o]pita* Bühler.

TRANSLATION

(A) Everywhere in the dominions of **Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin,** and (of those) who (are his) borderers, such as the **Chōḍas,** the **Pāṇḍyas,** the **Satiyaputra,** the **Kēra aputra, Tāmraparṇī,** the **Yōna king** named **Antiyoka,** and the other kings who are the neighbours of this **Antiyoka,**—everywhere two—2—(kinds of) medical treatment were established by **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin,** (viz.) medical treatment for men and medical treatment for cattle.

(B) Wherever there were no herbs beneficial to men and beneficial to cattle, everywhere they were caused to be imported and planted.

(C) And wells were caused to be dug for the use of cattle and men.

THIRD ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

5 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रज अहति (B) बदयवषभिसितेन ······ अणपितं (C) सवत्र मअ

6 विजिते युत रजुको प्रदेशिक पंचषु पंचषु ५ वषेषु अनुसंयनं निक्रमतु एतिस वो करण इमिस ध्रंमनुशस्तिये थ अञये पि क्रंमये (D) संधु मतपितुषु सुश्रुष मित्रसंस्तुतञतिकनं ब्रमणश्रमणनं ········ प्रणनं अनरंभो सधु

7 अपवयत अपभंडत सधु (E) परि पि युतनि गणनसि अणपेशंति हेतुतो च वंञनतो च

5 (A) **Devanaṁpriyo Priyadraśi raja** ahati (B) **badaya-vashabh[i]si[tena]** [1] . . . . . . [a]ṇapi[taṁ] [2] (C) savatra ma[a] [3]

6 vijite yuta rajuko pradeśi[ka [4] paṁcha]shu paṁchashu 5 vasheshu anusaṁyanaṁ nik[r]amatu etisa vo karaṇa imisa dhraṁmanuśastiye [tha] [5] añaye pi kraṁmaye [6] (D) sadhu mata-pitushu suśrusha mitra-saṁst[u]ta-ñatikanaṁ bramaṇa-[śra]maṇa[naṁ] . . . . [pra]ṇanaṁ [anaraṁ]bho sadhu [7]

7 apa-vayata apa-bhaṁḍata sadhu (E) pari [8] [pi] yutani [ga]ṇanasi [9] aṇapeśaṁti hetuto cha vaṁñanato [10] cha

TRANSLATION

(A) **King Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** speaks [11] (thus).

(B) (When I had been) **anointed twelve years,** [the following] was ordered [by me].

(C) Everywhere in my dominions the *Yuktas*, the *Rajuka*, (and) the *Prādēsika* shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five—5—years

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[1] With Bühler and Johansson (§ 52) I believe that the writer wanted to write *badaśa-*. On the Wardak vase the symbols for *y* and *ś* are often confused; see Pargiter's remarks in EI, 11. 203 f., and ZDMG, 73. 227.

[2] Bühler omitted this word. [3] Bühler omitted *maa*.

[4] *pradeśik[e]* Bühler. [5] Read *yatha*; *dhramanuśasti yatha* Bühler.

[6] *kramaye* Bühler. [7] Bühler omitted the end of this line.

[8] Read *parisha*. [9] There is a vacant space between *ga* and *ṇa*. [10] *vañanato* Bühler.

[11] Bühler wrote *aha ti* in two words. But the barbarous form *ahati* or *hahati* is guaranteed by the edicts V, &c., where it is preceded by *evaṁ*, and where consequently *ti* cannot have the meaning 'thus'.

for this very purpose, (viz.) for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business.

(D) 'Meritorious is obedience to mother and father. [Liberality] to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas [is meritorious]. Abstention from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious.'

(E) The councils (of *Mahāmātras*) also shall order the *Yuktas* to register (these rules) both with (the addition of) reasons and according to the letter.

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

7 (A) अतिक्रतं अंतरं बहुनि वषशतनि वढितो वो प्रणरंभो विहिस च भुतनं ञतिन असंपटिपति श्रमणब्रमणनं असंपटिपति (B) सो अज देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस रञो

8 ध्रमचरणेन भेरिघोष अहो ध्रमघोष विमननं द्रशनं अस्तिन जोतिकंधनि अञनि च दिवनि रुपनि द्रशयितु जनस (C) यदिशं बहुहि वषशतेहि न भुतप्रुवे तदिशे अज वढिते देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस रञो ध्रंमनुशस्तिय अनरंभो प्रणनं अविहिस भुतनं ञतिनं संपटिपति ब्रमण-

9 श्रमणन संपटिपति मतपितुषु वुढनं सुश्रुष (D) एत अञं च बहुविधं ध्रमचरणं वढितं (E) वढिशति च यो देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस रञो ध्रमचरणं इमं (F) पुत्र पि च कं नतरो च प्रनतिक च देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस रञो प्रवढेशंति यो ध्रमचरणं इमं अवकप ध्रमे शिले च

10 तिठिति ध्रमं अनुशशिशंति (G) एत हि स्रेठं क्रमं यं ध्रमनुशशनं (H) ध्रमचरणं पि च न भोति अशिलस (I) सो इमिस अथ्रस वढि अहिनि च सधु (J) एतये अठये इमं निपिस्तं इमिस अठस वढि युजंतु हिनि च म लोचेषु (K) बदयवषभिसितेन देवनंप्रियेन प्रियद्रशिन रञ ञनं हिद निपेसितं

7 (A) atikrataṁ aṁtaraṁ bahuni vasha-śatani vaḍhito vo praṇaraṁbho vihisa cha bhuta[na]ṁ ñatina[1] asaṁpaṭipati śramaṇa-bramaṇana[ṁ] a[saṁ]paṭipati[2] (B) [so aja **Devana]ṁpriyasa Priyadraśisa [raño]**

8 dhrama-charaṇena bheri-ghosha aho dhrama-ghosha vimanana[ṁ] draśanaṁ [a]stina[3] joti-kaṁdhani añani cha divani rupani draśayitu janasa (C) yadiśaṁ bahuhi vasha-śatehi na bhuta-pruve tadiśe aja vaḍhite **Devanaṁpriyasa Priyadraśisa raño** dhraṁmanuśa[sti]ya anaraṁbho praṇa[naṁ] avihisa bhutanaṁ ñatina[ṁ] saṁpa[ṭi]pati[4] [bra]maṇa-

9 śramaṇana[5] saṁpaṭipati mata-pitushu vuḍhana[ṁ] suśrusha (D) e[ta] añaṁ cha bahuvidhaṁ dhrama-charaṇaṁ vaḍhitaṁ (E) vaḍhiśati cha yo **Devanaṁpriyasa Priyadraśisa raño** dhrama-charaṇaṁ[6] ima[ṁ] (F) putra pi cha kaṁ[7] nataro

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[1] *ñatinaṁ* Bühler.
[2] [*asaṁpraṭi*]° Bühler.
[3] [*ha*]*stino* Bühler.
[4] *sa*[*ṁpraṭi*]° Bühler.
[5] *śramaṇanaṁ* Bühler.
[6] *-charaṇo* Bühler.
[7] *ku* Bühler.

cha pranatika cha **Devanaṁpriya[sa] Priyadraśisa raño** pra[va]ḍh[e]śaṁti[1]
[yo][2] dhrama-charaṇaṁ ima[ṁ ava]-kapa[3] dhrame śile cha
10 tiṭhiti[4] dhramaṁ anuśaśiśaṁti (**G**) eta h[i s]reṭhaṁ k[r]ama[ṁ] yaṁ
dhraman[u]śaśana[ṁ] (**H**) dhrama-charaṇa[ṁ] pi cha na bhoti aśilasa (**I**) so
imisa athrasa vaḍhi ahini cha sadhu (**J**) etaye aṭhaye ima[ṁ] nipistaṁ[5] imisa
aṭhasa vaḍhi yujaṁtu hini cha ma lo[ch]e[sh]u (**K**) **badaya-vashabhisitena**[6]
Devanaṁpriyena Priyadraśina raña ñanaṁ hi[da] nipesitaṁ[7]

TRANSLATION

(**A**) In times past, for many hundreds of years, there had ever been promoted the killing of animals and the hurting of living beings, discourtesy to relatives, (and) discourtesy to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas.

(**B**) But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin,** the sound of drums has become the sound of morality, showing the people representations of aerial chariots, elephants, masses of light, and other divine figures.

(**C**) Such as they had not existed before for many hundreds of years, thus there are now promoted, through the instruction in morality on the part of **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin,** abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, obedience to mother and father, (and) to the aged.

(**D**) In this and many other ways is the practice of morality promoted.

(**E**) And this practice of morality will be ever promoted by **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin.**

(**F**) And also the sons,[8] grandsons, and great-grandsons of **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** will ever promote this practice of morality until the æon (of destruction of the world), (and) will instruct (people) in morality, abiding by morality and by good conduct.

(**G**) For this is the best work, viz. instruction in morality.

(**H**) And the practice of morality also is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct.

(**I**) Therefore promotion and not neglect of this object is meritorious.

(**J**) For the following purpose has this been written,[9] (viz. in order that) they should devote themselves to the promotion of this practice, and that they should not approve[10] the neglect (of it).

(**K**) (This) conception (*jñāna*) was caused to be written here by **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** (when he had been) **anointed twelve years.**

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[1] *ra[ño vaḍhe]śaṁti* Bühler. [2] Bühler omitted *yo*. [3] -[*kapaṁ*] Bühler. [4] *tistiti* Bühler.

[5] *dipista* Bühler. [6] Read *badaśa-*, and cf. above, p. 52, n. 1.

[7] *raña* [*id*]*aṁ* .. *naṁ dipa*[*pi*]*taṁ* Bühler. The *da* of *hida* looks like *daṁ*, as it does frequently at Mānsehrā.

[8] For *cha kaṁ* see above, p. 31, n. 6. Mānsehrā has once *cha kaṁ* (XI, 14) and twice *cha ka* (IV, 16; XIII, 13).

[9] The participles *nipistaṁ* and *nipesitaṁ* in J and K, which correspond to *likhite* and *lekhitā* at Kālsī, must be derived from *ni-pish*, 'to write', which is used in the inscriptions of the Achæmenidan kings of Persia, and which is preserved in the modern Persian verb نوشتن. Cf. the Russian писать 'to write'. [10] See above, p. 8, n. 3.

FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

11 (A) देवनप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय एवं हहति (B) कलणं दुकरं (C) यो अदिकरो कलणस सो दुकरं करोति (D) सो मय बहु कलं किट्रं (E) तं मअ पुत्र च नतरो च परं च तेन ये मे अपच व्रक्षंति अवकपं तथ ये अनुवटिशंति ते सुकिटं कषंति (F) यो चु अतो · · कं पि हपेशदि सो दुकटं कषति (G) पपं हि सुकरं (H) स अतिक्रतं अतर नो भुतप्रुव ध्रंममहमत्र नम (I) सो तोदशवषभिसितेन

12 मय ध्रममहमत्र किट (J) ते सव्रप्रषंडेषु वपट ध्रंमधिथनये च ध्रमवढिय हिदसुखये च ध्रमयुतस योनकंबोयगंधरनं रठिकनं पितिनिकनं ये व पि अपरंत (K) भटमयेषु ब्रमणिभेषु अनथेषु वुढेषु हितसुखये ध्रंमयुतस अपलिगोध वपट ते

13 (L) बधनबधस पटिविधनये अपलिबोधये मोक्षये अयि अनुब · · प्रजव किटभिकरो व महलके व वियपट ते (M) इअ बहिरेषु च नगरेषु सव्रेषु ओरोधनेषु भतुन च मे स्पसन च ये व पि अंञे ञतिक सवत्र वियपुट (N) ये अयं ध्रमनिश्रिते ति व ध्रमधिथने ति व दनसयुते ति व सवत विजिते मअ ध्रमयुतसि वियपट ते ध्रममहमत्र (O) एतये अठये अयि ध्रमदिपि निपिस्त चिरथितिक भोतु तथ च मे प्रज अनुवततु

11 (A) **Devanapriyo Priyadraśi raya** eva[ṁ] hahati[1] (B) ka[la]ṇa[ṁ] dukara[ṁ] (C) [yo] a[dikaro kala]ṇasa so du[ka]raṁ karoti (D) so maya bahu kalaṁ[2] ki[ṭ]raṁ (E) taṁ maa[3] putra cha nataro cha para[ṁ] cha [teṇa y]e[4] me apacha vrakshaṁti[5] ava-kapaṁ tatha[6] ye an[u]vaṭiśaṁti[7] te s[u]kiṭa[ṁ][8] kashaṁti (F) yo chu ato . . kaṁ[9] pi hapeśadi[10] so dukaṭaṁ kashati (G) papaṁ h[i] sukaraṁ (H) sa atikrataṁ atara no[11] bhuta-pruva dhraṁma-ma[ha]ma[tra][12] nama (I) so **todaśa-vashabhisitena**[13]

12 maya dhrama-mahamatra kiṭa[14] (J) te savra-prashaṁḍesh[u] vapaṭa dhraṁmadhithanaye[15] cha dhrama-vaḍhiya[16] hida-sukhaye cha dhrama-yutasa **Yona-Kaṁboya-Gaṁdharanaṁ**[17] **Raṭhikanaṁ**[18] **Pitinikanaṁ** ye

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[1] *aha ti* Bühler. [2] Read *kalaṇaṁ.* [3] *ma[ha]* Bühler. [4] *[ya]* Bühler.

[5] *[a]chhaṁti* Bühler. In JA (10), 17. 422 ff. Boyer has shown that the Kharōshṭhī uses a special form of *chh* in all those cases where it corresponds to Sanskrit *ksh.* In order to distinguish this sign from the real *chh,* I transcribe it by *ksh,* but do not want to imply thereby that it was actually pronounced like that.

[6] *tathaṁ* Bühler; but what he took for an Anusvāra is probably the horizontal bottom-line which is frequent at Mānsehrā.

[7] *°vatiśaṁti* Bühler. [8] *sukiṭ[r]aṁ* Bühler.

[9] Restore perhaps *ekaṁ*; the other versions read *desaṁ* or *deśa.*

[10] *[hapeśati]* Bühler. [11] *so atik[raṁ]taṁ aṁtaraṁ na* Bühler.

[12] *dhrama-* Bühler. [13] *[tidaśa]-* Bühler. [14] *kiṭ[r]a* Bühler.

[15] *dhrama°* Bühler. [16] *-vaḍhiy[e]* Bühler. [17] The rock has a hole here.

[18] *Rastikanaṁ* Bühler. The *ṭh* is expressed by the first of the two different forms noted by Boyer in JA (10), 17. 429, note.

va pi aparaṁta (K) bhaṭamayeshu bramaṇibheshu anatheshu vuḍheshu [hita]-sukhaye [dhraṁ]ma-yutasa[1] apalig[o]dha[2] vap[a]ṭa te

13 (L) badhana-badhasa[3] paṭividhanay[e] apalibodhaye mo[kshaye] ayi anuba . .[4] prajava kiṭabhikaro va mahalake[5] va viyapaṭa[6] [t]e[7] (M) ia bahireshu cha nagareshu savreshu orodhaneshu bhratuna[8] cha me spasana[9] cha ye va pi aṁñe ñatika savatra viyapuṭa (N) y[e] ayaṁ[10] dh[r]ama-niśite[11] ti va dhrama[dhitha]ne ti va dana-s[a]yute ti va savata[12] vijite maa[13] dhrama-yu[ta]si[14] viyapaṭa te dhrama-mahamatra (O) etaye aṭhaye [a]yi[15] dhrama-dipi nipista[16] ch[i]ra-thitika bhot[u] ta[tha][17] cha [m]e[18] p[r]aja anuvatatu

TRANSLATION

(A) **King Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** speaks thus.

(B) It is difficult to perform virtuous deeds.

(C) He who starts performing virtuous deeds accomplishes something difficult.

(D) Now, by me many virtuous deeds have been performed.

(E) Therefore (among) my sons and grandsons, and (among) my descendants who shall come[19] after them until the æon (of destruction of the world), those who will conform to this (duty) will perform good deeds.

(F) But he who will neglect even one (portion) of this (duty) will perform evil deeds.

(G) For sin is easily committed.

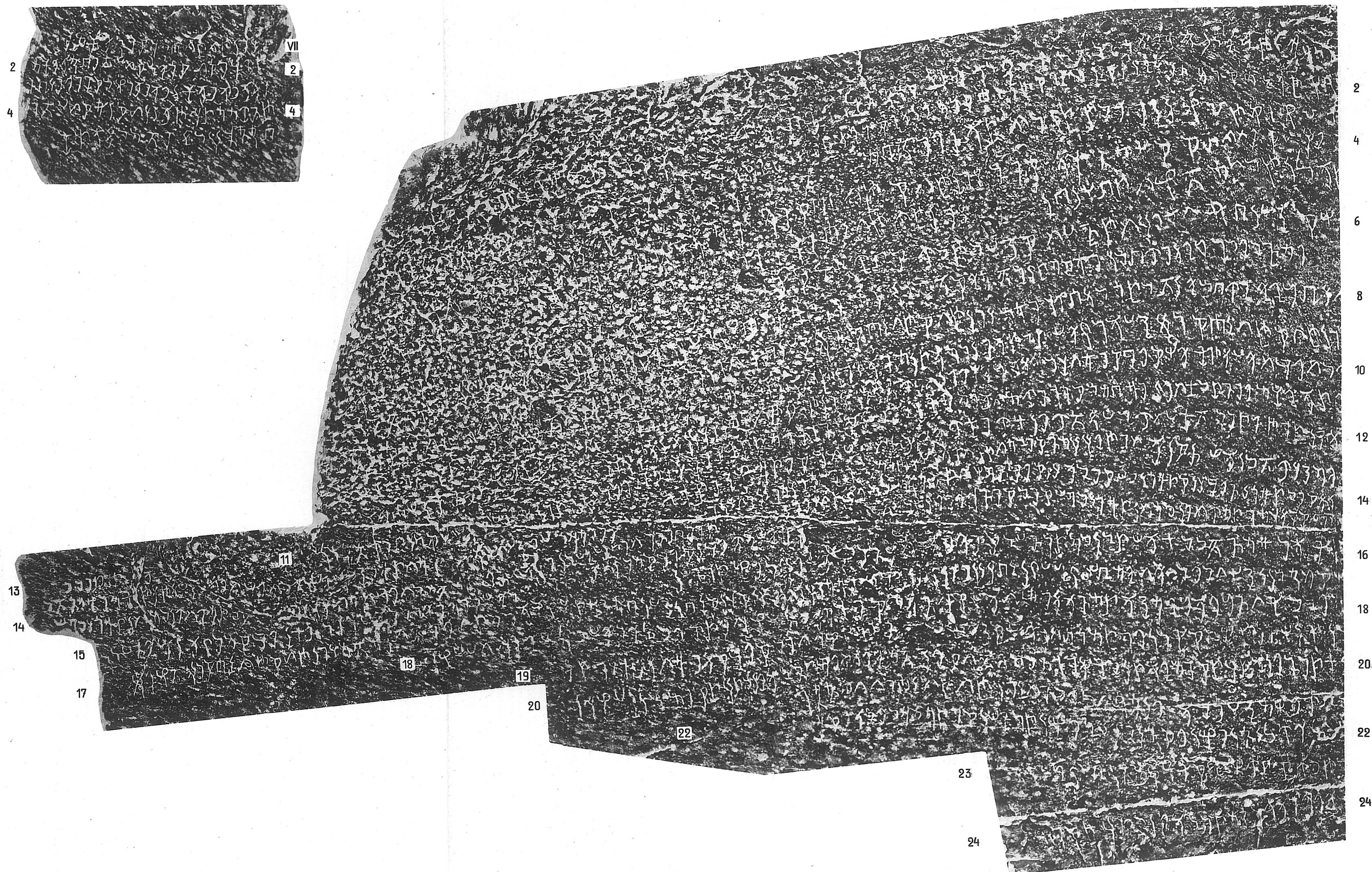
(H) Now, in times past (officers) called *Mahāmātras* of morality did not exist before.

(I) But *Mahāmātras* of morality were appointed by me (when I had been) **anointed thirteen years.**

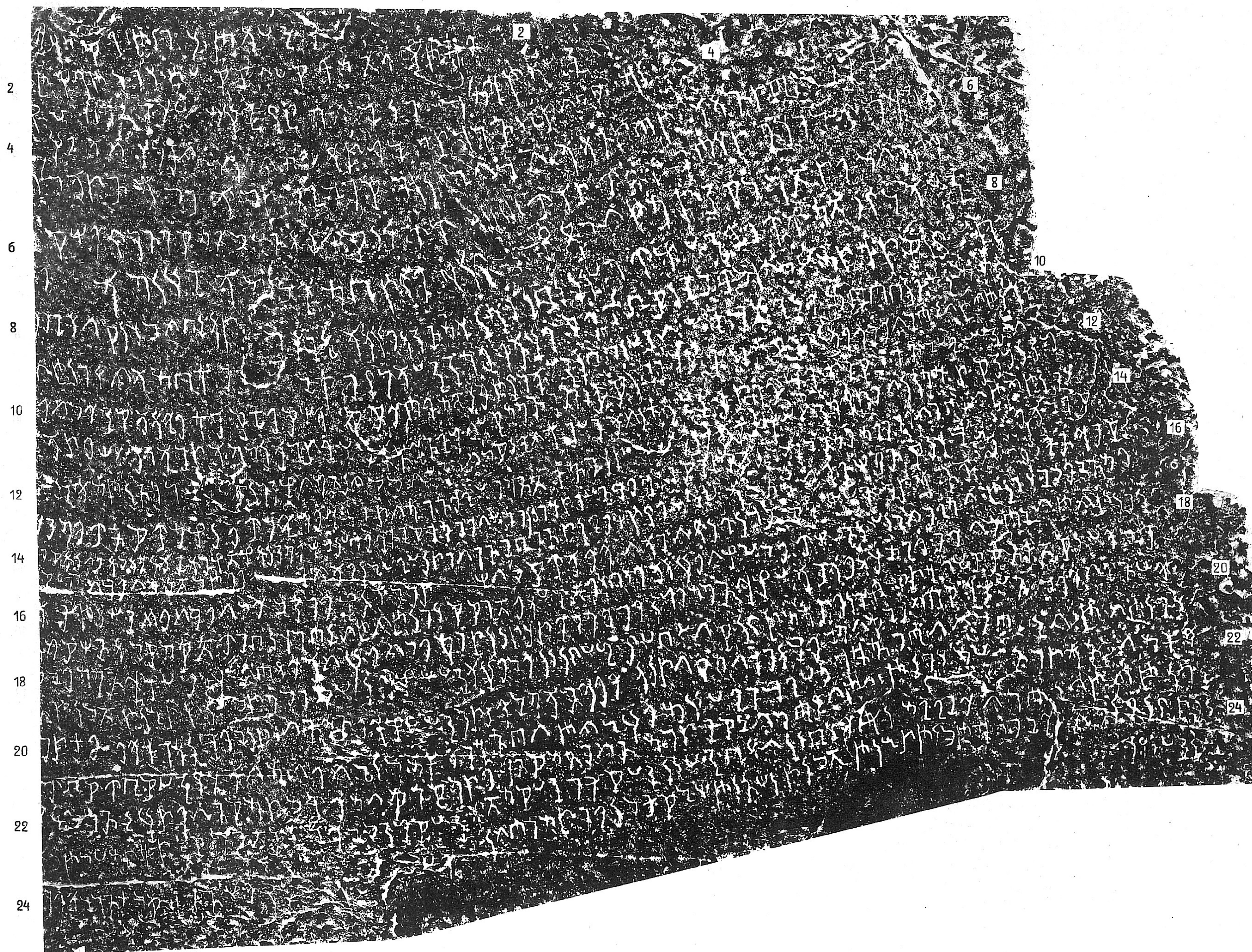
(J) These are occupied with all sects in establishing morality, in promoting morality, and for the welfare and happiness[20] of those who are devoted to morality (even) among the **Yōnas, Kambōyas,** and **Gandhāras,** among the **Raṭhikas,** among the **Pitinikas,**[21] and whatever (other) western borderers (of mine there are).

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[1] *[dhra]ma-* Bühler.
[2] *°b[odhe]* Bühler; read *°godhaye* (=*°godhāya* at Girnār).
[3] *baṁdhana-* Bühler.
[4] Restore *aṅubadha*; *iyaṁ a[n]uba[dh]aṁ* Bühler.
[5] *mahalaka* Bühler.
[6] *viyapaṭra* Bühler.
[7] Bühler omitted *te*.
[8] *bhratunaṁ* Bühler.
[9] Read *spasuna*; *spasunaṁ* Bühler.
[10] *y[aṁ i]yaṁ* Bühler.
[11] *-niśrite* Bühler.
[12] *savatra* Bühler.
[13] *ma[ha]* Bühler.
[14] There is a vacant space here.
[15] *ay[aṁ]* Bühler.
[16] *dipist[a]* Bühler.
[17] This and the last four words of the edict were entered above the line.
[18] Bühler omitted *me*.
[19] *vrakshati* is the future of *vrachati* which occurs twice at Shāhbāzgaṛhī (VI, L, and XIII, S). For Prākṛit *vachchaï*=Skt. *vrajati* see Hēmachandra, IV, 225.
[20] Cf. above, p. 33, n. 4.
[21] For *Raṭhika* and *Pitinika* Girnār reads *Ristika* and *Peteṇika*. As *Laṭhika* at Dhauli agrees with *Raṭhika* at Shāhbāzgaṛhī and Mānsehrā, *Ristika* at Girnār may be a clerical mistake for *Rāsṭika*, just as *parikamate* for *parākamate* in X, l. 3, *Devinaṁ°* for *Devānaṁ°* in XI, l. 1, and *dūti* for *dūtā* in XIII, l. 9. Conversely, *astā* is written for *asti* in IX, l. 7, *pitarā* for *pitari* in XI, l. 2, and *vivādhāya* for *vividhāya* in XII, l. 1. The Sanskrit original of *Rāsṭika* would be *Rāshṭrika*. The identifications of this name with *Surāshṭra* (Senart, *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, vol. I, p. 126) or *Lāṭa* (Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. I (sec. ed.), p. 137, n. 4) are improbable because these two provinces were included in Aśōka's empire; cf. Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 261. Sir R. Bhandarkar (*Early History of the Dekkan*, sec. ed., p. 11 ff.) connects *Rāshṭrika* with *Mahārāshṭra*, the Pāli form of which, *Mahāraṭṭha*, occurs in the *Dīpavaṁsa* and *Mahāvaṁsa*. Could the Rāshṭrikas be identical with the Āraṭṭas of the Panjāb (Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. III, p. 76) and with the Ἀράττιοι who are mentioned in the *Periplus* (§ 47) together with the Ἀραχῶσιοι and Γανδάριοι?



Scale One-ninth



SCALE ONE-NINTH

(**K**) They are occupied with servants and masters, with Brāhmaṇas and Ibhyas, with the destitute, (and) with the aged, for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality, (and) in freeing (them) from desire (for worldly life).[1]

(**L**) They are occupied in supporting prisoners (with money), in causing (their) fetters to be taken off, (and) in setting (them) free, (if) one has children, or is bewitched, or aged, respectively.

(**M**) They are occupied everywhere, here and in all the outlying towns, in the harems of my brothers, of (my) sisters, and (of) whatever other relatives (of mine there are).

(**N**) These *Mahāmātras* of morality are occupied everywhere in my dominions with those who are devoted to morality, (in order to ascertain) whether one is eager for morality, or established in morality, or furnished with gifts.[2]

(**O**) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my descendants may conform to it.

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

14 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय एव अहति (B) अतिक्रतं अंतर न भुतप्रुवं सवं कलं अठक्रमं व पटिवेदन व (C) तं मय एवं किटं (D) सव्रं कलं अशमनस मे ओरोधनस्पि ग्रभगरस्पि व्रचस्पि विनितस्पि उयनस्पि सवत्र पटिवेदक अठं जनस पटिवेदेतु मे (E) सवत्र च जनस अठ्रु करोमि (F) यं पि च किचि मुखतो अणपयमि अहं दपक व श्रवक व ये व पन महमत्रन अचयिक अरोपितं भोति तये अठये विवदे निझति व सतं परिषये अनंतरियेन प्रटिवेदेतवो मे

15 (E) सवत्र च अठं जनस करोमि अहं (F) यं च किचि मुखतो अणपेमि अहं दपकं व श्रवक व ये व पन महमत्रनं अचयिकं अरोपितं भोति तये अठये विवदे संतं निजति व परिषये अनंतरियेन पटिवेदेतवो मे सवत्र सवं कलं (G) एव अणपितं मय (H) नस्ति हि मे तोषो उठनसि अठसंतिरणये च (I) कटवमतं हि मे सवलोकहितं (J) तस च मुलं एत्र उथनं अठसंतिरण च (K) नस्ति हि क्रमतरं

16 सवलोकहितेन (L) यं च किचि परक्रममि किति भुतनं अनणियं व्रचेयं इक्ष च ष सुखयमि परत्र च स्पग्रं अरधेतु (M) एतये अठये अयि ध्रम निपिस्त चिरथितिक भोतु तथ च मे पुत्र नतरो परक्रमंतु सवलोकहितये (N) दुकर तु खो इमं अञत्र अग्रे परक्रमेन

14 (**A**) **Devanampriyo Priyadraśi raya** eva[3] ahati (**B**) atikrataṁ aṁtara[4] na bhuta-pruvaṁ sava[ṁ][5] kala[ṁ] aṭha-kramaṁ[6] va paṭivedana va (**C**) ta[ṁ] maya eva[ṁ] kiṭa[ṁ] (**D**) savraṁ kalaṁ aśamanasa me orodhanaspi grabhagaraspi vrachaspi vinitaspi uyanaspi savatra paṭivedaka[7] aṭhaṁ janasa paṭivedetu[8]

[1] *paligodha* is a Māgadha form of *parigodha*, for which see above, p. 10, n. 5.
[2] See above, p. 34, n. 3.
[3] *eva[ṁ]* Bühler.
[4] *aṁtaraṁ* Bühler.
[5] *savraṁ* Bühler.
[6] *atha-* Bühler.
[7] *savratra paṭri°* Bühler.
[8] *paṭ[r]i°* Bühler.

me (E) savatra cha ja[na]sa ath[r]a karomi (F) ya[ṁ] pi cha ki[chi] mukhato aṇapayami a[haṁ] dapa[ka][1] va śravaka[2] va ye[3] va p[a]na mahamatrana[4] a[cha]yika[5] a[ro]pitaṁ bhoti taye aṭhaye viva[de][6] nijha[t]i va sataṁ[7] parishaye anaṁtariyena praṭivedetavo me

15 (E)[8] savatra cha aṭhaṁ[9] janasa karomi a[haṁ] (F) yaṁ cha kichi[10] mukhato aṇapemi ahaṁ dapaka[ṁ] va śravaka va ye[11] va pana mahamatranaṁ achayi[k]aṁ aropita[ṁ] bhoti t[a]ye aṭhaye [v]ivade sa[ṁ]taṁ nijati[12] va parishaye anaṁtariyena paṭivedetavo[13] me savatra savaṁ[14] kala[ṁ] (G) eva[15] aṇapita[ṁ] maya (H) [na]sti hi me tosho uṭhanas[i] aṭha-sa[ṁ]tiraṇaye [cha] (I) kaṭava-mataṁ[16] hi me sava-loka-hitaṁ[17] (J) ta[sa cha] mulaṁ etra uthanaṁ aṭha-saṁtiraṇa cha (K) na[sti] hi k[r]amatara[ṁ]

16 sava-loka-hite[na][18] (L) yaṁ cha kichi parak[r]amami kiti bhutanaṁ anaṇiyaṁ v[r]acheyaṁ ia cha sha sukhayami paratra cha spagraṁ[19] aradhetu (M) etaye aṭhaye ayi dhrama[20] nipista[21] chira-thitika bhotu tatha cha me putra nataro parakramaṁtu sava-lo[ka-hita]ye (N) [du]kara[22] tu [kh]o imaṁ añat[r]a[23] agre[24] parakramena

TRANSLATION

(A) **King Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** speaks thus.

(B) In times past neither the disposal of affairs nor the submission of reports at any time did exist before.

(C) But I have made the following (arrangement).

(D) Reporters have to report to me the affairs of the people at any time (and) anywhere, while I am eating, in the harem, in the inner apartment, at the cowpen, in the palanquin, (and) in the park.

(E) And everywhere I am disposing of the affairs of the people.

(F) And also, if in the council (of *Mahāmātras*) a dispute arises, or an amendment is moved, in connexion with any donation or proclamation which I am ordering verbally, or (in connexion with) an emergent matter which has been delegated to the *Mahāmātras*, it must be reported to me immediately, anywhere, (and) at any time.

(G) Thus I have ordered.

(H) For I am never content in exerting myself and in dispatching business.

(I) For I consider it my duty (to promote) the welfare of all men.

(J) And the root of that (consists) in this, (viz.) exertion and the dispatch of business.

(K) For no duty is more important than (promoting) the welfare of all men.

(L) And whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that I may discharge

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[1] [*da*]*pakaṁ* Bühler. [2] *śravakaṁ* Bühler. [3] *yaṁ* Bühler.
[4] °*tranaṁ* Bühler, who added *v*[*o*]. [5] There is a fissure between *a* and *cha*.
[6] Bühler added *va*. [7] *saṁtaṁ* Bühler.
[8] E and F (besides the last three words of the latter) were repeated by mistake.
[9] There is a vacant space between *a* and *ṭhaṁ*.
[10] There is a fissure between *ki* and *chi*.
[11] *ya* Bühler. [12] Read *nijhati*, which is Bühler's reading.
[13] *paṭri*° Bühler. [14] *sav*[*r*]*aṁ* Bühler. [15] *evaṁ* Bühler.
[16] There is a hole between *ma* and *taṁ*. [17] *sav*[*r*]*a*- Bühler. [18] *s*[*r*]*ava*- Bühler.
[19] *spagaṁ* Bühler. [20] Read *dhrama-dipi*. [21] *dipista* Bühler.
[22] [*d*]*ukara*[*ṁ*] Bühler. [23] *aṁñatra* Bühler. [24] Read *agrena*.

the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them[1] happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).

(M) For the following purpose has this [rescript on] morality been written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my sons (and) grandsons may display the same zeal for the welfare of all men.

(N) But it is indeed difficult to accomplish this without great zeal.

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI[2]

1 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियशि रज सवत्र इछति सव्र-
2 प्रषंड वसेयु (B) सवे हि ते सयमे भवशुधि च इछंति
3 (C) जनो चु उचवुचछंदो उचवुचरगो (D) ते सव्रं व एकदेशं व
4 पि कषंति (E) विपुले पि चु दने यस नस्ति सयम भव-
5 शुधि किट्रञत द्रिढभतित निचे पढं

1 **(A) Devanampriyo Priyaśi**[3] **raja** savatra ichhati savra-[4]
2 [p]rashaṁḍa vaseyu (B) save[4] hi te sayame[5] bhava-śudhi cha ichhaṁti
3 (C) jano chu uchavucha-chhaṁdo uchavucha-rago (D) te savraṁ va eka-deśaṁ va
4 pi kashaṁti (E) vipule pi chu dane yasa nasti sayama bhava-
5 śudhi kiṭrañata driḍha-bhatita[6] niche paḍhaṁ

TRANSLATION

(A) **King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** desires (that) all sects may reside everywhere.

(B) For all these desire self-control and purity of mind.

(C) But men possess various desires (and) various passions.

(D) They will fulfil either the whole or only a portion (of their duties).

(E) But even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control, purity of mind, gratitude, (and) firm devotion, is very mean.

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

A.—East Face of Shāhbāzgaṛhī Rock (*continued*).

17 (A) अतिक्रतं अतरं देवनंप्रिय विहरयत्र नम निक्रमिषु (B) अत्र म्रुगय अञनि च एदिशनि अभिरमनि अभुवसु (C) सो देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रज दशवर्षभिसितो सतं निक्रमि सबोधि (D) तेनद ध्रंमयत्र (E) अत्र इयं होति ब्रमणब्रमणनं द्रशने दनं वुढनं दशन हिरञप्रटिविधने च जनपदस जनस द्रशन ध्रमनुशस्ति ध्रमपरिप्रुछ च ततोपयं (F) एषे भुये रति भोति देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस रञो भगो अंञि

[1] *sha* (*she* at Mānsēhrā) corresponds to, and must have the same meaning as, *nāni* at Girnār and *kāni* at Kālsī, Dhauli, and Jaugaḍa. Bühler (ZDMG, 43. 149) derived it from Skt. *ēshām*, and translated it by '(some) of them'.

[2] This edict is engraved on the left of the east face, at the top of the rock. The lines are therefore numbered separately.

[3] Read *Priyadraśi*. [4] *savre* Bühler. [5] *sayama* Bühler. [6] *diḍha-* Bühler.

17 (A) atikratam ataram[1] Devanampriya vihara-yatra nama nikramishu (B) atra mrugaya añani cha ediśani[2] abhiramani abhuvasu[3] (C) so **Devanampriyo Priyadraśi raja daśa-vashabhisito satam**[4] nikrami **Sabodhi**[5] (D) tenada[6] dhramma-yatra[7] (E) atra iyam hoti śramaṇa-bramaṇanam draśane danam vuḍhana[m] daśana[8] hirana-p[r]aṭividhane[9] cha [jana]padasa janasa draśana[10] dhramanuśasti dhrama-pa[ri]p[ru]chha[11] cha tatopayam (F) eshe[12] bhuy[e ra]ti bhoti[13] **Devanampriyasa Priyadraśisa raño** bhago[14] amñi

TRANSLATION

(A) In times past the *Dēvānāmpriyas* used to set out on so-called pleasure-tours.

(B) On these (tours) hunting and other such pleasures were (enjoyed).

(C) But **when king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin had been anointed ten years,** he went out to **Sambōdhi.**

(D) Therefore tours of morality (were undertaken) here.[15]

(E) On these (tours) the following takes place, (viz.) visiting Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas (and) making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality, as suitable for this (occasion).

(F) This second period (of the reign) of **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** becomes a pleasure in a higher degree.

NINTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

18 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय एवं अहति (B) जनो उचवुचं मंगलं करोति अबधे अवहे विवहे पजुपदने प्रवसे अतये अजये च एदिशिये जनो ब मंगलं करोति (C) अत्र तु स्त्रियक बहु च बहुविधं च पुतिक च निरठियं च मंगलं करोति (D) सो कटवो च व खो मंगल (E) अपफलं तु खो एत (F) इमं तु खो महफल ये ध्रमंगल

19 (G) अत्र इम दसभटकस सम्मपटिपति गरुन अपचिति प्रणनं संयमो श्रमणब्रमणन दन एतं अञं च ध्रममंगलं नम (H) सो वतवो पितुन पि पुत्रेन पि भ्रतन पि स्पमिकेन पि मित्रसस्तुतेन अव प्रतिवेशियेन इमं सधु इमं कटवो मंगलं यव तस अठ्स निवुटिय निवुटस्पि व पुन

20 इमं कषं (I) ये हि एतके मगले सशयिके तं (J) सिय वो तं अठं निवटेयति सिय पुन नो (K) इअलोक च वो तं (L) इद पुन ध्रममगलं अकलिकं (M) यदि पुन तं अठं न निवटे इअ अथ परत्र अनंतं पुञं प्रसवति (N) हंचे पुन तं ठं निवटेति ततो उभयेस लधं भोति इअ च सो अठो परत्र च अनंतं पुञं प्रसवति तेन ध्रमंगलेन

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[1] *atikratnam amtaram* Bühler.
[2] *[h]ediśani* Bühler.
[3] *abhavasu* Bühler.
[4] *sato* Bühler.
[5] *sabodhi[m]* Bühler.
[6] *tenamd[a]* Bühler.
[7] *dhrama-* Bühler.
[8] *draśane* Bühler.
[9] *-paṭividha[ne]* Bühler.
[10] *draśanam* Bühler.
[11] *-pa[ri]puchha* Bühler.
[12] *esh[a]* Bühler.
[13] *hoti* Bühler.
[14] *bhag[i]* Bühler.
[15] See above, p. 37, n. 5.

18 (A) **Devanampriyo Priyadraśi** r[a]ya evaṁ ahati (B) jano uchavuchaṁ maṁgalaṁ karoti abadhe avahe vivahe pajupadane pravase ataye[1] añaye cha ediśiy[e][2] jano ba[3] maṁgalaṁ karoti (C) atra tu striyaka bahu cha bahuvidhaṁ cha putika[4] cha niraṭhiyaṁ[5] cha maṁgalaṁ karo[ti][6] (D) so kaṭavo cha [va][7] kho maṁgala (E) apa-phala[ṁ] tu kho eta[8] (F) imaṁ [t]u kho maha-phala ye ma-maṁgala[9]

19 (G) [a]tra ima dasa-bhaṭakasa samma-paṭipati[10] garuna apachiti prananaṁ sa[ṁ]yamo[11] śamaṇa-bramaṇana[12] dana etaṁ añaṁ cha dhrama-maṁga[laṁ] nama (H) [s]o vatavo pituna pi putrena pi bhratana[13] pi spamik[e]na pi mitra-sastutena[14] ava prativeśiyena imaṁ sadhu [imaṁ][15] kaṭa[vo] maṁgala[ṁ] yava tasa aṭhrasa[16] nivuṭiya nivuṭaspi va p[u]na[17]

20 imaṁ kashaṁ[18] (I) ye hi etake[19] magale saśayike[20] taṁ (J) siya vo taṁ aṭhaṁ nivaṭeyati siya puna[21] no[22] (K) ialoka cha[23] vo taṁ[24] (L) ida[25] puna dhrama-magalaṁ akalikaṁ (M) yadi puna taṁ aṭhaṁ na nivaṭ[e][26] ia[27] atha paratra anaṁtaṁ puñaṁ prasavati (N) haṁche puna taṁ ṭhaṁ[28] nivaṭeti tato u[bha]y[e]sa[29] ladhaṁ bhoti ia[30] cha so aṭho paratra cha anaṁtaṁ puñaṁ prasavati tena dhramaṁgalena[31]

TRANSLATION

(A) **King Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** speaks thus.

(B) Men are practising various ceremonies during illness, at the marriage of a son or a daughter, at the birth of a child,[32] (and) when setting out on a journey; on these and other such (occasions) men are practising many ceremonies.

(C) But in such (cases) women are practising many and various offensive[33] and useless ceremonies.

(D) Now, ceremonies should certainly be practised.

(E) But these (ceremonies) bear little fruit indeed.

(F) But the following bears much fruit indeed, viz. the practice of morality.

(G) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas; these and other (virtues) are called the practice of morality.

(H) Therefore a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, (or) a friend or an acquaintance, (or) even a (mere) neighbour ought to say: 'This is meritorious. This practice should be observed until the (desired) object is attained, (thinking): After it is actually attained, I shall observe this again'.

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[1] Read *etaye*, which is Bühler's reading. [2] Read probably *ediśaye*, as at Mānsehrā.
[3] Read *bahu*. [4] *putika[ṁ]* Bühler. [5] *niraṭhriyaṁ* Bühler. [6] *ka[rotne]* Bühler.
[7] Bühler omitted *va*. [8] *etaṁ* Bühler. [9] Read *dhrama-*; *-maṁgala[ṁ]* Bühler.
[10] *-pratipati* Bühler. [11] *saṁyama* Bühler. [12] *śramaṇa-* Bühler.
[13] Read *bhratuna*, which is Bühler's reading. [14] *-saṁstutena* Bühler.
[15] There is a vacant space here. [16] *aṭhasa* Bühler. [17] *pana* Bühler.
[18] *ke[sha]* Bühler. [19] *et[ra]ke* Bühler. [20] *sa[ṁ]śayike* Bühler.
[21] *pana* Bühler. [22] Bühler omitted *no*. [23] *ialokach[e]* Bühler.
[24] *tithe* Bühler. [25] *iya* Bühler. [26] Read *nivaṭeti*, as at Mānsehrā. [27] *[h]ia* Bühler.
[28] Read *taṁ aṭhaṁ*; Bühler read *[a]thaṁ* for *taṁ ṭhaṁ*.
[29] *ubhayasa* Bühler. [30] *iha* Bühler. [31] Read *dhrama-maṁgalena.*
[32] For *pajupadane* see above, p. 38, n. 22.
[33] Instead of *pūtika*, 'foul', all other versions read *kshudra*, 'vulgar'.

(I) For such ceremonies are of doubtful (effect).

(J) One may attain his object (by them), but he may not (do so).

(K) And they (bear fruit) in this world only.

(L) But that practice of morality is not restricted to time.

(M) But if[1] one does not attain (by it) his object in this (world), then endless merit is produced in the other (world).

(N) But if one attains (by it) his object (in this world), the gain of both (results) arises from it; (viz.) the (desired) object (is attained) in this (world), and endless merit is produced in the other (world) by that practice of morality.

TENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

21 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रय यशो व किट्रि व नो महठवह मञति अञत्र यो पि यशो किट्रि व इछति तदत्वये अयतिय च जने ध्रमसुश्रष सुश्रुषतु मे ति ध्रंमवुतं च अनुविधियतु (B) एतकये देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रय यशो किट्रि व
22 इछति (C) यं तु किचि परक्रमति देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय तं सव्रं परत्रिकये व किति सकले अपरिस्रवे सियति (D) एषे तु परिस्रवे यं अपुञं (E) दुकरे तु खो एषे खुद्रकेन वग्रेन उसटेन व अञत्र अग्रेन परक्रमेन सवं परितिजितु (F) अत्र चु उसटे........

21 (A) **Devanapriye Priyadraśi raya** yaśo va kiṭri va no mahaṭhavaha mañati añatra yo pi yaśo kiṭri va ichhati tadatvaye[2] ayatiya cha jane dhrama-suśrasha[3] suśrushatu me ti dhraṁma-vutaṁ cha anuvi[dhi]yatu (B) etakaye **Devanapriye**[4] **Priyadraśi raya** yaśo[5] kiṭri va
22 ichhati (C) ya[ṁ] tu kichi parakramati **Devanaṁpriyo Priyadraśi raya** taṁ sav[r]aṁ paratrikaye va kiti sakale aparisrave siyati (D) eshe tu parisrave yaṁ apuñaṁ (E) dukare[6] [tu] kho eshe khudrakena vagrena usaṭena va añatra agrena parakramena sava[ṁ] paritijitu (F) at[r]a[7] chu usaṭe........

TRANSLATION

(A) **King Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** does not think that either glory or fame conveys much advantage, except whatever glory or fame he desires (on account of his aim) that in the present time, and in the future, men may (be induced) by him to practise obedience to morality, and that they may conform to the duties of morality.

(B) On this (account) **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** is desiring glory and fame.

(C) But whatever effort **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** is making, all that (is) only for the sake of (merit) in the other (world), (and) in order that all (men) may be free of danger.

(D) But the danger is this, viz. demerit.

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[1] Instead of 'but if', two other versions read 'even if', which is preferable.

[2] *tadattaye* Bühler; but see his *Ind. Pal.*, § 11, C.

[3] Read *-suśrushaṁ.*

[4] *Devanaṁpriye* Bühler.

[5] Bühler added *va.*

[6] *dukaraṁ* Bühler.

[7] *etaṁ* (which is also possible) Bühler.

(E) But it is indeed difficult for a lowly person or for a high one to accomplish this without great zeal (and without) laying aside every (other aim).

(F) But among these (two) . . . . a high (person).

ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

23 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय एवं हहति (B) नस्ति एदिशं दनं यदिशं ध्रमदन ध्रमसंस्तवे ध्रमसंविभगो ध्रमसंबंध (C) तत्र एतं दसभटकनं संम्मपटिपति मतपितुषु सुश्रुष मित्रसंस्तुतञतिकनं श्रमणब्रमणन

24 दन प्रणन अनरंभो (D) एतं वतवो पितुन पि पुत्रेन पि भ्रतुन पि स्पमिकेन पि मित्रसंस्तुतन अव प्रतिवेशियेन इमं सधु इमं कटवो (E) सो तथ करतं इअलोक च अरधेति परत्र च अनतं पुञ प्रसवति

25 तेन ध्रमदनेन

23 (A) **Devana[ṁ]priyo Priyadraśi raya** evaṁ hahati[1] (B) nasti ed[i]śaṁ danaṁ yadiśaṁ dhrama-dana[2] dhrama-saṁstav[e] dh[r]ama-saṁvibhago dh[r]ama-saṁba[ṁ]dha[3] (C) tatra etaṁ dasa-bhaṭakanaṁ saṁmma-paṭipati[4] mata-pitushu suśrusha mi[t]ra-saṁstuta-ñatikanaṁ śramaṇa-bramaṇana[5]

24 dana praṇana[6] anara[ṁ]bho (D) etaṁ vatavo pituna pi putrena pi bhratuna pi [spa]mikena[7] pi mitra-saṁstutana[8] ava prativeśiyena [i]ma[ṁ][9] sadhu imaṁ kaṭavo (E) so tatha karata[ṁ] ialoka[10] cha a[ra]dheti paratra cha anataṁ puña[11] prasavati

25 [te]na dhrama-danena

TRANSLATION

(A) **King Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** speaks thus.

(B) There is no such gift as the gift of morality, acquaintance through morality, the distribution of morality, (and) kinship through morality.

(C) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to mother and father, liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas, (and) abstention from killing animals.

(D) Concerning this a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, (or) a friend or an acquaintance, (or) even a (mere) neighbour, ought to say: 'This is meritorious. This ought to be done'.

(E) If one is acting thus, he attains (happiness in) this world, and endless merit is produced in the other (world) by that gift of morality.

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[1] *aha ti* Bühler. [2] *-danaṁ* Bühler. [3] *-saṁbaṁdho* Bühler.
[4] *samma-pratipati* Bühler. [5] *-bramaṇanaṁ* Bühler.
[6] *danaṁ praṇanaṁ* Bühler. [7] [*sa*]*mikena* Bühler.
[8] Read *-saṁstutena*, which is Bühler's reading.
[9] There is a fissure in the rock here.
[10] *karaṁtaṁ ialoka*[*ṁ*] Bühler. [11] *puñaṁ* Bühler.

TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

B.—On a separate boulder.

1 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय सव्रप्रषंडनि प्रव्रजितनि ग्रहथनि च पुजेति दनेन विविधये च पुजये (B) नो चु तथ दन व पुज व

2 देवनंप्रियो मञति यथ किति सलवढि सिय सव्रप्रषंडनं (C) सलवढि तु बहुविध (D) तस तु इयो मुल यं वचगुति

3 किति अतप्रषंडपुज व परपषंडगरन व नो सिय अपकरणसि लहुक व सिय तसि तसि प्रकरणे (E) पुजेतविय व चु परप्रषं-

4 ड तेन तेन अकरेन (F) एवं करतं अतप्रषंडं वढेति परप्रषंडंस पि च उपकरोति (G) तद् अञथ करमिनो अतप्रषंड

5 क्षणति परप्रषडस च अपकरोति (H) यो हि कचि अतप्रषडं पुजेति परप्रषडं गरहति सव्रे अतप्रषडभतिय व किति

6 अतप्रषंडं दिपयमि ति सो च पुन तथ करंतं सो च पुन तथ करतं बढतरं उपहंति अतप्रषडं (I) सो सयमो वो सधु किति अञमञस ध्रमो

7 श्रुणेयु च सुश्रुषेयु च ति (J) एवं हि देवनंप्रियस इछ किति सव्रप्रषंड बहुश्रुत च कलणगम च सियसु (K) ये च तत्र तत्र

8 प्रसन तेषं वतवो (L) देवनंप्रियो न तथ दनं व पुज व मञति यथ किति सलवढि सियति सव्रप्रषडनं (M) बहुक च एतये अठ · ·

9 वपट ध्रममहमत्र इस्त्रिधियक्षमहमत्र व्रचभुमिक अञे च निकये (N) इमं च एतिस फलं यं अतपषडवढि भोति

10 ध्रमस च दिपन

1 (A) **Devanaṁpriyo Priyadraśi raya** savra-prashaṁḍani pravrajita[ni][1] grahathani[2] cha pujeti danena vividhaye cha pujaye (B) no chu tatha [da]na[3] va puja va

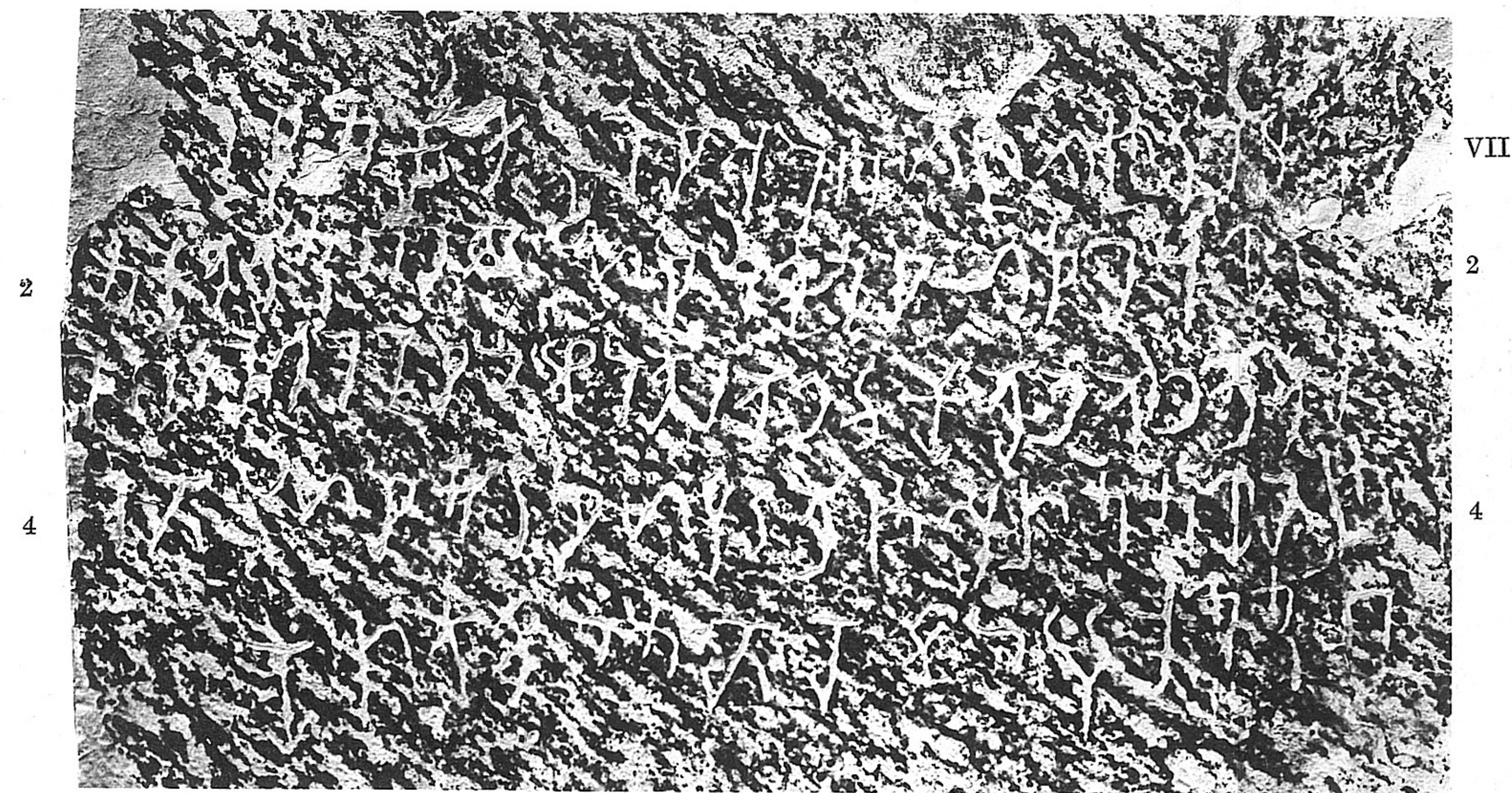
2 **Devanaṁpriyo** mañati yatha kiti sa[la]-vaḍhi siya savra-prashaṁḍanaṁ (C) sala-vaḍhi tu bahuvidha (D) tasa tu iyo mula yaṁ vacha-guti

3 kiti ata-prashaṁḍa-puja va pa[ra]-pashaṁḍa-garana va no siya [a]pakaraṇasi[4] lahuka va siya tasi tasi prakara[ṇ]e (E) pujetaviya va chu para-prasha[ṁ]-

4 [ḍa] tena tena akarena (F) e[v]aṁ karataṁ[5] ata-p[r]ashaṁḍaṁ vaḍheti para-prashaṁḍaṁsa[6] pi cha upakaroti (G) tada añatha[7] ka[ra]min[o][8] ata-p[rashaṁḍa][9]

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[1] This word was entered above the line; *pravrajita* Bühler.
[2] *graha[tha]ni* Bühler.
[3] *dana[ṁ]* Bühler.
[4] *aprakaraṇasi* Bühler.
[5] *kara[ṁ]taṁ* Bühler.
[6] Read °*ḍasa*, which is Bühler's reading.
[7] Read *tad-añatha*.
[8] *ka[rata cha]* Bühler.
[9] *-prashaṁḍaṁ* Bühler.



SCALE ONE-FOURTH

SEE PAGE 59

SCALE ONE-SIXTH

5 kshaṇati para-[pra]shaḍasa[1] cha apakaroti **(H)** yo hi kachi[2] ata-prashaḍaṁ pujeti [para]-p[r]ashaḍa[ṁ][3] garahati savre ata-prashaḍa-bhatiya va kiti

6 ata-prashaṁḍaṁ dipayami ti so cha puna tatha karaṁtaṁ so cha puna tatha karataṁ[4] ba[ḍhata]raṁ upahaṁti ata-prashaḍaṁ **(I)** so sayamo vo sadhu kiti añamañasa dhramo

7 śruṇeyu cha suśrusheyu cha ti **(J)** evaṁ hi **Devanaṁpriyasa** ichha kiti savra-prashaṁḍa bahu-śruta ch[a] kal[aṇa]gama cha siyasu **(K)** ye cha tatra tatra

8 prasana tesha[ṁ] vatavo **(L)** **Devanaṁpriy[o]** na [tatha da]na[ṁ va] p[u]ja va mañati ya[tha] kiti sala-vaḍhi siyati savra-prashaḍanaṁ **(M)** bahuka cha etaye a[ṭha] . .[5]

9 vap[a]ṭa dh[ra]ma-ma[ha]matra i[stridhi]yaksha-ma[ha]matra [vra]cha-bhumika[6] añe cha nikaye **(N)** imaṁ cha etisa [pha]laṁ yaṁ ata-pashaḍa-vaḍhi[7] [bh]o[ti]

10 dhramasa cha di[pana]

TRANSLATION

(A) **King Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** is honouring all sects: (both) ascetics and householders, with gifts and with honours of various kinds.

(B) But **Dēvānāṁpriya** does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.

(C) But the promotion of the essentials (is possible) in many ways.

(D) But its root is this, viz. guarding (one's) speech, (i.e.) that neither praising one's own sect nor blaming other sects should take place on improper occasions, or (that) it should be moderate in every case.

(E) But other sects ought to be duly honoured in every way.

(F) If one is acting thus, he is promoting his own sect and is benefiting other sects as well.

(G) If one is acting otherwise than thus, he is hurting his own sect and wronging other sects.

(H) For whosoever praises his own sect (or) blames other sects,—all (this) out of pure devotion to his own sect, (i.e.) with the view of glorifying his own sect,—if he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect very severely.

(I) Therefore self-control[8] alone is meritorious, (i.e.) that they should both hear and obey each other's morals.

(J) For this is the desire of **Dēvānāṁpriya**, (viz.) that all sects should be both full of learning and pure in doctrine.

(K) And those who are attached to their respective (sects), ought to be spoken to (as follows).

(L) **Dēvānāṁpriya** does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.[9]

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[1] *-prashaṁḍasa* Bühler. [2] *k[o]chi* Bühler. [3] *-prash[a]ḍa* Bühler.

[4] Cancel the five preceding words, which were repeated by mistake.

[5] Restore *aṭhaye*.

[6] *vacha-* Bühler. [7] *-prashaḍa-* Bühler.

[8] Instead of 'self-control' the other versions read 'concord'.

[9] For *siyati* see above, p. 40, n. 1.

(M) And many (officers) are occupied for this purpose, (viz.) the *Mahāmātras* of morality, the *Mahāmātras* controlling women, the inspectors of cowpens, and other classes (of officials).

(N) And this is the fruit of it, (viz.) that the promotion of one's own sect takes place, and the glorification of morality.

THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

C.—West face of Shāhbāzgaṛhī rock.

1 (A) अठवषअभिसितस देवनप्रिअस प्रिअद्रशिस रञो कलिग विजित (B) दिअढमत्रे प्रणशतसहस्रे ये ततो अपवुढे शतसहस्रमत्रे तत्र हते बहुतवतके व मुटे

2 (C) ततो पच अधुन लधेषु कलिगेषु तिव्रे ध्रमशिलन ध्रमकमत ध्रमनुशस्ति च देवनप्रियस (D) सो अस्ति अनुसोचन देवनप्रिअस विजिनिति कलिगनि

3 (E) अविजितं हि विजिनमनो यो तत्र वध व मरणं व अपवहो व जनस तं बढं वेदनियमतं गुरुमतं च देवनंप्रियस (F) इदं पि चु ततो गुरुमततरं देवनंप्रियस (G) ये तत्र

4 वसति ब्रमण व श्रमण व अंञे व प्रषंड ग्रहथ व येसु विहित एष अग्रभुटिसुश्रुष मतपितुषु सुश्रुष गुरुन सुश्रुष मित्रसंस्तुतसहय-

5 ञतिकेषु दसभटकनं सम्मप्रतिपति द्रिढभतित तेष तत्र भोति अपग्रथो व वधो व अभिरतन व निक्रमणं (H) येष व पि सुविहितनं सिहो अविप्रहिनो ए तेष मित्रसंस्तुतसहयञतिक वसन

6 प्रपुणति तत्र तं पि तेष वो अपग्रथो भोति (I) प्रतिभगं च एतं सव्रमनुशनं गुरुमतं च देवनंप्रियस (J) नस्ति च एकतरे पि प्रषडस्पि न नम प्रसदो (K) सो यमत्रो जनो तद कलिगे हतो च मुटो च अपवुढ च ततो

7 शतभगे व सहस्रभगं व अज गुरुमतं वो देवनंप्रियस (L) यो पि च अपकरेयति क्षमितवियमते व देवनंप्रियस यं शको क्षमनये (M) य पि च अटवि देवनंप्रियस विजिते भोति त पि अनुनेति अनुनिजपेति (N) अनुतपे पि च प्रभवे

8 देवनंप्रियस वुचति तेष किति अवत्रपेयु न च हंञेयसु (O) इछति हि देवनंप्रियो सव्रभुतन अक्षति संयमं समचरियं रभसिये (P) अयि च मुखमुत विजये देवनंप्रियस यो ध्रमविजयो (Q) सो च पुन लधो देवनंप्रियस इह च सवेषु च अंतेषु

9 अ षषु पि योजनशतेषु यत्र अंतियोको नम योनरज परं च तेन अतियोकेन चतुरे ४ रजनि तुरमये नम अंतिकिनि नम मक नम अलिकसुदरो नम निच चोडपंड अव तंबपंणिय (R) एवमेव हिद रजविषवस्पि योनकंबोयेषु नभकनभितिन

10 भोजपितिनिकेषु अंध्रपलिदेषु सवच देवनंप्रियस ध्रमनुशस्ति अनुवटंति (S) यच पि देवनंप्रियस दुत न व्रचंति ते पि श्रुतु देवनंप्रियस ध्रमवुटं विधनं ध्रमनुशस्ति ध्रमं अनुविधियंति अनुविधियिशंति च (T) यो स लधे एतकेन भोति सवच विजयो सवच पुन

11 विजयो प्रितिरसो सो (U) लध भोति प्रिति ध्रमविजयस्पि (V) लहुक तु खो स प्रिति (W) परत्रिकमेव महफल मेञति देवनंप्रियो (X) एतये च अठये अयि ध्रमदिपि निपिस्त किति पुत्र पपोत्र मे असु नवं विजयं म विजेतविअ मञिषु स्पकस्पि यो विजये क्षंति च लहुदंडत च रोचेतु तं च यो विज मञतु

12 यो ध्रमविजयो (Y) सो हिदलोकिको परलोकिको (Z) सवचतिरति भोतु य ध्रंमरति (AA) स हि हिदलोकिक परलोकिक

1 (A) **[atha]-vasha-a[bhis]ita[sa** [1] **Devana]pri[a]sa Pri[a]draśisa ra[ño] Ka[liga]** vi[j]ita (B) diadha-mat[r]e [2] prana-śata-[saha]sre y[e] tato apavudhe śata-sahasra-matre tatra hate bahu-tavata[ke va] [3] m[ute]

2 (C) tato [pa]cha [4] a[dhu]na ladh[e]shu **[Kaligeshu** [5] tivre dhrama-śilana] [6] dhra[ma-ka]mata dhramanuśasti cha **Devanapriyasa** (D) so [a]sti anusochana [7] **Devanap[ria]sa** vijiniti **Kaliga[ni]** [8]

3 (E) avijitaṁ [hi vi]jinamano yo [9] tat[r]a vadha [10] va maranaṁ va apavaho va janasa taṁ badhaṁ v[e]dani[ya]-ma[taṁ] guru-mata[ṁ] cha **Devanaṁpriyasa** (F) idaṁ [11] pi chu [tato] guru-matataraṁ **[Devanaṁ]priyasa** (G) ye tatra [12]

4 vasati [13] bramana va śrama[na] va a[ṁ]ñe va prashaṁda gra[ha]tha va yesu vihita esha agrabhuti-suśrusha mata-pitushu suśrusha guruna [14] suśrusha mitra-saṁstuta-sahaya-

5 ñatikeshu dasa-bhatakanaṁ samma-pratipa[ti] dridha-bhatita [15] tesha [16] tatra bhoti [a]pag[r]atho va vadho va abhiratana va nikramanaṁ (H) yesha va pi suvihitanaṁ [17] [si]ho [18] aviprahino [e te]sha mitra-saṁstuta-sahaya-ñatika vasana

6 prapunati [ta]tra taṁ pi tesha vo apaghratho [19] bhoti (I) pratibhagaṁ cha [e]taṁ savra-manuśanaṁ [20] guru-mataṁ cha **Devanaṁpriya[sa]** (J) nasti cha ekatare [21] pi prashadaspi [22] na nama prasado (K) so yamatro [ja]no tada **Kalige** [ha]to cha mut[o] cha apav[udha] [23] cha tato

7 śata-bhage va sahasra-bhagaṁ va [a]ja guru-mataṁ v[o] **Devanaṁpriyasa** (L) yo pi cha apakareyati kshamitaviya-mate va [24] **Devanaṁp[r]iyasa** yaṁ śako kshamanaye (M) ya pi cha atavi **Devanaṁpriyasa** vijite bhoti ta pi anuneti anunijapeti [25] (N) anutape pi cha prabhave

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[1] *a[sta]*- Bühler. [2] *[diyadha]*- Bühler. [3] Bühler omitted *va*.
[4] *[pa]chha* Bühler. [5] *[Kaliṁgeshu]* Bühler. [6] -*[palanaṁ]* Bühler.
[7] °*n[aṁ]* Bühler. [8] °*priyasa vijinit[u Ka]liṁga[ni]* Bühler.
[9] °*man[i ye]* Bühler. [10] *vadh[o]* Bühler. [11] *imaṁ* Bühler.
[12] *tatra h[i]* for *ye tatra* Bühler. [13] *vasaṁti* Bühler. [14] *gurunaṁ* Bühler.
[15] *didha*- Bühler. [16] *teshaṁ* Bühler. [17] *saṁvi*° Bühler.
[18] Read *sineho*; *[ne]ho* Bühler. [19] Read *apagratho*, which is Bühler's reading.
[20] *savraṁ manu*° Bühler. [21] *ekataraspi* Bühler. [22] *prashaṁdaspi* Bühler.
[23] *apavudh[o]* Bühler. [24] *vo* Bühler.
[25] Read °*nijhapeti*, which is Bühler's reading.

8 **Devanampriyasa** vuchati tesha kiti avatrapeyu na cha [ha]mñeyasu **(O)** ichhati hi **D[e]vanampriyo** savra-bhutana akshati sa[m]yamam sama[cha]riyam rabhasiye **(P)** ayi [1] cha mukha-mut[a] [2] vijaye **Devanampriya[sa]** yo dhrama-vijayo **(Q)** so cha puna ladho **Devanampriyasa** iha cha saveshu [3] cha amteshu

9 [a] shashu pi yojana-śa[t]eshu yatra **Amtiyoko** nama **Y[o]na-raja** param cha tena **Atiyok[e]na** [4] **chature 4 rajani Turamaye** nama **Amtikini** nama **Maka** nama **Alikasudaro** nama nicha **Choḍa-Paṁḍa** ava **Ta[m]bapam[ṇi]ya** [5] **(R)** [e]vameva [hi]da raja-vishavaspi [6] **Yona-Ka[m]boyeshu Nabhaka-Nabhitina** [7]

10 **Bhoja-Pitinikeshu Amdhra-Palideshu** [8] savatra **Devanampriyasa** dhramanuśasti anuvaṭamti **(S)** yatra pi **Devanampriyasa** duta na vrachamti te pi śrutu **Devanampriyasa** dhrama-vuṭam vidh[a]nam [9] dhramanuśasti dhramam [a]nuvidhiyamti anuvidhiyiśam[ti] cha **(T)** yo [sa] [10] ladhe etakena bho[ti] savatra vijayo sava[tra] pu[na]

11 vijayo priti-raso so **(U)** ladha bh[oti] priti dhrama-vijayaspi **(V)** lahuka tu kho sa priti **(W)** paratri[ka]meva maha-phala meñati **Devana[m]priyo (X)** etaye cha aṭhaye ayi [11] dhrama-dipi nipi[sta] [12] kiti putra papotra me asu navam vijayam ma vijetav[i]a [13] mañishu spa[kaspi] yo vijay[e ksham]ti cha lahu-da[m]ḍata [14] cha rochetu tam cha yo [15] vija [16] maña[tu]

12 yo dhrama-vijayo **(Y)** so hidalokiko paralokiko **(Z)** sava-chati-rati [17] bhotu ya [dh]ramma-rati [18] **(AA)** sa hi hidalokika paralokika

TRANSLATION

(A) When king Dēvānampriya Priyadarśin had been anointed eight years, (the country of) the **Kaliṅgas** was conquered by (him).

(B) One hundred and fifty thousand in number were the men who were deported thence, one hundred thousand in number were those who were slain there, and many times as many those who died.

(C) After that, now that (the country of) the **Kaliṅgas** has been taken, **Dēvānampriya** (is devoted) to a zealous study of morality,[19] to the love of morality, and to the instruction (of people) in morality.

(D) This is the repentance of **Dēvānāmpriya** on account of his conquest of (the country of) the **Kaliṅgas.**

(E) For, this is considered very painful and deplorable by **Dēvānāmpriya**, that, while one is conquering an unconquered (country), slaughter, death, and deportation of people (are taking place) there.

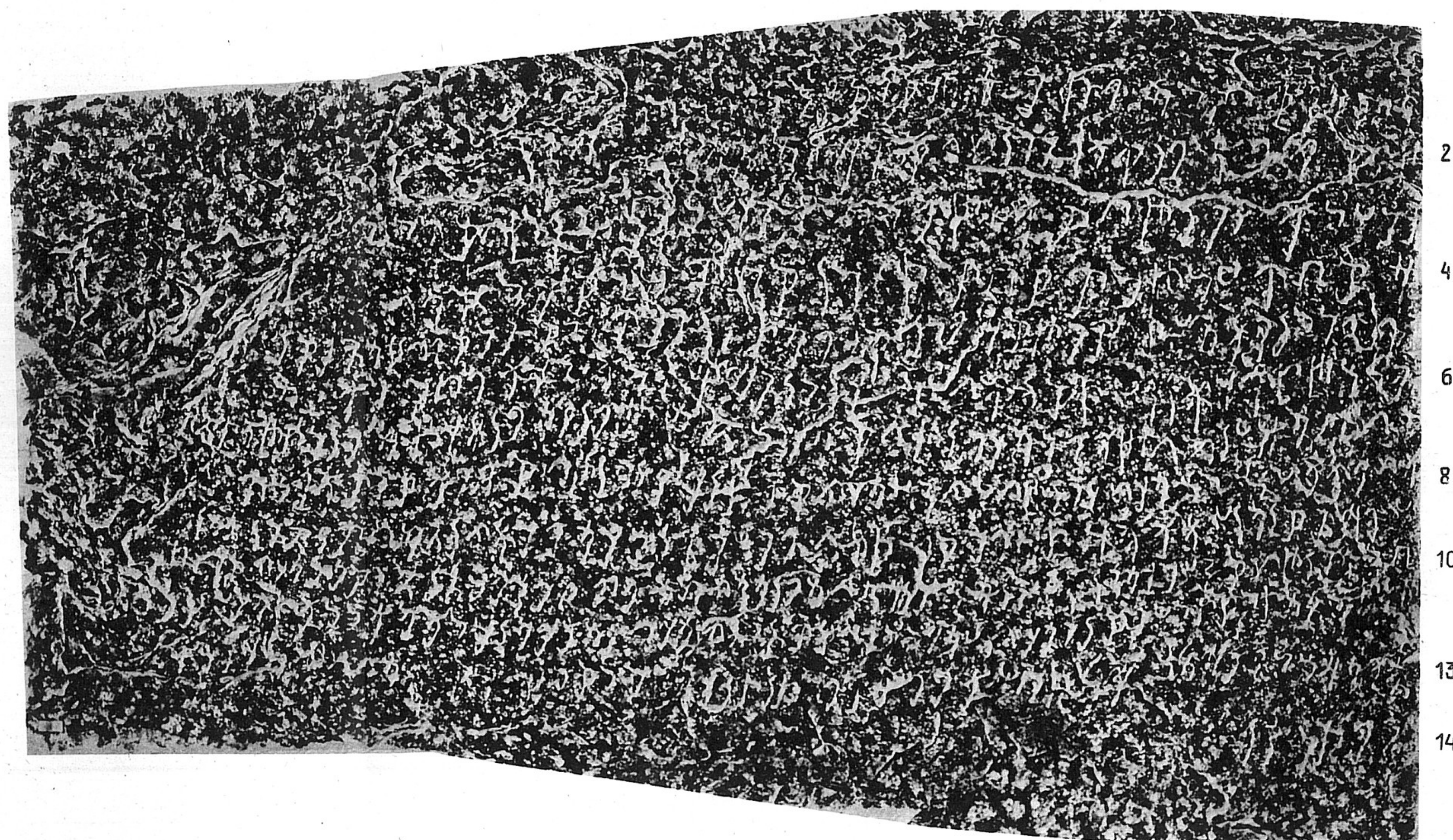
(F) But the following is considered even more deplorable than this by **Dēvānāmpriya.**

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[1] *eshe* Bühler. [2] *-mute* Bühler. [3] *sa[vre]shu* Bühler. [4] *Amtiyokena* Bühler.
[5] *°pamniya* Bühler. [6] *Visha-Vajri-* Bühler. [7] *Nabhake Na[bhi]tina* Bühler.
[8] *-Puli[de]shu* Bühler. [9] *vidhenam* Bühler. [10] *[cha]* Bühler.
[11] *ayo* Bühler. [12] *[di]pista* Bühler. [13] *°tavi[ya]m* Bühler.
[14] *-dam[da]tam* Bühler. [15] *tam e[va]* Bühler. [16] Read *vijayam*, as at Kālsī.
[17] *savra cha nirati* Bühler. [18] *[s]rama-* Bühler.
[19] *dhrama-śilana* (= Skt. *dharma-śīlana*) is the equivalent of *dhammavāyo* at Girnār; see above, p. 24, n. 14.

THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICTS: SHAHBAZGARHI

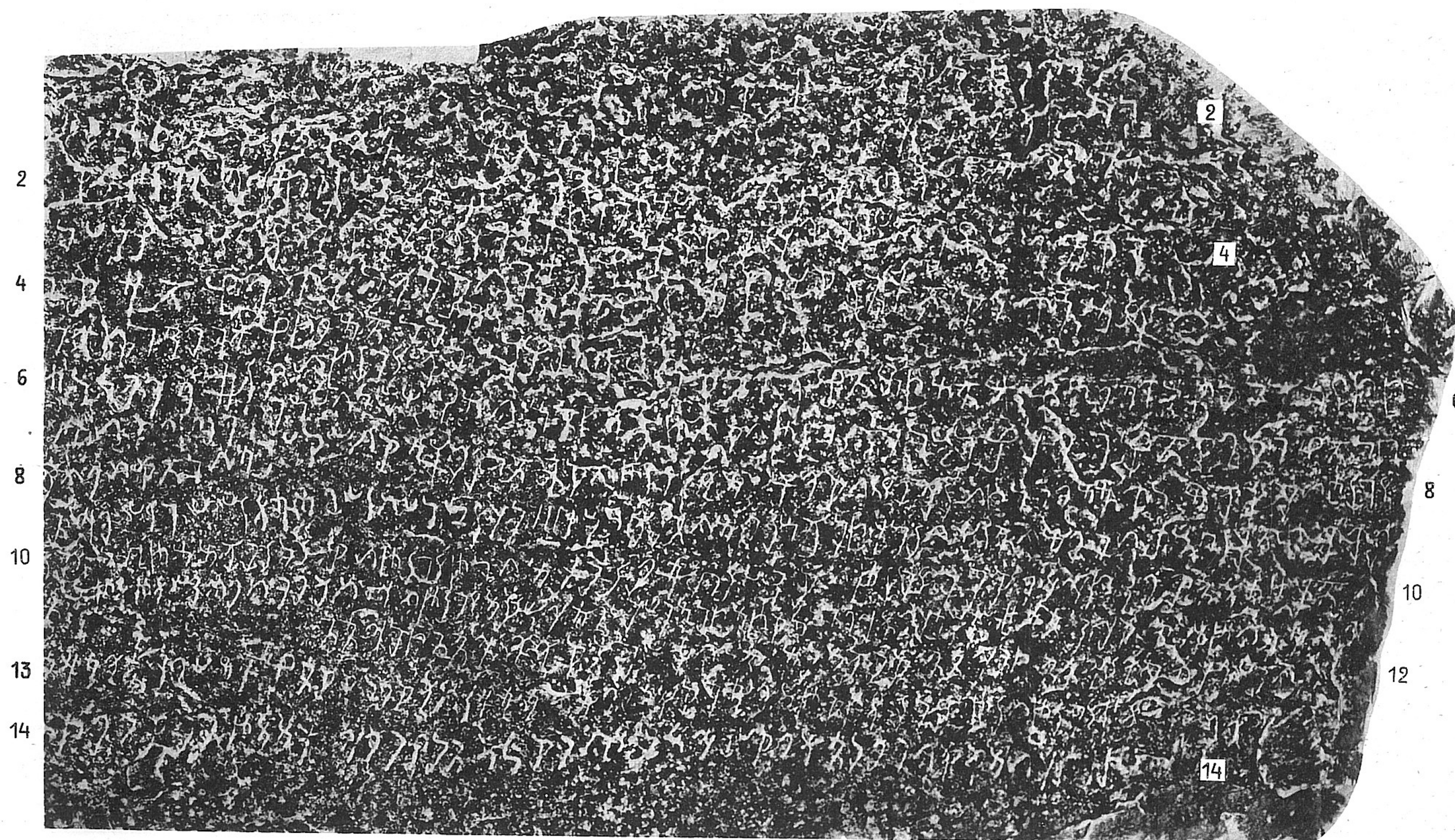
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SCALE ONE-NINTH

THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICTS: SHAHBAZGARHI

RIGHT HALF



Scale One-ninth

(G) (To) the Brāhmaṇas or Śramaṇas, or other sects or householders, who are living there, (and) among whom the following are practised: obedience to those who receive high pay, obedience to mother and father, obedience to elders, proper courtesy to friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives, to slaves and servants, (and) firm devotion,—to these then happen injury[1] or slaughter or deportation of (their) beloved ones.

(H) Or, if there are then incurring misfortune the friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives of those whose affection (for the latter) is undiminished, although they are (themselves) well provided for, this (misfortune) as well becomes an injury to those (persons) themselves.

(I) This is shared by all men and is considered deplorable by **Dēvānāṁpriya.**

(J) And there is no (place where men) are not indeed attached to some sect.[2]

(K) Therefore even the hundredth part or the thousandth part of all those people who were slain, who died, and who were deported at that time in **Kaliṅga,** (would) now be considered very deplorable by **Dēvānāṁpriya.**

(L) And **Dēvānāṁpriya** thinks that even (to one) who should wrong (him), what can be forgiven is to be forgiven.

(M) And even (the inhabitants of) the forests[3] which are (included) in the dominions of **Dēvānāṁpriya,** even those he pacifies (and) converts.[4]

(N) And they are told of the power (to punish them) which **Dēvānāṁpriya** (possesses) in spite of (his) repentance,[5] in order that they may be ashamed (of their crimes) and may not be killed.

(O) For **Dēvānāṁpriya** desires towards all beings abstention from hurting, self-control, (and) impartiality in (case of) violence.[6]

(P) And this conquest is considered the principal one[7] by **Dēvānāṁpriya,** viz. the conquest by morality.

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[1] 'The meaning of *apagratho* is fixed by the various readings *upaghāte* (Kālsī) and *upaghāto* (Girnār). It has to be noted (to which Pischel draws my attention) that some Kōśas give for *grathita* the meaning *hata, hiṁsita*; see Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary, s. v. *granth*.'—Bühler, ZDMG, 43. 174.

[2] 'By the fault of the writer' (as the rock-edict XIV, E, expresses it), most of this section is omitted in the Shāhbāzgaṛhī version.

[3] As remarked by Bühler (ZDMG, 43. 174 f.), the nom. plur. *aṭavi* is used in the sense of *āṭavikāḥ*. Indian rhetoricians call such a figurative expression *lakshaṇā*. One of the examples given in the *Tarkasaṁgrahadīpikā*, § 59, is मञ्चाः क्रोशन्ति, 'the tribunes (i.e. the occupants of the tribunes) are shouting.'

[4] Literally, 'induces to meditate'. Cf. *nijhapayisaṁti* and *nijhapayitā* (or *nijhapayitave*) in the pillar-edict IV, M, *ṇijhap[e]ta[vi]ye* in the Jaugaḍa separate edict I, R, and *nijhati* in the rock-edict VI, F, and in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, JJ to NN; also the second separate edict at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, where Aśōka declares that he wishes to induce his borderers to practise morality.

[5] Bühler (EI, 2. 471) rendered *anutape prabhave* (i. e. *anutāpē prabhāvē*) by 'power to torment (them)'. But the meaning which he assigned to *anutāpa* is unusual, and this word is a synonym of *anuśaya* or *anuśōchana* in section D of this edict. Thomas takes *prabhave* = Skt. *prabhavēt*; see V. A. Smith's *Asoka*, sec. ed., p. 173, n. 4. But at Shāhbāzgaṛhī the 3. sing. opt. ends in *-eyati*; cf. my note on the translation of edict XIV, D.

[6] I adopt Lüders' rendering of the last two words of this section; see SPAW, 1914. 851. The Girnār and Kālsī versions replace the locative *rabhasiye* (= Skt. *rābhasyē*) by the accusative *mādava* or *madava* (= Skt. *mārdavam*, 'kindness').

[7] *mukha-muta* (also at Mānsehrā, XIII, l. 9) is the same as *mukhya-muta* in the Lauṛiyā-Ararāj and Allahabad-Kōsam pillar-edicts, VI, F.

(Q) And this (conquest) has been won repeatedly by **Dēvānāṁpriya** both here and among all (his) borderers, even as far as at (the distance of) six hundred *yōjanas*, where the **Yōna king** named **Antiyoka** (is ruling), and beyond this **Antiyoka**, (where) **four—4—kings** (are ruling), (viz. the king) named **Turamaya**, (the king) named **Antikini**, (the king) named **Maka**, (and the king) named **Alikasudara**, (and) towards the south, (where) the **Chōḍas** and **Pāṇḍyas** (are ruling), as far as **Tāmraparṇī**.

(R) Likewise here in the king's territory, among the **Yōnas** and **Kambōyas**, among the **Nabhakas** and **Nabhitis**,[1] among the **Bhōjas** and **Pitinikas**, among the **Andhras** and **Palidas**,[2]—everywhere (people) are conforming to **Dēvānāṁpriya's** instruction in morality.

(S) Even those to whom the envoys of **Dēvānāṁpriya** do not go, having heard of the duties of morality, the ordinances, (and) the instruction in morality of **Dēvānāṁpriya**, are conforming to morality and will conform to (it).

(T) This conquest, which has been won by this everywhere,—a conquest (won) everywhere (and) repeatedly,—causes the feeling of satisfaction.

(U) Satisfaction has been obtained (by me) at the conquest by morality.

(V) But this satisfaction is indeed of little (consequence).

(W) **Dēvānāṁpriya** thinks that only the fruits in the other (world) are of great (value).

(X) And for the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz.) in order that the sons (and) great-grandsons (who) may be (born) to me, should not think that a fresh conquest ought to be made, (that), if a conquest does please them,[3] they should take pleasure in mercy and light punishments, and (that) they should regard the conquest by morality as the only (true) conquest.

(Y) This (conquest bears fruit) in this world (and) in the other world.

(Z) And let there be (to them) pleasure in the abandonment of all (other aims),[4] which is pleasure in morality.

(AA) For this (bears fruit) in this world (and) in the other world.

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

13 (A) अयि ध्रमदिपि देवनंप्रियेन प्रिशिन रञ निपेसपित अस्ति वो संक्षितेन अस्ति यो विस्तिटेन (B) न हि सवत्र सस्र्वे गटिते (C) महलके हि विजिते बहु च लिखिते लिखपेशमि चेव (D) अस्ति चु अत्र पुन पुन लपितं तस तस अठस मधुरियये येन जन तथ

14 पटिपजेयति (E) सो सिय व अत्र किचे असमतं लिखितं देशं व संखय कारण व अलोचेति दिपिकरम व अपरधेन

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[1] The Kālsī version reads *Nābhapaṁti* for *Nabhiti*.

[2] See above, p. 48, n. 14.

[3] Cf. above, p. 49, n. 2.

[4] Cf. above, p. 18, n. 10. The wording of Kālsī and Mānsehrā differs here. Unless the Shāhbāzgaṛhī reading is merely due to a clerical mistake, it would contain a Prākṛit substantive *chatti* = Skt. **tyakti* in the sense of *tyāga*.

13 (A) ayi[1] dhrama-dipi[2] **Devanampriyena Priśi[na]**[3] **raña** nipesapita[4] asti vo saṁkshitena[5] asti yo vistriṭena (B) na hi savatra[6] sasavre[7] gaṭite[8] (C) mahalake hi vijite bahu cha likhite likha[p]eśami cheva (D) asti chu[9] atra puna puna [la]pitaṁ tasa tasa [a]ṭhasa madhuriyaye ye[na] jana tatha

14 paṭipajeyati[10] (E) so siya va atra kiche[11] asamataṁ likhitaṁ deśaṁ va saṁkhay[a][12] karaṇa va alocheti dipikarasa va aparadhena

TRANSLATION

(A) These rescripts on morality have been caused to be written[13] by **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** either in an abridged (form) or at full length.

(B) For the whole was not suitable everywhere.

(C) For (my) dominions are wide, and much has been written, and I shall cause still (more) to be written.

(D) But (some) of this has been stated again and again because of the charm of certain topics, (and) in order that men should act accordingly.[14]

(E) But some of this may have been written incompletely, either on account of the locality, or because (my) motive was not liked,[15] or by the fault of the writer.

IV. THE MANSEHRA ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

A.—First Inscribed Rock.

1 (A) अयि ध्रमदिपि देवनंप्रियेन प्रियद्रशिन रजिन लिखपित (B) हिद नो किछि जिवे अरभितु प्रजोहि-

2 तविये (C) नो पि च समजे कटविये (D) बहुक हि दोष समजस देवनंप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज दखति (E) अस्ति पि चु

3 एकतिय समज सधुमत देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस रजिने (F) पुर महनससि देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस र-

4 जिने अनुदिवस बहुनि प्रणशतसहस्रनि अरभिसु सुपथ्रये (G) से · · · · · · · · द अयि ध्रमदिपि लिखित तद तिनि येव प्रणनि अरभियंति दुवे २ मजु-

5 र एके म्रिगे से पि चु म्रिगे नो ध्रुवं (H) एतनि पि चु तिनि प्रणनि पच नो अरभि · · · · ·

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[1] *ayo* Bühler. [2] There is a vacant space between *ma* and *di*.

[3] Read *Priyadraśina*. [4] *dipapito* Bühler. [5] *saṁkhitena* Bühler.

[6] *savratra* Bühler. [7] Read *savre*; [*so*] *savre* Bühler.

[8] Read *ghaṭite*; *ghaṭiti* Bühler. [9] *cha* Bühler. [10] *prati°* Bühler.

[11] Read *kichi*, which is Bühler's reading. [12] *saṁkhaye* Bühler.

[13] With *nipesapita* cf. *nipesitaṁ* in the Shāhbāzgaṛhī edict IV, K.

[14] With the optative *paṭipajeyati* (=°*yāti* at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa) cf. *apakareyati* (XIII, l. 7), *nivaṭeyati* (IX, l. 20), and *siyati* (= *śiyāti* or *shiyāti* at Kālsī); see above, p. 40, n. 1.

[15] See above, p. 8, n. 3.

1 (A) ayi dhra[ma]-dip[i] **Devanaṁ[priye]na**[1] **Priya[draśina rajina** li]khapita (B) hi[da] no kichhi[2] ji[ve] ara[bhitu] pra[johi]-

2 taviye[3] (C) no pi [cha] samaj[e] kaṭaviye[4] (D) bahu[ka] hi [dosha samajasa **Devanaṁpriye] Priyadraśi raja** [da]kha[ti] (E) asti [pi chu]

3 [eka]tiya samaja sa[dhu]-mata **Devanapriyasa Priyadraśi[sa]**[5] **rajine** (F) pura maha[nasa]si **[Devana]pri[ya]sa Pri[yadra]śisa ra-**

4 **jine** anudiva[sa ba]huni praṇa-śa[ta]-sahas[r]ani [arabh]isu supa[thra]ye (G) s[e] . . . . [da] ayi dhrama-dipi likhi[ta] ta[da] ti[ni] y[eva] pra[ṇa]ni [ara]bh[iyaṁti] du[v]e [2] maju-

5 ra [e]k[e][6] m[r]ig[e] s[e] p[i chu] mrig[e] no dhruvaṁ (H) [e]tani pi chu [tini] praṇani pacha no ara[bhi] . . . . .

SECOND ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

5 (A) सवत्र विजितसि देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस रजिने ये च अत अथ

6 चोड पंडिय सतियपुत्र केरलपुत्र तंबपणि अतियोगे नम योनरज ये च अ· · · · स · · · · · · गस समत रजने सव्रत्र · · · · · · प्रियस प्रियद्रशिस रजिने

7 दुवे २ चिकिस कट मनुशचिकिस च पशुचिकिस च (B) ओषढनि मनु · · · · कनि च प · · · · कनि च अत्र अत्र नस्ति सव्रत्र हरपित च रोपपित च

8 (C) एवमेव मुलनि च फलनि च अत्र अत्र नस्ति सव्रत्र हरपित च रोपपित च (D) मगेषु रुछनि रोपपितनि · · · · · · · · · · पितनि पटिभोगये पशु-मुनिशनं

5 (A) sa[vatra vi]jitasi **Devanapriyasa Priyadraśisa rajine** ye cha ata[7] atha

6 **[Choḍa] Pa[ṁḍi]ya Sa[ti]ya[p]u[tra] Keralaputra**[8] **[Taṁ]bapaṇi [A]tiyoge**[9] nama **Yona-[raja]** ye cha [a] . . . . sa . . . . . . [gasa] samata[10] ra[jane sa]vratra . . . . . . **priyasa Priyadraśisa rajine**

7 [duve 2] chikisa [ka]ṭa manuśa-chik[isa cha] paśu-[chi]kisa cha (B) osha[dha]ni[11] manu . . . . ka[ni cha] pa . . . . [kani cha atra atra[12] nasti savra]tra [ha]rapi[ta cha] ropa[pita] cha

8 (C) e[va]meva mulani [cha] phalani [cha] a[tra a]tra [na]sti [savra]tra harapita cha ro[pa]pita cha (D) ma[geshu] ruchhani[13] [ropa]pi[tani][14] . . . . [pi]tani paṭibhogaye paśu-m[uni]śanaṁ[15]

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[1] *[De]vana[pri]yena* Bühler.
[2] *kichi* Bühler.
[3] *pra[yuho]taviye* Bühler.
[4] *sama[ja] kaṭaviya* Bühler.
[5] *[Pri]yadraśi[ne]* Bühler.
[6] Bühler inserted the figure '1'.
[7] *aṁta* Bühler.
[8] *°putr[e]* Bühler.
[9] *. tiyo[ke]* Bühler.
[10] *samaṁta* Bühler.
[11] *osha[dhi]ni* Bühler.
[12] *[ya]tra yatra* Bühler.
[13] *ru[chha]* Bühler.
[14] The next symbol (read *[ku]* by Bühler) may be the first letter (*u*) of *udupanani*.
[15] *-m[a]nuśana* Bühler.

THIRD ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

9 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज एव अह (B) दुवडशवषभिसेतेन मे इयं अणपयिते
(C) सव्रत्र विजितसि ······ त रजु ·· प्रदेशिके पंचषु पंचषु ५ वषेषु
10 अनुसंयनं निक्रमतु एतये व अथ्रये इमये ध्रमनुशस्तिये यथ अञये पि क्रमणे
(D) सधु मतपितुषु सुश्रुष मित्रसंस्तुत-
11 ञतिकनं च ब्रमणश्रमणनं सधु दने प्रणन अनरभे सधु अपवयत अपभडत सधु
(E) परिष पि च युतनि गणनसि अणपयिशति हेतुते च वियंज-
12 नते च

9 (A) **Devanapriye Priyadraśi raja** eva a[ha] (B) **duva[.a]śa-vashabhisetena**[1] me iyaṁ[2] [aṇapayit]e (C) savrat[r]a vijitasi . . . . . . ta[3] [ra]ju . . pradeśike [paṁ]chashu paṁ[chashu] 5 vashesh[u]
10 anusa[ṁ]yana[ṁ] nikramatu[4] etaye va[5] athraye imaye dhramanuśastiye ya[tha][6] añaye[7] pi krama[ṇe][8] (D) [sadhu mata]-pi[tu]shu [s]u[śrusha mitra]-sa[ṁ]stuta-
11 ñatikanaṁ cha bra[ma]ṇa-śramaṇana[ṁ][9] sadhu dane praṇana [anara]bhe sadhu apa-[va]yata apa-bha[data] sadhu (E) parisha pi cha yutani ga[ṇa]nasi [aṇapa]yiśa[ti] he[tute] cha vi[yaṁja]-
12 nate cha

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

12 (A) अतिक्रतं अतरं बहुनि वषशतनि वधिते वो प्रणरंभे विहिस च भुतनं ञतिन
असपटिपति श्रमणब्रमणन असंपटिपति
13 (B) से अज देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिने रजिने ध्रमचरणेन भेरिघोषे अहो धमघोषे
विमनद्रशन अस्तिने अगिकंधनि अञनि च दिव्यनि रुपनि द्रशेति जनस
14 (C) अदिशे बहुहि वषशतेहि न हुतप्रुवे तदिशे अज वढिते देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिने
रजिने ध्रमनुशस्तिय अनरभे प्रणन अविहिस भुतन ञतिन
15 संपटिपति बमणश्रमणन संपटिपति मतपितुषु सुश्रुष वुध्रन सुश्रुष (D) एषे अञे
च बहुविधे ध्रमचरणे वध्रिते (E) वध्रयिशति येव देवनप्रिये
16 प्रियद्रशि रज धमचरण इमं (F) पुत्र पि च क नतरे च पणतिक देवनप्रियस
प्रियदशिने रजिने पवढयिशंति यो ध्रमचरण इमं अवकपं ध्रमे शिले च

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[1] Read °*bhisitena*. [2] *ayaṁ* Bühler. [3] [*me*] . . *ta* Bühler. [4] *nikrama*[*ṁ*]*tu* Bühler.
[5] *vaṁ* Bühler. What he took for an Anusvāra, is the optional horizontal (sometimes curved) bottom-line which he has noted in *ja* (ZDMG, 43. 275), and which the Mānsehrā version uses also in *ḍa* (XIII, 10), *ḍha* (VII, 33; XII, 6; XIII, 1), *ta* of *mata* (I, 3; IV, 15; XIII, 4), *tha* (II, 5; V, 20, 26; XII, 4; cf. above, p. 55, n. 6), and *pa* (XII, 5).
[6] *ya . aṁ* Bühler. [7] *aṇaye* Bühler. [8] *kramane* Bühler. [9] *-śramananaṁ* Bühler.

17 चिठितु ध्रमं अनुशशिशंति (G) एषे हि स्रेठे अं ध्रमनुशशन (H) ध्रमचरणे पि च न होति अशिलस (I) से इमस अथ्रस वध्रि अहिनि च सधु (J) एतये
18 अथ्रये इयं लिखिते एतस अथ्रस वध्र युजंतु हिनि च म अलोचयिसु (K) दुवदशवषभिसितेन देवनप्रियेन प्रियद्रशिन रजिन इयं लिखपिते

12 **(A)** atikratam ata[ram][1] bahuni vasha-śa[ta]ni vadhite vo[2] pranaram[bh]e vihi[sa] cha bhutanam ñatina asapa[t]ipati śrama[na]-bramanana[3] asa[m]patipati
13 **(B)** se aja **[De]vanapriyasa Priyadraśine rajine** dhrama-[cha]ra[ne]na bheri-ghoshe aho dhama-ghoshe[4] vimana-draśana asti[ne][5] agi-kamdhan[i] aña[ni cha] di[vani] rupani draśeti janasa
14 **(C)** [a]diśe bahuhi vasha-śa[tehi] na [hu]ta-pr[u]ve tadiśe [a]ja vadhite **[De]vana-priyasa Priyadraśine rajine** dhramanuśastiya anarabhe pranana[6] avihisa bhutana ñatina
15 sampatipati bamana-śramanana[7] sa[m]patipati mata-pitushu[8] suśru[sha] vudhrana [su]śrusha **(D)** eshe añ[e] cha bahuvidhe dhrama-charane vadhrite **(E)** vadhrayiśati yeva **Devanapriye**
16 **Priyadraśi raja** dhama-[cha]rana[9] ima[m][10] **(F)** [putra] pi cha ka[11] natare cha panatika **De[va]napriyasa Priyadaśine**[12] **rajine** pavadhayiśamti yo[13] dhrama-charana imam [a]va-kapam dhrame śile cha
17 [chi]thitu[14] dhra[mam] anu[śa]śiśamti **(G)** eshe hi srethe a[m] dhramanuśaśana **(H)** dhrama-[cha]ra[ne] pi [cha] na hoti aśi[la]sa **(I)** se imasa athrasa vadhri ahi[ni cha] sadhu **(J)** etaye
18 athraye i[yam][15] li[khi]te e[ta]sa [athra]sa vadhra[16] yu[jam]tu hini cha ma [alo]chay[i]su[17] **(K)** **duva[da]śa-vashabhisitena Devanapriyena Priya-draśina rajina** iya[m] likhapite

FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

19 (A) देवनंप्रियेन प्रियद्रशि रज एवं अह (B) कलणं दुकरं (C) ये अदिकरे कयणस से दुकरं करोति (D) तं मय बहु कयणे कटे (E) तं मअ पुत्र च
20 नतरे च पर च तेन ये अपतिये मे अवकपं तथ अनुवटिशति से सुकट कषति (F) ये चु अत्र देश पि हपेशति से दुकट कषति
21 (G) पपे हि नम सुपदरवे (H) से अतिक्रतं अंतरं न भुतप्रुव ध्रममहमत्र नम (I) से त्रेडशवषभिसितेन मय ध्रममहमत्र कट (J) ते सव्रपषडेषु
22 वपुट ध्रमधियनये च ध्रमवध्रिय हिदसुखये च ध्रमयुतस योनकंबोजगधरन रठिकपितिनिकन ये व पि अत्रे अपरत (K) भटमये-

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[1] *a[m]ta[ram]* Bühler.
[2] *vadhite vam* Bühler.
[3] *-bramananam* Bühler.
[4] *dhrama-goshe* Bühler.
[5] *hastine* Bühler.
[6] *prananam* Bühler.
[7] *-śramanana[m]* Bühler.
[8] *matu-* Bühler.
[9] *dhrama-* Bühler.
[10] *ima* Bühler.
[11] *ku* Bühler.
[12] *Devanampriyasa Priyadraśine* Bühler.
[13] Bühler omitted *yo*.
[14] *[ti]stitu* Bühler.
[15] *i[mam]* Bühler.
[16] Read *vadhri*.
[17] *anu[lo]chayisu* Bühler.

23 षु ब्रमणिभ्येषु अनथेषु वुध्रेषु हिदसुखये ध्रमयुतअपलिबोधये वियपुट ते (L) बधनबधस पटिविधनये अपलिबोधये मोक्षये च इयं

24 अनुबध प्रज ति व कट्रभिकर ति व महलके ति व वियप्रट ते (M) हिद बहिरेषु च नगरेषु सव्रेषु ओरोधनेषु भतन च स्पसुन च

25 ये व पि अञे ञतिके सव्रत्र वियपट (N) ए इयं ध्रमनिशितो तो व ध्रमधिथने ति व दनसंयुते ति व सव्रत्र विजितसि मअ ध्रमयुतसि वपुट ते

26 ध्रममहमत्र (O) एतये अथ्रये अयि ध्रमदिपि लिखित चिरठितिक होतु तथ च मे प्रज अनुवटतु

19 (A) **De[vanaṁ]priyena** [1] **Priyadraśi raja** eva[ṁ] aha (B) kalaṇa[ṁ] dukara[ṁ] (C) ye adikare kayaṇasa se dukaraṁ karoti (D) taṁ maya bahu [ka]yaṇe [ka]ṭe (E) [ta]ṁ ma[a] putra [cha]

20 natar[e] cha [2] para [3] cha t[e]na ye apatiye me [a]va-[ka]paṁ tatha anuvaṭiśati [4] se sukaṭa ka[sha]ti (F) ye [chu] atra deśa pi hapeśati se dukaṭa kashati

21 (G) pape hi nama supadarave [5] (H) s[e] atikrata[ṁ] a[ṁ]tara[ṁ] na bhuta-pruva dhrama-[ma]hamatra nama (I) se **treḍaśa-va[sha]bhisitena** maya dhrama-mahamatra kaṭa (J) te savra-pa[sha]ḍesha [6]

22 vapuṭa dhramadhitha[na]ye cha dhrama-vadhriya hida-sukhaye cha dh[r]ama-yutasa **Yona-Kaṁboja-Gadharana** [7] **Raṭhika-Pitinikana** [8] ye va pi añe aparata (K) bha[ṭa]maye-

23 shu bramaṇibhyeshu anatheshu vudhreshu hida-su[khaye] [9] dhrama-yuta-apalibodhaye viya[p]uṭa te (L) badhana-badha[sa] paṭivi[dhanay]e apalibodhaye mokshay[e cha iyaṁ]

24 anubadha p[r]aja [10] t[i] va kaṭrabhikara ti va mahalake ti va viyapraṭa te (M) hida [11] bahireshu cha nagaresh[u] savreshu [o]rodhaneshu bhatana [12] cha spas[u]na [cha]

25 ye va pi añe ñatike savratra viyapaṭa (N) [e] iyaṁ dhrama-niśito to [13] va dhramadhithane ti va daṇa-saṁyute ti va savratra vijitasi maa dhrama-yutasi vapuṭa [te]

26 dhrama-mahamatra (O) etaye athraye ayi dhrama-dipi likhita chira-ṭhitika hotu tatha [14] cha me praja anuvaṭatu

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[1] Read °*priye*, which is Bühler's reading.

[2] Bühler omitted *cha*.

[3] *paraṁ* Bühler.

[4] *tathaṁ anuva[ṭ]iśati* Bühler.

[5] *supadare v[a]* Bühler.

[6] Read °*ḍeshu*, which is Bühler's reading.

[7] -*Ga[ṁ]dharanaṁ* Bühler.

[8] *Raṭrakra*- Bühler. The second symbol (*ṭhi*) resembles the corresponding one at Shāhbāzgaṛhī, but the vertical line connecting the right ends of the two horizontal bars is omitted here. The third symbol looks like *kaṁ*; but the apparent Anusvāra is the optional bottom-line of the letter. Cf. the *ka* of *chira-ṭhitika*, VI, 31, and above, p. 73, n. 5.

[9] *hidaṁ*- Bühler.

[10] *paja* Bühler; *ja* looks like *ju*.

[11] *hidaṁ* Bühler.

[12] Read *bhatuna*.

[13] -*niśiti ti* Bühler; read *ti* for *to*.

[14] *tathaṁ* Bühler.



SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

26 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज एवं अअ (B) अतिक्रतं अतरं

27 न हुतप्रुवे सव्रं कल अथ्रक्रम व पटिवेदन व (C) त मय एवं किटं (D) सव्र कलं अशतस मे ओरोधने ग्रभगरसि व्रचस्पि विनितस्पि उयनस्पि सव्रत्र पटिवेदक अथ्र जनस

28 पटिवेदेतु मे (E) सव्रत्र च जनस अथ्र करोमि अहं (F) यं पि च किछि मुखतो अणपेमि अहं दपकं व श्रवकं व ये व पुन महमत्रेहि अचयिके अरोपिते होति

29 तये अथ्रये विवदे निजति व संत परिषये अनतलियेन पटिवेदेतवियेमे सव्रत्र सव्र कल (G) एवं अणपित मय (H) नस्ति हि मे तोषे उठनसि अथसंतिरणये च

30 (I) कटवियमते हि मे सव्रलोकहिते (J) तस चु पुन एषे मुले उठने अथ्रसतिरण च (K) नस्ति हि क्रमतर सव्रलोकहितेन (L) यं च किछि परक्रमि अअं किति भुतनं

31 अणणियं येहं इअ च षे सुखयमि परत्र च स्पग्र अरधेतु ति (M) से एतये अथ्रये इयं ध्रमदिपि लिखित चिरठितिक होतु तथ च मे पुत्र नतरे परक्रमते सव्र-

32 लोकहितये (N) दुकरे च खो अजत्र अग्रेन परक्रमेन

26 (A) **Devanapriye** [1] **Priyadraśi raja** [e]va[ṁ] aa [2] **(B)** atikrataṁ ataraṁ [3]

27 na [4] huta-pruve [sa]vraṁ kala athra-[krama] va [pa]ṭivedana va **(C)** ta maya evaṁ kiṭaṁ **(D)** savra kalaṁ aśatasa me orodhane grabhagarasi vrachaspi vinitaspi uyanaspi savratra pa[ṭ]i[ve]da[ka] athra janasa

28 paṭivedetu me **(E)** savratra cha janasa athra kar[o]mi ahaṁ **(F)** yaṁ pi cha [5] kichhi [6] mukhato [7] aṇapemi ahaṁ dapakaṁ va śravakaṁ va ye [8] va puna mahamatrehi achayike aropite [9] hoti

29 taye athraye vivade nijati [10] va saṁta par[isha]ye a[na]taliyena paṭivedetaviye [11] me savratra savra kala **(G)** evaṁ aṇapita maya **(H)** nasti hi me toshe [uṭhanasi] ath[r]a-sa[ṁ]tiraṇaye cha

30 **(I)** kaṭaviya-mate hi me savra-loka-h[i]te **(J)** [ta]sa chu puna eshe mule uṭhane athra-satiraṇa cha **(K)** nasti hi kramatara savra-loka-hitena **(L)** ya[ṁ] cha [kichhi] [12] pa[rakra]mami aaṁ [13] k[i]t[i] bh[u]tanaṁ

31 aṇaṇiyaṁ [14] ye[haṁ] ia cha she [15] sukhayami paratra cha spagra [16] á[ra]dhetu ti

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[1] *Devana[ṁ]priye* Bühler. [2] *aha* Bühler. [3] *atikraṁtaṁ aṁtaraṁ* Bühler.
[4] *n[o]* Bühler. [5] Bühler omitted *cha.* [6] *kichi* Bühler.
[7] *mukhato* looks almost like *mukhati*, which is Bühler's reading.
[8] *yaṁ* Bühler. [9] *aropita* Bühler. [10] Read *nijhati*, which is Bühler's reading.
[11] *a[naṁ]taliyena paṭiveditaviye* Bühler. [12] *[ki]chi* Bühler. [13] *ahaṁ* Bühler.
[14] *anaṇiyaṁ* Bühler. [15] *sha* Bühler. [16] *spagraṁ* Bühler.

(**M**) se etaye athraye iyaṁ dhrama-dipi likhita chira-ṭhitika[1] hotu ta[tha[2] cha] me pu[tra nata]re para[kra]mate[3] sa[vra]-
32 [lo]ka-hitaye (**N**) dukare cha[4] kho [a]ñatra a[g]rena para[kra]mena

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

32 (A) देवनप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रज सव्रत्र इछति सव्रपषड वसेयु (B) सव्रे हि ते सयम भवशुधि च
33 इछंति (C) जने चु उचवुचछदे उचवुचरगे (D) ते सव्रं एकदेशं व पि कषति (E) विपुले पि चु दने यस नस्ति सयेमे भवशुति किटनत द्रिढभतित च
34 निचे बढं

32 (**A**) **Devanapriyo**[5] **Priyadraśi raja** savratra ichhati savra-pashaḍa vaśeyu (**B**) savre hi te sa[ya]ma [bha]va-śu[dh]i [cha]
33 [ichhaṁ]ti (**C**) jane chu uchavucha-chhade[6] uchavucha-rage (**D**) te savraṁ eka-deśaṁ va pi kashati (**E**) [v]ipule pi ch[u] dane yasa nasti sayeme[7] bhava-śuti[8] kiṭanata driḍha-bhatita[9] cha
34 niche baḍhaṁ

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

34 (A) अतिक्रतं अतरं देवनप्रिय विहरयत्र नम निक्रमिषु (B) इअ म्रिगविय अञनि च एदिशनि अभिरमनि हुसु (C) से देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि
35 रज दशवषभिसिते संतं निक्रमि सबोधि (D) तेनद ध्रमयद (E) अत्र इय होति श्रमणब्रमणान द्रशने दने च वुध्रन द्रशने च हिरञपटिविधने च
36 जनपदस जनस द्रशने ध्रमनुशस्ति च ध्रमपरिपुछ च ततोपय (F) एषे भुये रति होति देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस
37 रजिने भगे अणे

34 (**A**) a[ti]kratam ataraṁ[10] Devanapri[ya] vihara-yatra nama nikramishu (**B**) ia[11] mrigaviya añani cha ediśani abhiramani husu (**C**) s[e] **Devanap[r]iy[e] P[r]iyadraśi**
35 **raja daśa-vashabhisite saṁta[ṁ]** nikrami **Sabodhi**[12] (**D**) tenada dhrama-yada[13]

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[1] -*ṭhitikaṁ* Bühler. [2] *tathaṁ* Bühler. [3] °*maṁte* Bühler. [4] *chu* Bühler.
[5] °[*priye*] Bühler. [6] -*chade* Bühler. [7] *sayame* Bühler. [8] Read -*śudhi*.
[9] *driḍhra*- Bühler. [10] *aṁtaraṁ* Bühler. [11] *i*[*ha*] Bühler. [12] *saṁbodhi* Bühler.
[13] *tenad*[*aṁ*] *dhrama-yadra* Bühler. What looks like an Anusvāra or Rēpha, is probably the optional bottom-line of *da*, which occurs also in V, 23, 24; VIII, 36; IX, 8 (twice); X, 9; XIII, 3, 7, 9, 10, 13. Cf. above, p. 54, n. 7.

(E) atra iya hoti śamaṇa-bramaṇana [1] dra[śa]ne dane cha vudhrana [2] dra[śa]ne [cha hi]ña-paṭivi[dhane [3] cha]

36 janapadasa janasa draśane dhramanuśasti cha dhrama-[pa]r[i]puchha cha tatopaya (F) eshe bhuye rati hoti **Devanapriyasa Priyadraśisa**

37 **rajine** bhage aṇe

NINTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

B.—North Face of Second Rock.

1 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज एवं अह (B) जने उचवुचं मगलं करोति

2 अबधसि अवहसि विवहसि प्रजोपदये प्रवसस्पि एतये अञये च एदिशये जने

3 बहु मंगलं करोति (C) अत्र तु अबकजनिक बहु च बहुविध च खुद च निरथ्रिय च मगलं करोति (D) से कटविये चेव खो

4 मगले (E) अपफले चु खो एषे (F) इयं चु खो महफले ये ध्रममगले (G) अत्र इयं दसभटकसि सम्यपटिपति गुरुन अपचिति

5 प्रणन सयमे श्रमणब्रमणन दने एषे अणे च एदिशे ध्रममगले नम (H) से वतविये पितुन पि पुत्रेन पि भ्रतुन पि स्पमिकेन पि

6 मित्रसंस्तुतेन अव पटिवेशियेन पि इयं सधु इयं कटविये मगले अव तस अथ्रस निवुटिय निवुटसि व पुन इम कषमि ति (I) ए हि इतरे मगले

7 शशयिके से (J) सिय व तं अथ्रं निवटेय सिय पन नो (K) हिदलोकिके चेव से (L) इयं पुन ध्रममगले अकलिके (M) हचे पि तं अथ्रं नो निवटेति हिद अथ परत्र

8 अनत पुण प्रसवति (N) हचे पुन तं अथ्रं निवटेति हिद ततो उभयेसं अरधे होति हिद च से अथ्रे परत्र च अनत पुणं प्रसवति तेन ध्रमगलेन

1 (A) **Devanapriye Priyadraśi raja** evaṁ aha (B) jane uchavucha[ṁ ma]gala[ṁ] karoti

2 abadhasi a[va]hasi vi[va]hasi prajopadaye pravasaspi etaye añaye [cha ed]iśa[ye jane]

3 bahu maṁga[laṁ ka]ro[t]i (C) atra tu abaka-janika [4] bahu cha bahuvidha cha khuda cha nirathriya cha magalaṁ karoti (D) se ka[ṭaviye ch]eva [5] kho

4 magale (E) apa-phale chu [kho e]she (F) iyaṁ chu kho maha-phale ye dhrama-magale [6] (G) atra iyaṁ dasa-bhaṭakasi samya-paṭipati guruna a[pachit]i

5 pra[ṇa]na [sa]yame śramaṇa-bramaṇana [dane] eshe aṇe cha ediśe dhrama-magale nama (H) se vataviye pi[tu]na pi putrena pi bhratuna [7] pi spamikena pi

6 mitra-sa[ṁ]stutena [a]va paṭiveśiyena pi iyaṁ sadhu iyaṁ kaṭaviye magale ava tasa athrasa nivuṭiya nivuṭasi va puna ima [ka]shami ti [8] (I) e hi [i]tare [9] maga[le]

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[1] *śramaṇa-* Bühler.

[2] *vadhrana* Bühler.

[3] Read *hirañña-*.

[4] *balika* for *abaka-* Bühler.

[5] *cha* for *[ch]eva* Bühler.

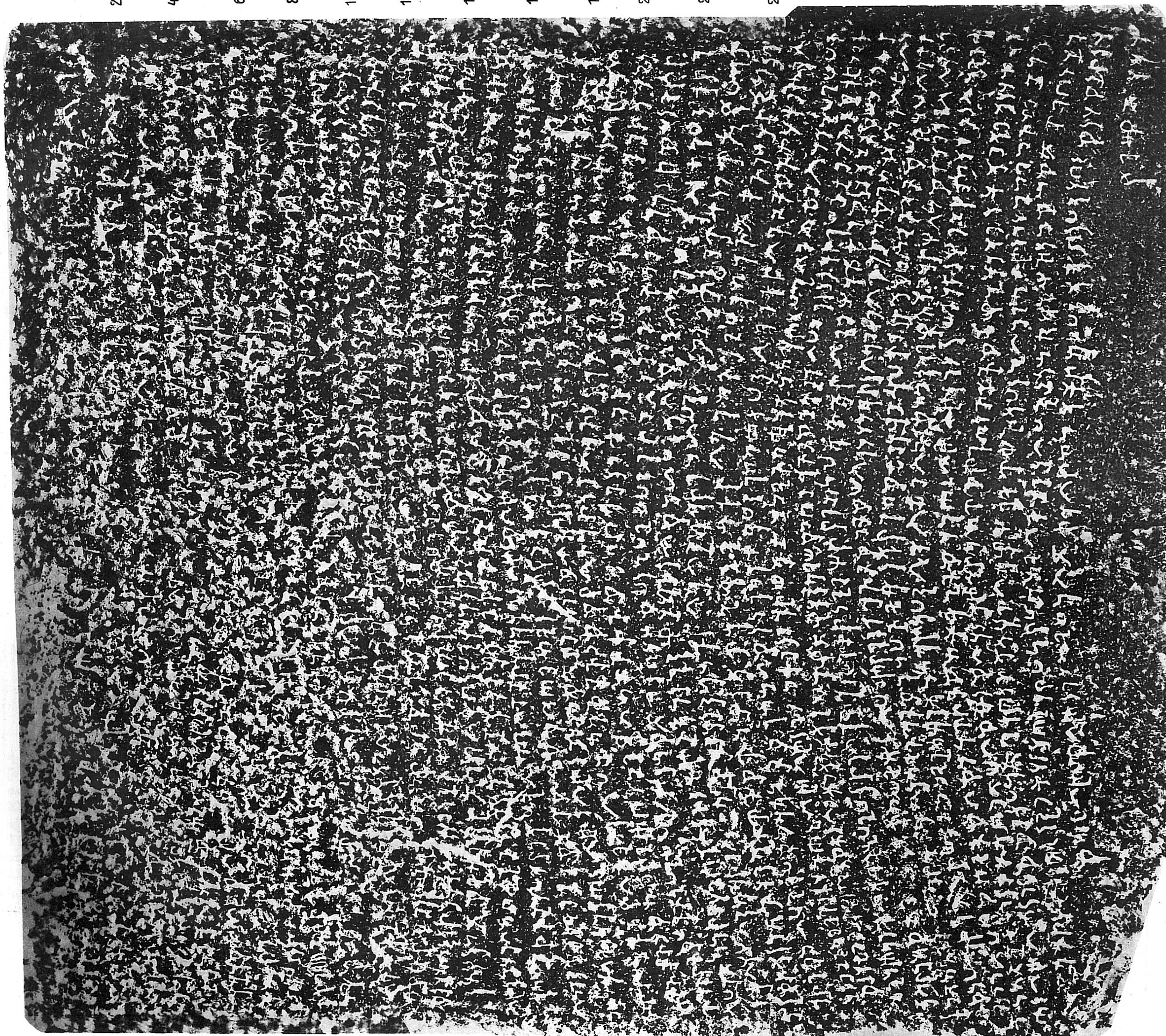
[6] *-maṁgale* Bühler.

[7] *bhatuna* Bühler.

[8] *k[e]sh[a]miti* Bühler.

[9] *[a]trake* Bühler.

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32 34 36



2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32 34 36

SCALE ONE-SIXTH

7 śa[śa]yike se **(J)** s[i]ya va taṁ athraṁ nivaṭeya s[i]ya pana no **(K)** hidal[o]kike cheva se[1] **(L)** iyaṁ puna dhrama-magale akalike **(M)** [ha]che pi taṁ athraṁ no[2] nivaṭeti [hi]da a[tha] paratra

8 anata puṇa[3] prasavati **(N)** hache puna ta[ṁ] athraṁ[4] nivaṭ[e]ti hida tato[5] ubhayesaṁ [ara]dhe[6] hoti hida cha se athre paratra cha anata[7] puṇaṁ prasavati tena dhramagalena[8].

TENTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

9 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज यशो व किटि व नो महथ्रवहं मञति अणत्र यं पि यशो व किटि व इछति तदत्वये अयतिय च जने ध्रमसुश्रुष सश्रुषतु मे ति

10 ध्रमवुतं च अनुविधियतु ति (B) एतकये देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज यशो व किटि व इछति (C) .... किछि परक्रमति देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज तं सव्रं परत्रिकये व किति

11 सकले अपपरिसवे सियति ति (D) एषे चु परिसवे ए अपुणे (E) दुकरे चु खो एषे खुद्केन व वग्रेन उसटेन व अनत्र अग्रेन परक्रमेन सव्रं परितिजितु (F) अत्र तु खो उसटेनेव दुकरे

9 **(A)** **[Devana]priye Priyadraśi raja** yaśo va kiṭi va no[9] mahathravahaṁ mañati aṇatra yaṁ pi ya[śo va] kiṭi va ichhati tadatvaye[10] ayatiya cha jane [dhra]ma-suśrusha suśrushatu[11] me ti

10 dhrama-[vutaṁ cha][12] anuvidhiyatu ti **(B)** etakaye **Devanapriye Priya[dra]śi raja** yaśo va kiṭi va i[chha]ti **(C)** . . . . [k]ichhi[13] parak[r]ama[ti] **Devanapriye Priyadraśi raja** taṁ savraṁ parat[r]ikay[e va k]i[ti]

11 sa[kale apa]-pa[r]isav[e] siyati ti **(D)** eshe chu[14] pa[ri]save e apu[ṇe][15] **(E)** dukare[16] chu kho eshe khudakena[17] [va va]gr[e]na [u]saṭena va ana[tra][18] a[gre]ṇa para[krame]na sav[raṁ] pariti[ji]tu **(F)** atra[19] tu [kho] usaṭeneva du[ka]re[20]

ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

12 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज एवं अह (B) नस्ति एदिशे द्नने अदिशे ध्रमदने ध्रमसंथवे ध्रमसंविभग ध्रमसंबंधे (C) तत्र एषे द्सभटकसि सम्यपटिपति मतपितुषु सुश्रुष

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[1] *i[ha]ch[a]loki[cha] vase* Bühler. [2] *na* Bühler. [3] *an[aṁ]taṁ puñaṁ* Bühler.
[4] *[a] . ra* Bühler. [5] *tato* looks almost like *tati.* [6] *ubhayasa [va la]dhe* Bühler.
[7] *ana[ṁ]ta[ṁ]* Bühler.
[8] Read *dhrama-magalena.* The same mistake is found in the Shāhbāzgaṛhī version.
[9] *n[a]* Bühler. [10] *tadattaye* Bühler; but see above, p. 62, n. 2.
[11] The syllable *śru* is engraved in a deep round hole which must have existed already at the time of the inscription.
[12] Bühler omitted *cha.* [13] *[e tu] kichi* Bühler. [14] *tu* Bühler.
[15] *[apu]ña[ṁ]* Bühler. [16] *dukaraṁ* Bühler. [17] *khudrakena* Bühler.
[18] *a[ña]tra* Bühler. [19] *e . .* Bühler. [20] *usaṭena va duka[ra]* Bühler.

13 मित्रसंस्तुतञतिकन श्रमणब्रमणन दने प्रणन अनरभे (D) एषे वतविये पितुन पि पुत्रेन पि भ्रतुन पि स्पमिकेन पि मित्रसंस्तुतेन अव पटिवेशियेन
14 इयं सधु इयं कटविये (E) से तथ करतं हिदलोके च कं अरधे होति परत्र च अनंतं पुणं प्रसवति तेन ध्रमदनेन

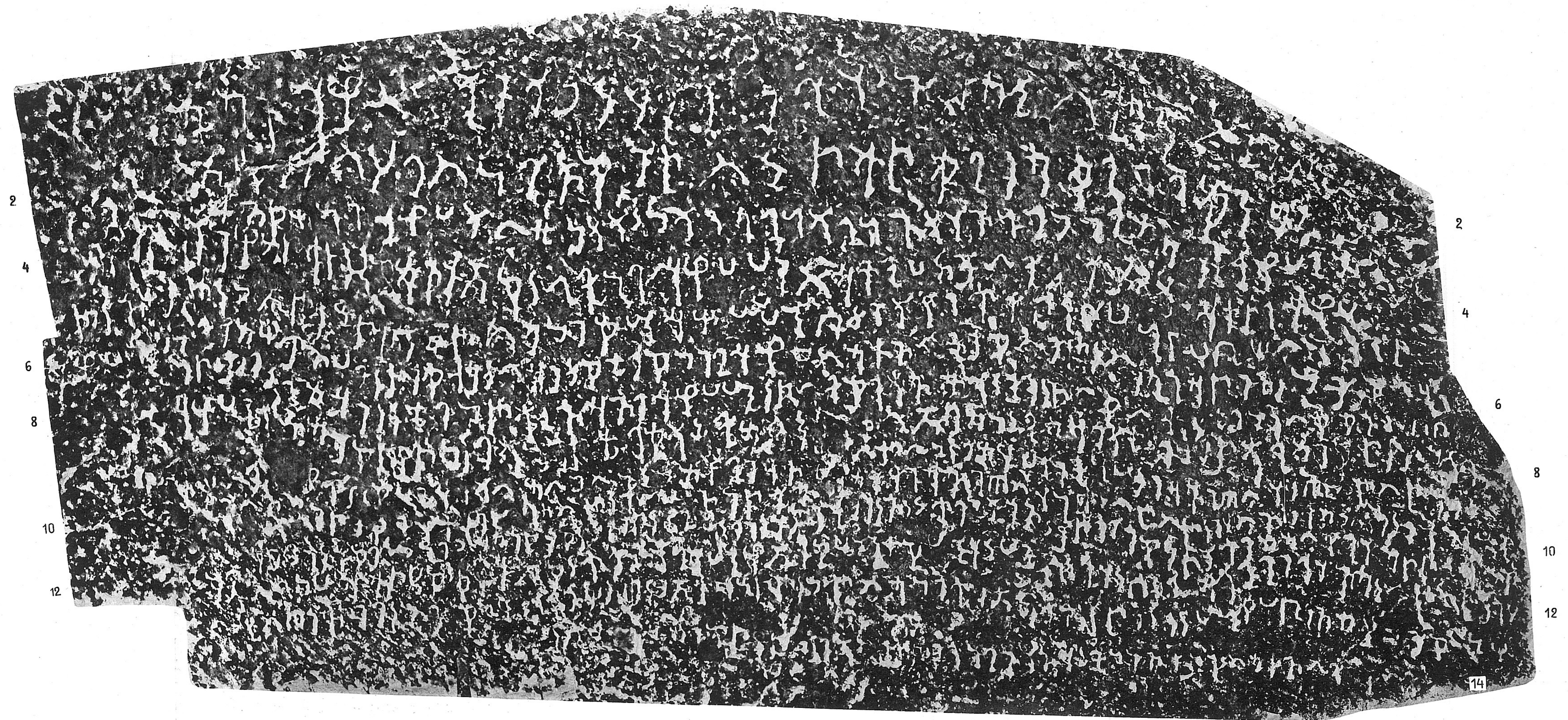
12 (A) **Devanapri[y]e Priyadraśi raja** evaṁ aha (B) nasti ediśe dane [a]diśe dhrama-dane dhrama-saṁtha[v]e dhrama-saṁvibhaga[1] dhrama-sa[ṁ]ba[ṁ]dh[e] (C) tatra eshe dasa-bhaṭa[ka]si samya-paṭipati[2] mata-[pitu]shu su[śru]sha
13 mitra-saṁ[stuta]-ñatikana śramaṇa-bramaṇana dan[e] praṇana [aṇa]rabhe[3] (D) [e]she vataviye pituna pi putrena pi bhratuna[4] pi spamike[na] pi mitra-saṁ[stu]t[e]na ava paṭiveśiyena
14 iyaṁ sa[dhu] iyaṁ kaṭaviye[5] (E) se tatha karata[ṁ] hi[dalo]ke[6] [cha] kaṁ[7] aradhe ho[ti][8] pa]ra[tra] cha ana[ṁ]taṁ puṇaṁ p[r]asavati te[na dhra]ma-danena

TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

C.—South Face of Second Rock.

1 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज सत्रपषडनि प्रवजितनि गेहथनि च पुजेति दनेन विविधये च पुजये (B) नो चु तथ दन व पुज व
2 देवनंप्रिये मञति अथ किति सलवढि सिय सत्रपषडन ति (C) सलवुढि तु बहुविध (D) तस चु इयं मुले अं वचगुति
3 किति अतप्रषडपुज व परपषडगरह व नो सिय अपकरणसि लहुक व सिय तसि तसि पकरणसि (E) पुजेतविय व चु परप्रषड तेन तेन
4 अकरेन (F) एवं करतं अत्वपषड बढं वढयति परपषडस पि च उपकरोति (G) तदंञथ करतं अतपषड च छणति परपषडस पि च
5 अपकरोति (H) ये हि केछि अत्वपषड पुजेति परपषड व गरहति सत्रे अत्व-पषडभतिय व किति अत्वपषड दिपयम ति . . . . पुन तथ करतं
6 बढतरं उपहंति अत्वपषड (I) से समवये वो सधु किति अणमणस ध्रमं श्रुणेयु च सुश्रुषेयु च ति (J) एवं हि देवनप्रियस इछ किति सत्रपषड बहुश्रुत च
7 कयणगम च हुवेयु ति (K) ए च तत्र तत्र प्रसन तेहि वतविये (L) देवनप्रिये नो तथ दनं व पुजं व मणति अथ किति सलवढि सिय सत्रपषडन
8 (M) बहुक च एतये अथूये वपुट ध्रममहमत्र इस्त्रिजक्षमहमत्र व्रचभुमिक अञे च निकये (N) इयं च एतिस फले
9 यं अत्वपषडवढि च भोति ध्रमस च दिपन

[1] °*bhage* Bühler.
[2] -[*bha*]*ta* . . *sa sa*[*mya*]-*sampaṭipati* Bühler.
[3] *anaraṁbhe* Bühler.
[4] *bhatuna* Bühler.
[5] *kraṭaviye* Bühler.
[6] *karaṁtaṁ hida* . . -*ka* Bühler.
[7] [*ku*?] Bühler in foot-note 10.
[8] *aradhe* . . *i* Bühler.



SCALE ONE-SEVENTH

1 (A) **Devanapriye Priyadraśi raja** savra-pashaḍani [p]rava[ji]tani gehathani[1] cha pujeti danena vividhaye cha pujaye[2] (B) no chu tatha dana va puja va

2 [**De**]**vana**[**ṁ**]**priye** mañati atha kiti sala-vaḍhi siya savra-pashaḍana ti (C) sala-vruḍhi t[u] bahuvidha (D) tasa chu iyaṁ mule aṁ vacha-guti

3 kiti ata-prashaḍa-puja va para-pashaḍa-garaha va no siya apakaraṇasi lahuka va siya tasi tasi pakaraṇasi (E) pujetaviya va chu para-p[r]ashaḍa tena tena

4 akarena (F) evaṁ karataṁ atva-pashaḍa[3] baḍhaṁ vaḍhayati para-pashaḍasa pi cha upakaroti (G) tad-aṁñatha[4] karataṁ ata-pashaḍa[5] cha chhaṇati para-pashaḍasa pi cha

5 apakaroti (H) ye hi kechhi[6] atva-pashaḍa pujeti para-pashaḍa va garahati savre atva-pashaḍa-bhatiya va kiti atva-pashaḍa dipayama ti .... puna tatha karataṁ

6 baḍhataraṁ[7] upahaṁti[8] atva-pasha[ḍa] (I) se samavaye vo[9] sadhu ki[ti] aṇamaṇasa dhramaṁ śruṇ[e]y[u cha] suśrushe[yu] cha ti (J) evaṁ hi **Devanapriyasa**[10] ichha kiti savra-pashaḍa bahu-śruta cha

7 kayaṇagama cha [hu]veyu[11] ti (K) e cha tatra tatra prasana tehi vataviye (L) **Devanapriye** no tatha danaṁ va puja[ṁ] va maṇati atha kiti sala-vaḍhi siya savra-pashaḍa[na]

8 (M) [ba]huka cha etaye athraye vapuṭa dhrama-mahamatra istrijaksha-mahamatra[12] vracha-bh[u]mika añe cha nikay[e][13] (N) iyaṁ cha etisa phale

9 yaṁ atva-pashaḍa-vaḍhi cha bh[o]t[i] dhramasa cha [di]pana

THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

D.—Third Inscribed Rock.

1 (A) अठवषभिसितस देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिने रजिने कलिग विजित (B) दियढमत्रे प्रणशतस ....

2 मटे (C) ततो पच अधुन लधेषु कलिगेषु तिव्रे ध्रमवये .... ध्रमनुशस्ति च देवनप्रि .... (D) ....

3 मरणे व अपवहे व जनस से बढं वेदनियमते गुरुमते च देवनप्रियस (F) इयं पि चु ततो ....

4 येसु विहित एष अग्रभुटिसुश्रुष मतपितुषु सुश्रुष गुरुसुश्रुष मित्रसंस्तु ....

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[1] *-prashaḍani pravrajitani gahathani* Bühler. [2] *pujaya* Bühler.

[3] Here, and in five other places of the same edict, Bühler read *atma-* for *atva-*. The second syllable of this word is identical in shape with the *tva* of *tadatvaye* in edict X, l. 9. I therefore read *atva-*, following Konow (SPAW, 1916, 804, n. 7), who quotes in support Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 277.

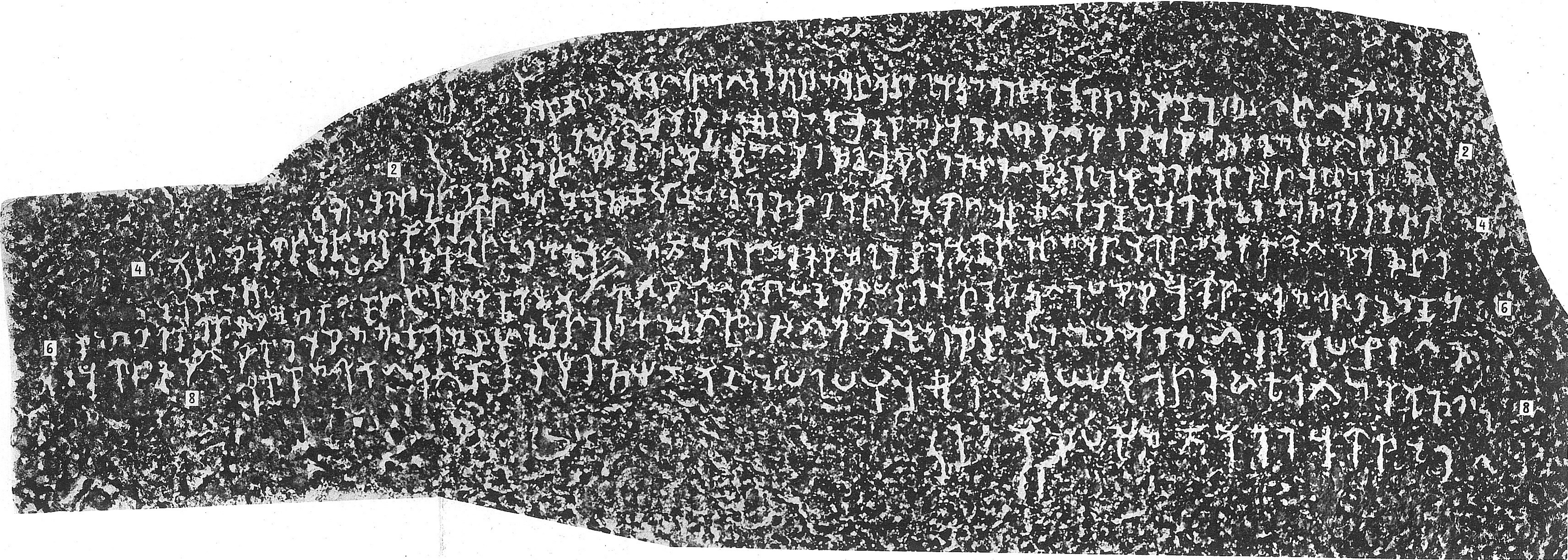
[4] *tadañathaṁ* Bühler. The wavy line at the bottom of *da* need not be an Anusvāra, but may be a portion of *da* itself; see above, p. 77, n. 13.

[5] *atma-* Bühler. [6] *kechi* Bühler. [7] *badhaṁtaraṁ* Bühler.

[8] °*haṁti* looks like *aṁti*; °*ha*[*na*]*ti* Bühler. [9] *v*[*a*] Bühler.

[10] *Devana*[*ṁ*]*priyasa* Bühler. [11] *haveyu* Bühler. [12] Read *istrijhaksha-*.

[13] *nikaya* Bühler.



SCALE ONE-SEVENTH

5 वधे व अभिरतनं व विनिक्रमणि (H) येषं व पि सुविहितनं सिनेहे अविपहिने ए तनं मित्रसं . . . .

6 (I) . . . . एष सव्रमनुशनं गुरुमते च देवनंप्रियस (J) नस्ति च से जनपदे यत्र नस्ति इमे निकय अञत्र योनेषु ब्रमणे च श्रमणे . . . . पि जनपदसि यत्र . . . .

7 न नम प्रसदे (K) से यवतके जने तद कलिगेषु हते च . . . . . . अपवुढे च ततो शतभगे व सहस्रभगे व अज गुरुमते व देवनप्रियस (L) . . . . पक . . . . मितवि . . . .

8 (M) . . पि च अटवि देवनप्रियस विजितसि होति त पि अनुनयति अनुनिझपयति (N) अनुतपे पि च प्रभवे देवनप्रियस वुचति तेष कि . . . . (O) . . छ . . . . . . वनप्रिय . . . .

9 (P) . . . . . . मुखमुते विजये देवनप्रियस ये ध्रमविजये (Q) से च पुन लधे देवनप्रियस हिद च सव्रेषु च अंतेषु अ षषु पि योजनशतेषु . . . . . . तियोगे नम योनरज . . . .

10 अंते . . . . नम मक नम अलिकसुदरे नम निच चोडपंडिय अ तंबपंणिय (R) एवमेव हिद रजविषवसि योनकंबोजेषु नभकनभपंतिषु भोजपितिनिकेषु अधप . . . .

11 (S) यत्र पि दुत देवनप्रियस न यंति ते पि श्रुतु देवनप्रियस ध्रमवुत विधनं ध्रमनुशस्ति ध्रंमं अनुविधियंति अनुविधियिशंति च (T) ये से लधे एतकेन होति सव्रत्र विजये . . . .

12 (W) परत्रिकमेव महफल मणति देवनप्रिये (X) एतये च अथ्रये इयं ध्रंमदिपि लिखित किति पुत्र प्रपोत्र मे असु नवं वि . . . . तवियं मणिषु सय . . . .

13 (Y) . . हिदलोके परलोकिके (Z) सव च क निरति होतु य ध्रमरति (AA) स हि इअलोकिक परलोकिक

1 (A) [aṭha]-**vashabhisita[sa] De[va]na[priyasa] Priyadraśine rajine [Ka]liga** [v]i[jita] **(B)** [di]ya[ḍha]-mat[r]e praṇa-[śata-sa] . . . .

2 [ma]ṭe **(C)** [tato] pacha[1] adhuna la[dhe]shu **Kaligeshu** ti[vr]e dhrama[va]ye . . . . [dhra]manu[śa]sti [cha **De**]**vana[pri]** . . . . **(D)** . . . .

3 [maraṇe va apavahe va janasa] se [baḍhaṁ] vedaniya-mate guru-mate [cha **Devanapriyasa**] **(F)** [i]yaṁ [pi] chu tato . . . .

4 [ye]su [vihi]ta esha [a]grabhu[ṭi]-suśrusha mata-pi[tu]sh[u] su[śru]sha guru-suśrusha mit[r]a-sa[ṁ]stu . . . .

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[1] *pachha* Bühler. In this edict I am noting only verbal differences from Bühler's text, but not the numerous passages which he omitted because he was unable to make them out from the materials at his disposal.

5 [va]dh[e] va abh[iratanaṁ] va vini[k]ramaṇi [1] (H) yesha[ṁ] va pi s[u]vih[itanaṁ] [2] si[ne]he avipahin[e [3] e] ta[naṁ] mitra-[saṁ] . . . .

6 (I) . . . . [esha] savra-manuśanaṁ [4] guru-mate cha **Devanaṁpriyasa** (J) nasti cha se janapade yatra nasti ime ni[ka]ya a[ña]tra **Yoneshu** [bramaṇe [5] cha] śra[maṇe] . . . . pi [janapada]si ya[t]ra . . . .

7 na [6] nama prasade (K) se yavatake jane tada **Kaligesh[u]** hate [7] cha . . . . . . apavuḍhe cha ta[to] [8] śata-bhage va sahasra-bhage va [9] aja guru-ma[te va] **Devanapriya[sa]** (L) . . . . pa[ka] . . . . [mi]tavi . . . .

8 (M) . . [pi cha] aṭavi **Devanapriyasa** [10] vijitasi hoti [ta] pi a[nuna]ya[ti a]nu[nijha]paya[ti] [11] (N) [anu]tape pi cha prabhave **Devanapriyasa** [12] vuchati [te]sha [13] [ki] . . . . (O) . . chha . . . . . . **vanapri[y .]** [14] . . . .

9 (P) . . . . . . [mukha]-mute v[i]jaye **D[e]vanapriyasa** [15] ye dhrama-vijaye (Q) se cha [puna] la[dh]e **[Deva]napri[ya]sa** [15] hida cha sa[vr]eshu cha aṁteshu a shashu pi y[o]ja[na-śa]t[e]shu . . . . . . **tiyo[ge** [16] nama **Yo]na-[raja]** . . . .

10 **Aṁt[e]** . . . . [nama **Ma]ka** na[ma] **Alikasudare** nama nicha [17] **Choḍa-Paṁḍiya** a **Taṁbapa[ṁ]ṇiya** [18] (R) evameva [hida] raja-vishava[si] [19] **Y[o]na-Kaṁ[bojeshu]** **Nabhaka-[Na]bhapa[ṁ]tishu** [20] **[Bh]o[ja-Pi]tini[ke]shu** **Adha-[Pa]** [21] . . . .

11 (S) [yatra pi du]ta **[De]vanapriyasa** na [22] yaṁti te pi śrutu **Devanapriyasa** [23] dhrama-vuta [24] vidhana[ṁ] dhramanuśasti dhra[ṁ]ma[ṁ] anuvidhiyaṁti [a]nuvidhiy[iśaṁti [25] cha] (T) [ye se] ladhe e[ta]ke[na ho]ti savra[tra] [26] vi[jaye] . . . .

12 (W) paratrikameva maha-phala [ma]ṇati **De[va]napri[ye]** (X) e[ta]ye cha [27] [a]thray[e] iyaṁ dhraṁma-dipi [28] li[khi]ta kiti putra prap[o]tra me a[su] nava[ṁ] [29] v[i] . . . . [tavi]yaṁ maṇ[ishu saya] . . . .

13 (Y) . . hidaloke paralokike (Z) sava [30] cha [ka] [31] nirati hotu ya dhrama-rati [32] (AA) sa hi [i]aloki[ka] [33] paraloki[ka]

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

13 (A) इयं ध्रमदिपि देवनप्रियेन प्रिय · · · · · · · · जिन लिखपित · · · · · · · · · ·

14 लिखिते लिखपेशमि चेव नि · · (D) अस्ति चु अच पुन पुन लपिते तस तस अथ्रस मधुरियये येन जने तथ पटिपजेयति (E) से सिय अच किछि · · · · · · ति लिखित · · · · व संखय · · · · · · · · · ·

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[1] °*maṇe* Bühler. [2] *saṁvi*° Bühler. [3] *avipráhi[ne]* Bühler.
[4] *savraṁ manu*° Bühler. [5] *yenesha [bramaṇa]* Bühler. [6] *no* Bühler.
[7] *hate* looks like *aṁte*. [8] *[tata]* Bühler. [9] Bühler omitted *va*.
[10] *Devanaṁpri*° Bühler. [11] °*paye ti* Bühler. [12] *Deva[naṁ]pri*° Bühler.
[13] *[teshaṁ]* Bühler. [14] *vanaṁpri[ye]* Bühler. [15] *[De]vanaṁpri*° Bühler.
[16] . . . . *yok* . Bühler. [17] *[ni]chaṁ cha* Bühler. [18] °*paṁniya* Bühler.
[19] *Visha-Vaj[ri]-* Bühler. [20] *[Nabha]ke [Na]bha*° Bühler. [21] *Aṁdha-* Bühler.
[22] *no* Bühler. [23] *Devanaṁpri*° Bühler. [24] *-vutaṁ* Bühler. [25] °*[saṁti]* Bühler.
[26] Bühler omitted this word. [27] Bühler omitted *cha*. [28] *dhrama-* Bühler.
[29] *nava* Bühler. [30] *savra* Bühler. [31] Bühler omitted *ka*.
[32] *[s]rama-* Bühler. [33] *[hida]lo*° Bühler.

13 (A) [i]yaṁ dhrama-dipi **De[va]napriyena Pri[ya]** [1] . . . . **[jina** likhapita] . . . .

14 [likhite likha]pe[śa]mi che[va] ni . .[2] (D) [asti chu a]tra puna puna la[pite] tasa ta[sa] a[thra]sa [madhu]riyaye [ye]na jane ta[tha] paṭipaje[ya]ti (E) se [si]ya atra ki[chhi] . . . . . . [t]i likhi[t .] . . . . va [saṁkha]ya . . . .

V. THE DHAULI ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

1 (A) . . . . सि पवतसि देवानंपिय . . . . ना लाजिना लिखा . . . . ̊ येवं आलभितु पजोह . . . .

2 (C) नो पि च समाजे . . . . समाज . . द . . . . (E) . . . . पि चु . . . . तिया समाजा साधुमता देव . . . .

3 पियदसिने लाजिने (F) . . . . मह . . . . पिय . . . . नि पानसत . . . . आलभियिसु सूपठाये

4 (G) से अज अदा इयं धंमलिपी लिखिता तिं . . . . आलभिय . . . . तिंनि पानानि पछा नो आलंभियिसंति

1 (A) . . . . [si[3] pava]tasi [D]e[v]ā[na]ṁp[iy] . . . . [nā lājinā l]i[khā] . . . . [ī]vaṁ ālabhitu pajo[h] . . . .

2 (C) [no pi cha sam]ā[je] . . . . [samā]ja . . [d] . . . . (E) . . . . [pi chu] . . . . [t]i[y]ā [sam]ā[jā] s[ā]dhu-matā **Dev** . . . .

3 **[Piyadasine lā]j[ine]** (F) . . . . . . [mah] . . . . Piy[a] . . . . [n]i [p]āna-[sa]ta . . . . [ā]labhiyisu sūpaṭhāy[e]

4 (G) se a[ja] adā [iyaṁ dha]ṁ[ma]-lipī likhitā tiṁ . . . . [āla]bh[iy] . . . . [t]iṁni pānāni pachhā n[o] āl[aṁ]bhiyisa[ṁ]t[i] [4]

SECOND ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

1 (A) सवत विजितसि देवानंपियस पियदसिने ल . . . . अथा . . . . तियोके नाम योनलाजा

2 ए वा पि तस अंतियोकस सामंता लाजाने सवत देवानंपियेन पियदसिना . . . . सा च पसुचिकिसा च (B) . . . . धानि

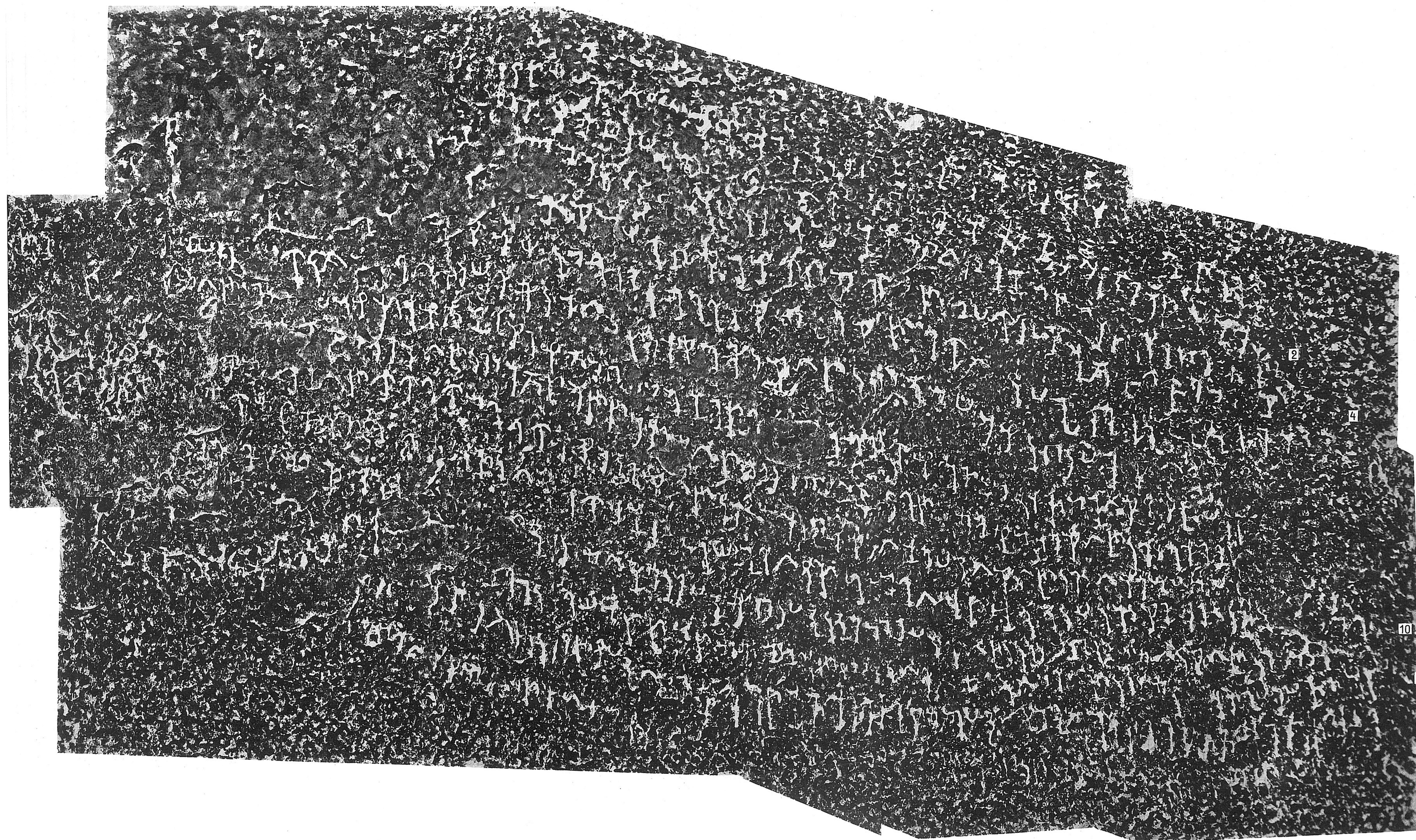
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[1] Of this edict Bühler has read only the two words [*Devanaṁpriyena Priyadraśina*]; see ZDMG, 44. 704.

[2] The actual reading was perhaps *nikaṁ*, which would correspond to *nikyaṁ* at Kālsī.

[3] The name of the hill on which the Dhauli record was engraved is lost. It cannot have been *Khepiṁgala* as believed (and traced on his plate IX) by Cunningham, because this was the original name of the Jaugaḍa rock; see the Jaugaḍa edict I, A.

[4] *ālābhi*° Senart, *ālabhi*° Bühler.



SCALE ONE-SEVENTH

3 आनि मुनिसोपगानि पसुओपगानि च अतत नथि सवत हालापिता च लोपापिता
च (C) मूल ·········· वत हालापिता च

4 लोपापिता च (D) मगेसु उदुपानानि खानापितानि लुखानि च लोपापितानि
पटिभोगाये ·········· नं

1 (A) [sa]vata [v]i[ji]tasi **[D]e[v]ānaṁpiyasa Piyadasi[ne l]** . . . . [athā]
. . . . [t]**iyoke** nāma **Yo[na]-lājā**

2 [e] vā [p]i [ta]sa **Aṁtiyo[ka]sa** sāmaṁtā lājāne savat[a **D]evā[naṁp]i[ye]na**
P[i]yadasi[nā] . . . . [s]ā cha p[asu-ch]i[k]is[ā] cha **(B)** . . . . dhāni

3 ān[i m]u[nisopa]gāni pasu-opagān[i] cha atata na[thi savata hā]lāpit[ā] cha [lo]pāp[i]tā
[cha] **(C)** mū[l] . . . . v[a]t[a] hālāpitā [cha]

4 lo[p]āpitā cha **(D)** ma[g]e[su udu]pānāni khānāpitāni lukhāni cha lopā[p]itāni
p[a]ṭibhogāye . . . . [na]ṁ

THIRD ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) दुवादसवसाभिसितेन मे इयं
आनापयि ·· (C) ···· त विजितसि मे युता लजुके ··········

2 पंचसु पंचसु वसेसु अनुसयानं निखमावू अथा अंनाये पि कंमने हेवं इमाये
धंमानुसथिये (D) साधु मातापितिसु सुसूसा म ··········

3 नातिसु च बंभनसमनेहि साधु दाने जीवेसु अनालंभे साधु अपवियता अपभंडता
साधु (E) पलिसा पि च ···· नसि युतानि आनपयिसति हेतुते च
वियंज ······

1 **(A) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasī** lājā hevaṁ āhā **(B) duvādasa-vasābhisitena** me
iy[a]ṁ ānāp[ay]i[1] . . **(C)** . . . . [ta v]i[j]it[a]si m[e] yut[ā] la[j]u[k]e . . . .

2 paṁchasu paṁchasu vasesu anusayānaṁ nikhamāvū athā aṁnāye pi [ka]ṁ[ma]ne
hevaṁ imā[y]e [dhaṁ]mānus[ath]iy[e] **(D)** [s]ādh[u] māt[ā]-p[i]t[i]su su[s]ūs[ā
m] . . . .

3 nātisu cha baṁbhana-samanehi sādhu dāne jīvesu anālaṁbhe sādhu apa-viy[a]t[ā][2]
apa-bh[aṁ]ḍatā sādhu **(E)** p[a]lisā pi cha . . . . [nas]i y[u]t[ān]i ā[na]p[ay]is[a]ti
[he]tut[e] ch[a] vi[yaṁja] . . . . . .

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

1 (A) अतिकंतं अंतलं बहूनि वससतानि वढिते व पानालंभे विहिसा च भूतानं
नातिसु असंपटिपति समनबाभनेसु असंपटिपति

2 (B) से अज देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने धंमचलनेन भेलिघोसं अहो
धंमघोसं विमानदसनं हथीनि अगिकंधानि अंनानि च दिवियानि

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[1] *ānapa . i* Bühler.

[2] *apaviyati* Senart and Bühler.

3 लूपानि दसयितु मुनिसानं (C) आदिसे बहूहि वससतेहि नो हूतपुलुवे तादिसे अज वढिते देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने धंमानुसथिया

4 अनालंभे पानानं अविहिसा भूतानं नातिसु संपटिपति समनबाभनेसु संपटिपति मातिपितुसुसूसा वुढसुसूसा (D) एस अंने च बहुविधे

5 धंमचलने वढिते (E) वढयिसति चेव देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा धंमचलनं इमं (F) पुता पि चु नति पनति ˙ ˙ च देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने

6 पवढयिसंति येव धंमचलनं इमं आकपं धंमसि सीलसि च चिठितु धंमं अनुसासिसंति (G) एस हि सेठे कंमे या धंमानुसासना (H) धंमचलने पि चु

7 नो होति असीलस (I) से इमस अठस वढी अहीनि च साधू (J) एताये अठाये इयं लिखिते इमस अठस वढी युजंतू हीनि च मा अलोचयिसू

8 (K) दुवादस वसानि अभिसितस देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने यं इध लिखिते

1 **(A)** atikaṁtaṁ aṁtalaṁ bahūni vasa-satāni vaḍhite va pānā[la]ṁbhe vihisā cha bhūtānaṁ nātisu asaṁpaṭipati samana-bābha[ne]su asaṁpaṭipati

2 **(B)** se aja **Devānaṁpiyasa Piyadasine lājine** dhaṁma-chalanena bheli-ghosaṁ a[h]o dhaṁma-[gho]saṁ vimāna-dasanaṁ hathīni [a]gi-kaṁdhāni aṁnāni cha [di]vi[y]āni

3 lūpān[i] dasayitu munisānaṁ **(C)** ād[i]se b[a]hūhi vasa-sa[t]ehi no hūta-puluve tādise aja va[ḍhite **De**]**vānaṁpiyasa Piy**[a]**dasine lājin**[e] dhaṁ[m]ānus[a]thi[y]ā

4 an[āla]ṁbhe pānānaṁ avihisā bhūtānaṁ nātisu saṁpaṭipat[i sama]na-b[ā]bhanesu [1] saṁpaṭipati m[ā]t[i]-pitu-susūsā vu[ḍha]-susūsā **(D)** esa aṁne cha ba[h]uvidhe

5 dh[a]ṁma-chalane vaḍhite **(E)** vaḍhayis[a]ti cheva **Devānaṁpiye Piyada**[s]**ī l**[ā]**jā** dhaṁma-chalanaṁ imaṁ **(F)** putā pi chu [2] nati [panati] . . [3] [cha] **Devānaṁpiyasa Piyadasine lājine**

6 pavaḍhayisaṁti yeva dhaṁma-chalanaṁ imaṁ ā-k[a]paṁ dhaṁmasi [s]īlasi ch[a ch]i[ṭh]itu [dhaṁmaṁ a]nus[ā]sisaṁ[t]i **(G)** esa h[i] se[ṭhe kaṁ]me yā dhaṁmānusāsanā **(H)** dhaṁma-chalane pi chu

7 no hoti asīlasa **(I)** se imasa aṭhasa v[a]ḍhī [4] ahīni ch[a] sā[dhū] [5] **(J)** et[āy]e [aṭhāy]e iyaṁ likhite imasa aṭhasa vaḍhī yujaṁtū hīni cha mā alochayisū [6]

8 **(K) duvādasa vasāni abhisitasa Devānaṁpi**[ya]**sa Piyadasine lājine** yaṁ [7] [idha] likhite

FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) कयाने दुकले (C) . . . . कयानस से दुकलं कलेति (D) से मे बहुके कयाने कटे (E) तं ये मे पुता व

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[1] *-baṁbhanesu* Bühler.
[2] *cha* Senart and Bühler.
[3] The Kālsī version reads *panātikyā*.
[4] *vuḍhī* Bühler.
[5] *sādhu* Senart and Bühler.
[6] °*yisu* Senart and Bühler.
[7] Read perhaps *iyaṁ*.

2 नती व · · · च तेन ये अपतिये मे आवकपं तथा अनुवतिसंति से सुकटं कछंति (F) ए हेत देसं पि हापयिसति से दुकटं कछति (G) पापे हि नाम

3 सुपदालये (H) से अतिकंतं अंतलं नो हूतपुलुवा धंममहामाता नाम (I) से तेदसवसाभिसितेन मे धंममहामाता नाम कटा (J) ते सवपासंडेसु

4 वियापटा धंमाधिथानाये धंमवढिये हितसुखाये च धंमयुतस योनकंबोचगंधालेसु लठिकपितेनिकेसु ए वा पि अंने आपलंता (K) भटिमयेसु

5 बाभनिभियेसु अनाथेसु महालकेसु च हितसुखाये धंमयुताये अपलिबोधाये वियापटा से (L) बंधनबधस पटिविधानाये अपलिबोधाये मोखाये च

6 इयं अनुबंध पजा ति व कटाभीकाले ति व महालके ति व वियापटा से (M) हिद च बाहिलेसु च नगलेसु सवेसु सवेसु ओलोधनेसु मे ए वा पि भातीनं मे भगिनीनं व

7 अंनेसु वा नातिसु सवत वियापटा (N) ए इयं धंमनिसिते ति व धंमाधिथाने ति व दानसयुते व सवपुठवियं धंमयुतसि वियापटा इमे धंममहामाता (O) इमाये अठाये

8 इयं धंमलिपी लिखिता चिलठितीका होतु तथा च मे पजा अनुवततु

1 **(A)** **[Dev]ānaṁpiye Piyadasī lājā** h[eva]ṁ āhā **(B)** kayāne dukale **(C)** . . . . k[a]y[ā]n[a]sa s[e] dukalaṁ kal[e]ti **(D)** se me b[ah]uke kayāne kaṭe **(E)** taṁ ye me [p]ut[ā] va

2 n[a]t[ī][1] va] . . . . ṁ cha t[e]na ye apatiye me āva-kapaṁ tathā anuvatisaṁti s[e] sukaṭaṁ kachh[aṁ]ti **(F)** e heta d[esa]ṁ pi hāpayisat[i] se dukaṭaṁ kachhati **(G)** pā[p]e hi [nāma]

3 supadālaye **(H)** s[e] at[ikaṁ]taṁ aṁtalaṁ no hūta-puluvā dhaṁma-mahāmātā nāma **(I)** se **tedasa-va[sā]bhisitena** me dhaṁma-mahāmātā nāma kaṭā **(J)** te sava-pāsaṁḍe[su]

4 v[i]y[āpaṭā] dhaṁmādhithān[ā]ye dhaṁma-[va]ḍhiye hita-sukhāye [cha] dhaṁma-yutas[a] **Yona-Kaṁbocha-Gaṁdhālesu Laṭhika-[P]itenikesu** e vā pi aṁne āpalaṁtā[2] **(K)** bhaṭi[mayesu]

5 bābha[n]ibhi[yes]u anāthesu ma[hāla]kesu cha h[i]t[a]-sukhāye dhaṁma-yutāye a[pa]libodhāye viyā[pa]ṭā se[3] **(L)** baṁdhana-[ba]dhas[a] p[a]ṭi[vidhānā]ye apalib[o]dhāye mokhāye cha

6 iya[ṁ] anubaṁdh[a] p[aj]ā[4] [t]i [va ka]ṭābhīkā[le] ti va mahālake ti va viyāpaṭā se **(M)** hida cha bāhilesu cha nagalesu savesu s[a]vesu olodhanes[u me] e vā pi bhāt[ī]naṁ[5] me bhaginīnaṁ va

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[1] *nat[i]* Bühler. [2] *āpalaṁta* Bühler.

[3] Here, and at the end of section L, Franke (VOJ, 9. 349 f.) joins *viyāpaṭāse* into one word, and takes it as an equivalent of the Vēdic nominative plural in *-āsaḥ*. In the pillar-edict VII, Y (twice) and CC, *viyāpaṭāse* actually occurs. But, as pointed out by Michelson (AJP, 32. 442 f.), the case may after all be different at Dhauli, because the other versions have *te* in the place of *se*.

[4] *pa[ja]* Bühler. [5] *bhātinaṁ* Bühler.

7 aṁnesu vā [nāt]i[su sava]t[a] v[i]yāpaṭā **(N)** e iyaṁ dhaṁm[a-n]isite ti va dhaṁmādhithāne ti va dāna-sayute va sava-puṭhaviyaṁ dha[ṁ]ma-yutasi viyāpaṭā ime dhaṁma-mahām[ā]tā **(O)** [i]m[ā]ye aṭhāye

8 iyaṁ dhaṁma-lip[ī] li[kh]i[tā] chila-ṭhitīk[ā ho]tu t[athā] cha me pa[jā anu]vatatu

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) अतिकंतं अंतलं नो हूतपुलुवे सवं कालं अठकंमे व पटिवेदना व (C) से ममया कटे (D) सवं कालं · · · · मानस मे

2 अंते ओलोधनसि गभागालसि वचसि विनीतसि उयानसि च सवत पटिवेदका जनस अठं पटिवेदयंतु मे ति (E) सवत च जनस अठं कलामि हकं

3 (F) अं पि च किंछि मुखते आनपयामि दापकं वा सावकं वा ए वा महामातेहि अतियायिके आलोपिते होति तसि अठसि विवादे व निझती वा संतं पलिसाया

4 आनंतलियं पटिवेदेतविये मे ति सवत सवं कालं (G) हेवं मे अनुसथे (H) नथि हि मे तोसे उठानसि अठसंतीलनाय च (I) कटवियमते हि मे सवलोकहिते

5 (J) तस च पन इयं मूले उठाने च अठसंतीलना च (K) नथि हि कंमत · · सवलोकहितेन (L) अं च किछि पलकमामि हकं किंति भूतानं आननियं येहं ति

6 हिद च कानि सुखयामि पलत च स्वगं आलाधयंतू ति (M) एताये अठाये इयं धंमलिपी लिखिता चिलठितीका होतु तथा च पुता पपोता मे पलकमंतू

7 सवलोकहिताये (N) दुकले चु इयं अंनत अगेन पलकमेन

1 **(A) Dev[ānaṁp]iye Pi[yada]sī lājā** [he]vaṁ [ā]hā **(B)** atikaṁ[taṁ a]ṁ[ta]laṁ no [h]ū[ta]-puluve s[a]vaṁ kālaṁ aṭha-ka[ṁ]me va [pa]ṭiveda[n]ā va **(C)** se mamayā kaṭe **(D)** sa[va]ṁ [kālaṁ] . . . . [māna]sa [1] me

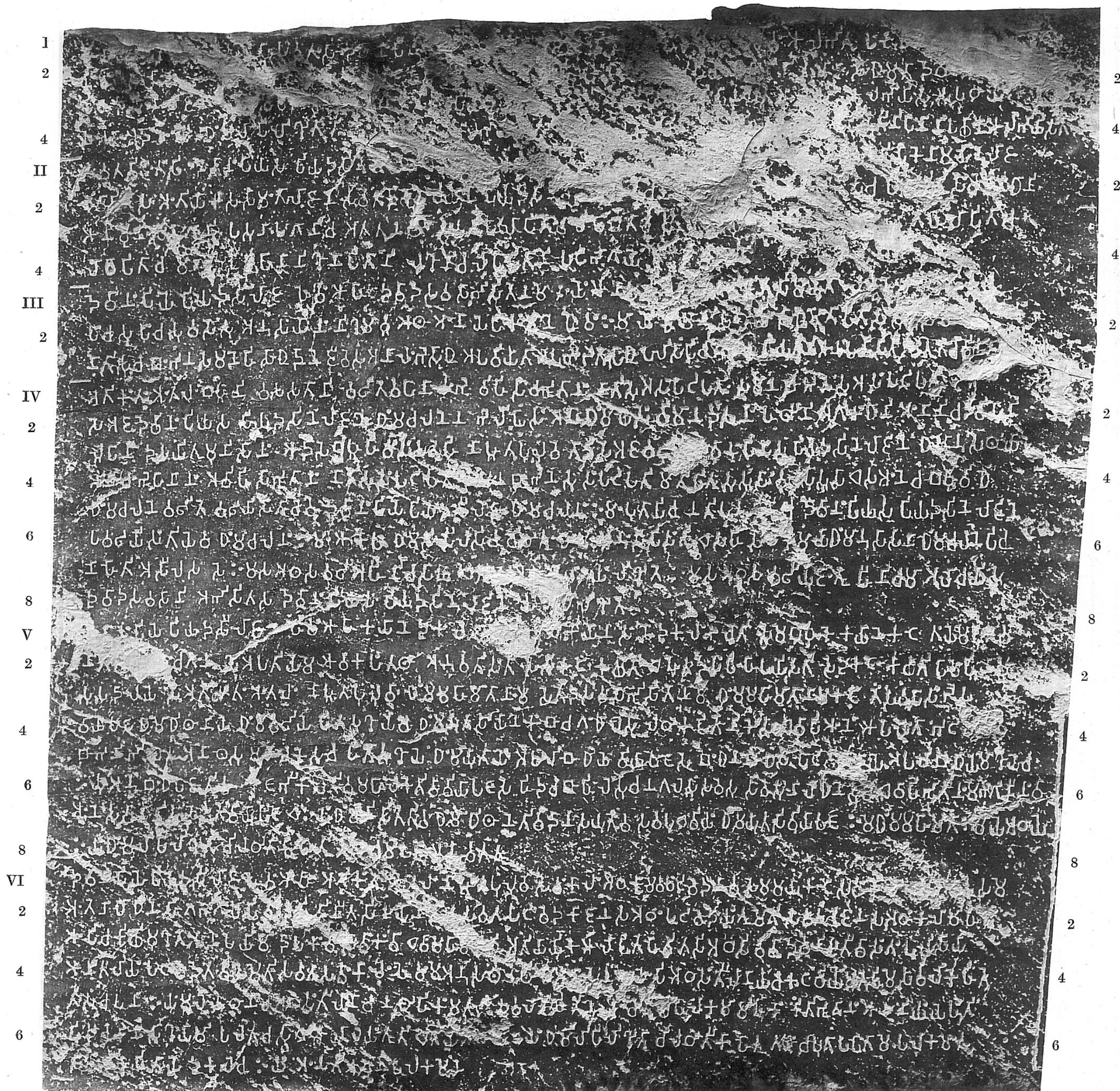
2 aṁte olodh[a]nasi ga[bhā]g[āla]si v[achas]i [v]inītasi [u]y[ā]n[asi cha sa]vata paṭivedakā janasa aṭhaṁ [pa]ṭived[a]yaṁtu m[e] ti **(E)** sava[ta] ch[a] j[a]nasa aṭhaṁ kalāmi h[aka]ṁ

3 **(F)** aṁ pi cha ki[ṁ]chhi mukh[a]te ānapay[ā]mi dāpakaṁ v[ā sā]v[a]kaṁ vā e vā mahām[āteh]i atiyāyike ālopite hoṭi tasi aṭhasi v[i]vāde va [n]ijhatī vā saṁtaṁ palisāyā [2]

4 āna[ṁ]taliyaṁ paṭi[ve]detav[i]y[e] me ti savata savaṁ kālaṁ **(G)** heva[ṁ] me anusathe **(H)** nath[i hi m]e [tos]e u[ṭhāna]si aṭha-saṁtīlanāya cha **(I)** kaṭaviya-m[at]e hi me sava-loka-hite

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[1] [*mī*]*nasa* Bühler. [2] *palisāya* Bühler.



SCALE ONE-SEVENTH

5 (J) tasa cha pana iyaṁ mūle [u]ṭhān[e cha a]ṭha-saṁtīl[a]n[ā] cha (K) nathi hi kaṁmata . . [sa]va-lo[ka]-hitena (L) [aṁ] ch[a kichhi] p[a]lakamāmi hakaṁ kiṁti bhūtānaṁ ā[na]niyaṁ yeha[ṁ] ti

6 [h]i[da] cha [k]ān[i] sukhayāmi pal[a]ta cha svag[aṁ āl]ādhayaṁtū ti (M) et[ā]y[e aṭhāye i]yaṁ dhaṁma-lipī likhitā ch[i]la-ṭh[i]tīkā hotu ta[th]ā cha putā papotā me palakama[ṁ]t[ū] [1]

7 [sava-loka]-hitāye (N) dukale chu iyaṁ aṁnat[a] a[g]en[a pa]lakamena

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा सवत इछति सवपासंडा वसेवू ति (B) सवे हि ते सयमं भावसुधी च इछंति (C) मुनिसा च

2 उचावुचछंदा उचावुचलागा (D) ते सवं वा एकदेसं व कछंति (E) विपुले पि चा दाने अस नथि सयमे भावसुधी च नीचे बाढं

1 (A) **[D]evānaṁ[p]iye Piy[a]dasī lājā** savata ichhat[i sava-p]āsaṁ[ḍā va]sevū ti (B) save h[i] t[e sa]yamaṁ [bh]āv[a]-sudhī cha ichhaṁti (C) mun[i]sā ch[a]

2 [u]ch[ā]v[u]cha-[chha]ṁ[d]ā uchāvucha-lāgā (D) te savaṁ vā ek[a]-de[saṁ va kachhaṁ]ti (E) vipul[e] pi chā [2] dāne asa n[athi sa]yame [bh]āva-sudhī cha nīche bāḍhaṁ

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

1 (A) अतिकंतं अंतलं लाजाने विहालयातं नाम निखमिसु (B) ˙ ˙ त मिगविया अंनानि च एदिसानि अभिलामानि हुवंति नं (C) से देवानंपिये

2 पियदसी लाजा दसवसाभिसिते निखमि संबोधि (D) तेनता धंमयाता (E) ततेस होति समनबाभनानं दसने च दाने च वुढानं दसने च

3 हिलंनपटिविधाने च जानपदस जनस दसने च धंमानुसथी च ˙ ˙ ˙ ˙ ˙ ˙ ˙ ˙ ˙ पुछा च तदोपया (F) एसा भुये अभिलामे होति देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने भागे अंने

1 (A) [atika]ṁ[ta]ṁ aṁt[ala]ṁ lāj[ā]n[e] v[i]h[ā]la-yātaṁ nāma [n]i[kha]m[i]s[u] (B) . . [ta miga]viy[ā] a[ṁ]nāni ch[a] edisāni a[bh]i[l]āmāni huvaṁti naṁ (C) se **Devānaṁpiye**

2 **P[i]y[a]dasī lājā d[a]sa-[vas]ābhisi[t]e** [n]ikhami **Saṁbodh[i]** [3] (D) [t]e[na]tā dha[ṁma-yātā] (E) [tat]esa [ho]ti samana-bābhanānaṁ d[a]s[a]n[e] ch[a] d[āne] cha v[u]ḍhānaṁ dasane cha

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[1] °*mātu* Senart, °*maṁtu* Bühler.

[2] *cha* Bühler; the reading *chu* is also possible, but less probable, because the Jaugaḍa version has *chā*.

[3] *saṁbodhī* Bühler.

3 h[i]laṁna-p[a]ṭividhā[ne[1] cha jāna]padasa janasa [dasa]ne cha dhaṁmānu[sath]ī [cha] . . . . [p]u[chh]ā cha [ta]d[o]payā (F) e[sā bhuy]e[2] abhilāme hoti **Devānaṁpiyasa Piyada[s]ine lājine** bhāge [aṁ]ne

NINTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) अथि जने उचावुचं मंगलं कलेति आबाध . . . . वीवाह . . . . जुपदाये पवाससि

2 एताये अंनाये च हेदिसाये जने बहुकं मंगलं क . . . . (C) . . . . चु इथी बहुकं च बहुविधं च खुदं च निलठियं च मंगलं कलेति

3 (D) से कटविये चेव खो मंगले (E) अपफले चु खो एस हेदिसे मंग . . (F) . . यं चु खो महाफले ए धंममंगले (G) ततेस दासभटकसि संम्यापटिपति

4 गुलूनं अप . . . . मे समनबाभनानं दाने एस अंने च . . . . . . धंममंगले नाम (H) से वतविये पितिना पि पुतेन पि भातिना पि

5 सुवामिकेन पि . . . . ले आव तस अठस निफतिया (I) अथि च हेवं वुते दाने साधू ति (J) से नथि . . . . अनुगहे वा

6 आदिसे धंमदाने धंमानुगहे . . (K) . . . . . . मि . . . . तिकेन सहायेन पि वियोवदित . . . . . . ि तसि पकलनसि इयं . . . .

7 . . . . लाधयितवे (L) . . . . टव . . . . स्वगस आलधी

1 (A) **Devānaṁpiye Piyadasī lājā** hevaṁ āhā (B) [athi ja]ne uchāvuchaṁ maṁgalaṁ kal[e]ti [āb]ādha[3] . . . . [v]ī[vāha] . . . . [ju]padāye[4] pavās[a]si

2 etāye aṁnāye ch[a] hedisāye j[a]n[e] bahukaṁ maṁgalaṁ k[a] . . . . (C) . . . . [chu][5] ithī b[ahuka]ṁ cha [ba]hu[v]idh[aṁ] ch[a kh]ud[aṁ[6] cha nilaṭhi]yaṁ cha maṁgalaṁ kaleti

3 (D) se kaṭ[a]viye che[va kh]o m[a]ṁgale (E) [a]pa-phale chu kho esa h[e]dise maṁ[ga] . . (F) . . [ya]ṁ [ch]u[7] kho mah[ā]-ph[a]le e [dha]ṁma-maṁgale (G) [ta]te[sa d]ā[sa-bhaṭakas]i saṁmyā-paṭipat[i]

4 [gulū]naṁ a[pa] . . . . [me] samana-bābhan[ā]naṁ dāne esa aṁne ch[a] . . . . . . [dhaṁma]-maṁga[le nāma] (H) [se][8] vata[viye p]it[inā pi pute]na pi bhātinā pi

5 suvāmike[na p]i . . . . [l]e [ā]va tasa aṭhas[a] niphatiy[ā] (I) [a]thi [cha[9] heva]ṁ v[u]te dāne s[ā]dh[ū] ti (J) [s]e [na]thi . . . . [anu]ga[h]e v[ā]

6 [ād]i[se dha]ṁma-dāne dhaṁ[mānugahe][10] . . (K) . . . . . . [m]i . . . . [t]i[k]ena sahāye[na p]i viyovadita[11] . . . . i [tasi] pak[alana]si [iya]ṁ . . . .

7 . . . . [l]ādhayitave (L) . . . . ṭa[v] . . . . [svagasa] āl[adh]ī

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[1] *hīlaṁna-* Senart and Bühler; *-paṭi°* looks like *-peṭi°*, and may be meant for *-prati°*.
[2] *esa bhūye* Bühler. For the nom. sing. masc. *esā* see above, p. 15, n. 7.
[3] *ābādhe* Senart and Bühler.
[4] *[j]opadāye* Bühler.
[5] *[eta] tu* Bühler.
[6] *khuda[kaṁ]* Bühler.
[7] *[cha]* Bühler.
[8] *tā* Senart, *[ta]* Bühler.
[9] *pa* Senart, *p[i]* Bühler.
[10] *dhaṁmanu°* Senart and Bühler.
[11] Restore *viyovaditaviye*.

TENTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा यसो वा किटी वा न ········ हं मंनते ········ि यसो वा किटी वा इछति तदत्वाये आ ········ जने

2 ······ सूसं सुसूसतु मे धंम ·········· मे (B) एतकाये यसो वा किटी वा इ ·········· ि पलकमति देवानंपिये पालतिकाये ··

3 किंति सकले अपपलिसवे हुवेया ति (D) पलिस ·········· (E) दुकले ·········· त अगेन ········ न सवं च पलितिजितु

4 खुदकेन वा उसटेन वा (F) उसटेन चु दुकलतले

1 (A) [Devānaṁ]piye Piyad[a]s[ī lājā yaso v]ā [k]iṭī vā n......... [ha]ṁ maṁn[ate] .... i [yaso] vā k[iṭ]ī [v]ā ichhati tadatvāye [ā]........ [ja]ne

2 ......[sūsa]ṁ [susū]s[at]u [m]e dhaṁma..........[me] (B) etakāye [yaso vā kiṭī v]ā i.........i [pa]lakama[t]i Devānaṁpiye pāl[atik]ā[y]e..

3 kiṁti saka[le apa-pal]isave [hu]v[eyā t]i (D) pa[l]isa .... (E) [du]ka[le] .... t[a agena]........[na sa]vaṁ cha paliti[j]i[tu]

4 khudakena v[ā] usaṭena vā (F) u[saṭena] chu [dukalatale]

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

1 (A) इयं धंमलिपी देवानंपियेन पियदसिना लाजिना लिखा ·········· अथि मझिमेन ·········· हि सवे सवत घटिते

2 (C) महंते हि विजये बहुके च लिखिते लिखियिस ·········· (D) अथि ·········· वुते तस ·········· याये

3 किंति च जने तथा पटिपजेया ति (E) ए पि चु हेत असमति लिखिते स ······ सं ·· लोचयितु ·········· कला ········ ति

1 (A) iyaṁ dhaṁma-lipī De[v]ānaṁpiyena Piyada[sin]ā lāj[inā likhā] .... athi ma[jhimena]..........[h]i save sav[a]ta ghaṭite

2 (C) mahaṁte hi vijaye bahu[k]e cha likhite likhiyis[1] .... (D) [a]thi .... [vu]te ta[sa].......... [y]āy[e]

3 [k]iṁti cha j[a]ne tathā paṭipajeyā ti[2] (E) e pi chu heta asamati likhit[e s][3]....... saṁ ..[lochay]itu .... k[a]l[ā]........[t]i

AT THE END OF THE SIXTH DHAULI ROCK-EDICT

सेतो

seto

[1] Restore *likhiyisāmi*. [2] Or *paṭipajeyāti* may be *one* word, as suggested above, p. 71, n. 14.
[3] *saṁ* Senart and Bühler.

TRANSLATION

The white one.[1]

FIRST SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

1 (A) देवानंपियस वचनेन तोसलियं महामात नगलवियोहालका
2 वतविय (B) अं किछि दखामि हकं तं इछामि किंति कंमन पटिपादयेहं
3 दुवालते च आलभेहं (C) एस च मे मोख्यमत दुवाल एतसि अठसि अं तुफेसु
4 अनुसथि (D) तुफे हि बहूसु पानसहसेसुं आयत पनयं गछेम सु मुनिसानं (E) सवे
5 मुनिसे पजा ममा (F) अथा पजाये इछामि हकं किंति सवेन हितसुखेन हिदलोकिक-
6 पाललोकिकेन यूजेवू ति तथा · · · · मुनिसेसु पि इछामि हकं (G) नो च पापुनाथ आवग-
7 मुके इयं अठे (H) केछ व एकपुलिसे · · · · नाति एतं से पि देसं नो सवं (I) देखत हि तुफे एतं
8 सुविहिता पि (J) नितियं एकपुलिसे पि अथि ये बंधनं वा पलिकिलेसं वा पापुनाति (K) तत होति
9 अकस्मा तेन बधनंतिक अंने च · · · · · · हु जने दविये दुखीयति (L) तत इछितविये
10 तुफेहि किंति मझं पटिपादयेमा ति (M) इमेहि चु जातेहि नो संपटिपजति इसाय आसुलोपेन
11 निठूलियेन तूलनाय अनावूतिय आलसियेन किलमथेन (N) से इछितविये किंति एते
12 जाता नो हुवेवु ममा ति (O) एतस च सवस मूले अनासुलोपे अतूलना च (P) नितियं ए किलंते सिया
13 न ते उगछ संचलितविये तु वटितविये एतविये वा (Q) हेवंमेव ए दखेय तुफाक तेन वतविये
14 आनंने देखत हेवं च हेवं च देवानंपियस अनुसथि (R) से महाफले ए तस संपटिपाद
15 महाअपाये असंपटिपति (S) विपटिपादयमीने हि एतं नथि स्वगस आलधि नो लाजालधि

[1] As stated by Bühler (ZDMG, 39. 490), this word refers to the figure of an elephant representing the Buddha, which is carved at the top of the Dhauli rock. Cf. the similar labels at Girnār and Kālsī, above, pp. 26 f. and 50.

16 (T) दुअाहले हि इमस कंमस मे कुते मनोअतिलेके (U) संपटिपजमीने चु
एतं स्वगं

17 आलाधयिसथ मम च आननियं एहथ (V) इयं च लिपि तिसनखतेन सोतविया

18 (W) अंतला पि च तिसेन खनसि खनसि एकेन पि सोतविय (X) हेवं च
कलंतं तुफे

19 चघथ संपटिपादयितवे (Y) एताये अठाये इयं लिपि लिखित हिद एन

20 नगलवियोहालका सस्वतं समयं यूजेवू ति ······ नस अकस्मा पलिबोधे व

21 अकस्मा पलिकिलेसे व नो सिया ति (Z) एताये च अठाये हकं ···· मते
पंचसु पंचसु वसे-

22 सु निखामयिसामि ए अखखसे अचंडे सखिनालंभे होसति एतं अठं जानितु
······ तथा

23 कलंति अथ मम अनुसथी ति (AA) उजेनिते पि चु कुमाले एताये व अठाये
निखामयिस ······

24 हेदिसमेव वगं नो च अतिकामयिसति तिंनि वसानि (BB) हेमेव तखसिलाते
पि (CC) अदा अ ······

25 ते महामाता निखमिसंति अनुसयानं तदा अहापयितु अतने कंमं एतं पि
जानिसंति

26 तं पि तथा कलंति अथ लाजिने अनुसथी ति

1 (A) [Devāna]ṁ[pi]y[asa vacha]nena **Tosaliyaṁ** ma[hā]māta [naga]la-
[v]i[yo]hālak[ā]

2 [va]taviya (B) [aṁ kichhi dakhā]mi hakaṁ taṁ ichhāmi k[i]ṁ[t]i kaṁ[mana
pa]ṭi[pāday]ehaṁ [1]

3 duvālate cha ālabhehaṁ (C) esa cha me mokhya-mata duvā[la etasi aṭha]si aṁ
tuph[esu]

4 anusathi (D) tuphe hi bahūsu pāna-sahasesuṁ [2] ā[yata] [3] p[a]na[yaṁ ga]chh[e]ma
su munisānaṁ (E) save

5 munise pajā mamā (F) ath[ā] pajāye ichhāmi h[a]ka[ṁ kiṁti sa]ve[na hi]ta-sukhena
hidalo[kika]-

6 pālalokike[na] [4] y[ūjev]ū [t]i [tathā . . . . muni]sesu [5] pi [i]chhāmi [ha]ka[ṁ] (G) no
cha pāpunātha āv[a]-ga-

7 [m]u[k]e [6] [iyaṁ aṭhe] (H) [k]e[chha] v[a] eka-puli[se] . . . . nāti [7] e[ta]ṁ se pi
desaṁ no savaṁ (I) de[kha]t[a hi t]u[phe] etaṁ

8 suvi[hi]tā pi (J) [n]itiyaṁ [8] eka-pulise [pi athi] y[e] baṁdhanaṁ vā p[a]likilesaṁ vā
pāpunāti (K) tata hoti

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[1] *paṭiveda°* Senart and Bühler.

[2] *°sesu* Senart and Bühler.

[3] *āyatā* Senart and Bühler.

[4] *°lokikāye* Senart and Bühler.

[5] Restore *sava-munisesu.*

[6] *āvā-gamake* Senart and Bühler.

[7] Read *pāpunāti,* as at Jaugaḍa.

[8] *niti iyaṁ* Senart and Bühler.

9 akasmā tena badhana[ṁ]tik[a][1] aṁne cha . . . . . . hu jane da[v]iye dukhīyati (L) tata ichhitaviye

10 tuphehi kiṁti m[a]jhaṁ paṭipādayemā ti (M) imeh[i] chu [jāteh]i no saṁpaṭipajati isāya āsulopena

11 ni[ṭhū]liyena[2] tūlanā[ya] anāvūtiya ālasiyena k[i]lamathena (N) se ichhitaviye kitiṁ[3] ete

12 [jātā no] huvevu ma[m]ā ti (O) etasa cha sava[sa] mūle anāsulope a[tū]l[a]nā cha (P) niti[ya]ṁ e kilaṁte siyā

13 [na] te uga[chha][4] saṁchalitaviy[e] tu va[ṭ]ita[v]iy[e] etaviye vā (Q) hevaṁmeva e da[kheya][5] t[u]phāk[a] tena vataviye

14 ānaṁne[6] dekhata hevaṁ cha hev[a]ṁ cha [D]**evānaṁpiyasa** anusathi (R) se mah[ā-pha]le [e] t[a]sa [saṁpa]ṭipāda

15 mahā-apāye asaṁpaṭipati (S) [vi]paṭ[i]pādayamīne hi[7] etaṁ nathi svagasa [ā]l[a]dhi no lāj[ā]la[dh]i

16 (T) duā[ha]le hi i[ma]sa kaṁm[asa] m[e] kute man[o]-atileke[8] (U) sa[ṁ]paṭipajam[ī]n[e] chu [etaṁ] svaga[ṁ]

17 ālādha[yi]sa[tha mama cha[9] ā]naniyaṁ ehatha (V) iyaṁ cha l[i]p[i][10] t[i]sana[kha]tena so[ta]viy[ā][11]

18 (W) aṁta[l]ā [p]i cha [t]i[s]e[na[12] kha]nasi kha[nas]i ekena pi sotaviya (X) hevaṁ cha kalaṁtaṁ tuphe

19 chaghatha saṁpa[ṭi]pād[a]y[i]tave (Y) [e]t[ā]ye aṭhāye[13] iya[ṁ l]i[p]i likhit[a h]ida ena

20 nagala-vi[y]o[hā]lakā sas[v]ataṁ samayaṁ yūjevū[14] t[i] . . . . . . [na]sa[15] akasmā [pa]libodhe va

21 [a]k[a]smā paliki[l]e[s]e va no siyā ti (Z) etāye cha aṭhāye haka[ṁ] . . . . mate[16] p[a]ṁchasu paṁchasu [va]se-

22 su [n]i[khā]may[i]sāmi e akhakhase a[chaṁ]ḍ[e] s[a]khinālaṁbhe hosati etaṁ aṭhaṁ jānitu . . . . [ta]thā

23 kala[ṁ]ti atha mama anusathī ti (AA) **Ujenite** pi chu kumāle etāye v[a] aṭhāye [ni]khāma[yisa] . . . . . .

24 hedisameva[17] vagaṁ no cha atikāmayisati tiṁni vasāni (BB) hemeva **T[a]kha[s]ilāte** pi (CC) [a]dā a . . . . . .

25 te mahāmātā nikhamisaṁti anusayānaṁ tadā ahāpayitu atane kaṁmaṁ etaṁ pi jānisaṁti

26 taṁ pi ta[th]ā kalaṁti a[tha] lājine anusathī ti

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[1] *baṁdha°* Senart and Bühler. [2] *nithūli°* Senart and Bühler.

[3] Read *kiṁti*, which is Senart's reading; *kiti* Bühler.

[4] Read *ugachhe*. [5] *dakhiye* Senart and Bühler. [6] *aṁnaṁ ne* Senart and Bühler.

[7] Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1013, n. 1) has shown that *hi* must be a separate word on the analogy of section U, below, and of the Jaugaḍa separate edict I, T. Senart and Bühler read *°mīnehi*.

[8] *mana-* Senart, *mane-* Bühler. [9] *t* . . . . . for *mamà cha* Senart, [*ta*] . . . . Bühler.

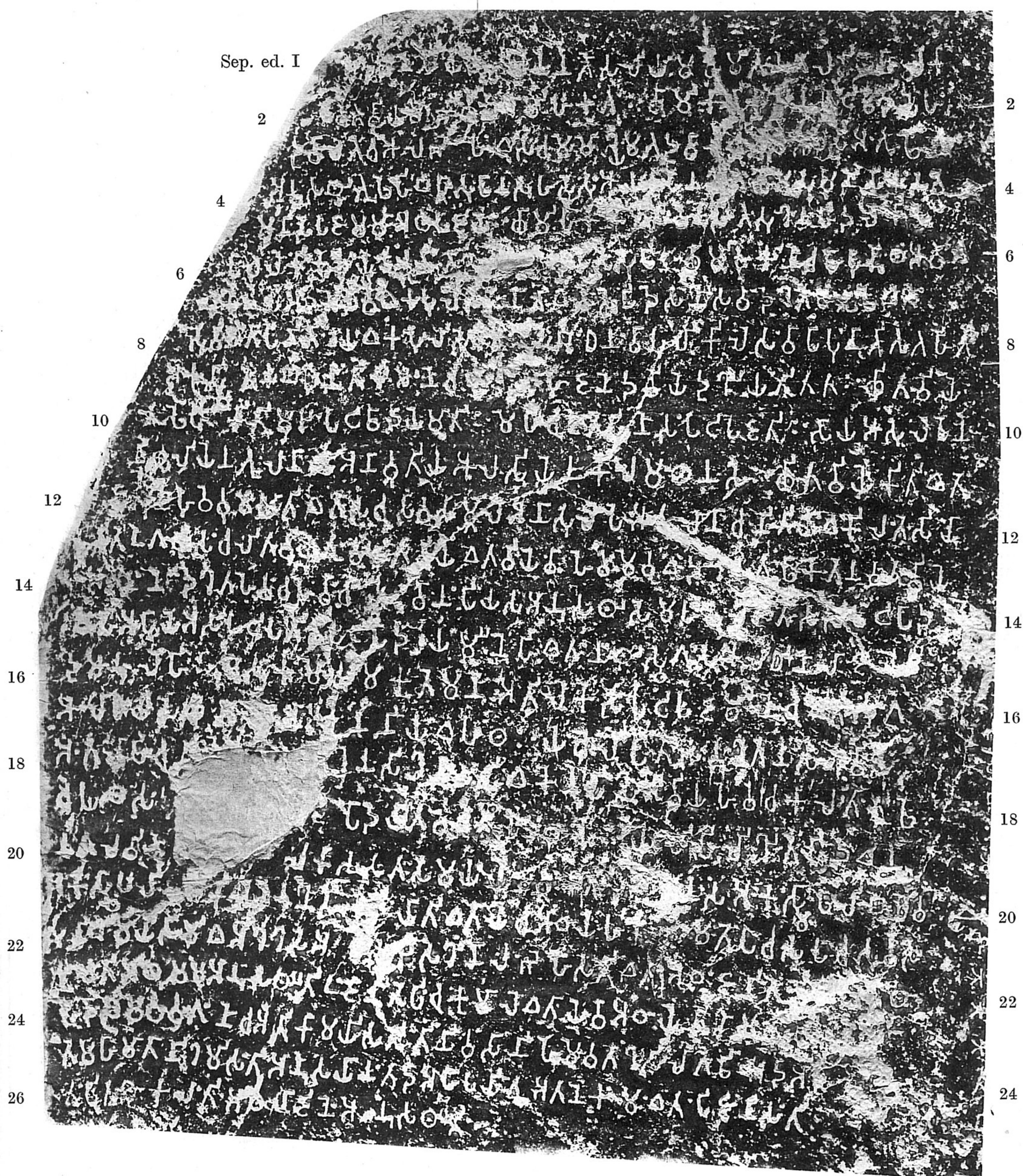
[10] *lipī* Bühler. [11] *°viyaṁ* Senart, *°viya* Bühler.

[12] [*tis*]*e* Bühler. [13] *athāye* Senart and Bühler. [14] *yujevū* Senart and Bühler.

[15] Restore *ena janasa*; *nagala-janasa* Senart and Bühler, which is visible (evidently owing to retouching) on Burgess' plate, but not on my materials.

[16] Read *mahāmātaṁ*; *dhaṁmate* Senart and Bühler.

[17] *hedisaṁmeva* Senart and Bühler.



SCALE ONE-SEVENTH

TRANSLATION

(A) At the word of **Dēvānāmpriya,** the *Mahāmātras* at **Tōsali,**[1] (who are) the judicial officers of the city,[2] have to be told (thus).

(B) Whatever I recognize (to be right), that I strive to carry out by deeds, and to accomplish by (various) means.[3]

(C) And this is considered by me the principal means for this object, viz. (to give) instruction to you.

(D) For you are occupied with many thousands of men,[4] with the object of gaining the affection of men.[5]

(E) All men are my children.

(F) As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, the same I desire also on behalf of [all] men.[6]

(G) And you do not learn[7] how far this (my) object reaches.[8]

(H) Some single person[9] only learns this, (and) even he (only) a portion,[10] (but) not the whole.

(I) Now you must pay attention to this, although you are well provided for.[11]

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[1] Two copper-plate inscriptions from the Cuttack district, Orissa, mention the two districts of Northern and Southern Tōsalī; see EI, 9. 286, and 15. 1. Prinsep (JASB, 7. 449) identified Tōsalī with the *Τωσαλεῖ μητρόπολις* of Ptolemy; but the latter is stated to have been situated beyond the Ganges. See Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, 2 (sec. ed.). 252, n. 2; Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 673; Kern, JRAS, 1880. 384 f.; IA, 13. 382.

[2] With *nagala-viyohālaka* cf. *paura-vyāvahārika* in the *Kauṭilīya*, p. 20, l. 13; see SPAW, 1914. 855.

[3] The correct translation of this section is due to Senart; see Franke, GN, 1895. 537, and cf. a quite similar construction in the Calcutta-Bairāṭ rock-inscription, E.

[4] Here, and in the pillar-edicts (IV, C; VII, M, N), the participle *āyata* (= Skt. *āyatta*) seems to be used in the sense of *vyāpṛita*. Cf. the rock-edict V, J to N, and the pillar-edict VII, Y to AA.

[5] Previous translators took *sumunisānaṁ* to be *one* word: 'of good men'. As, however, in the two next sections the king is concerned with 'all men', Lüders is no doubt right in explaining *su* = Skt. *svit*; see SPAW, 1914. 856, and cf. *su* in the Dhauli separate edict II, F.

[6] Cf. Aśvaghōsha's *Buddhacharita*, II, 35: स्वाभ्यः प्रजाभ्यो हि यथा तथैव सर्वप्रजाभ्यः शिवमाशशंसे; 'as for his own children, even so (king Śuddhōdana) desired welfare for all (his) subjects.'

[7] Bühler rendered *pāpunātha* by 'understand', and Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 857) more closely by 'learn'. The verb has the same meaning three times in the second separate edict. In section J of the first edict it means 'to suffer'; see my note on the Jaugaḍa separate edict I, K.

[8] Bühler translated *āva-gamuke iyaṁ aṭhe* by '(all) that the sense (of these words) implies', and Lüders by 'how far this matter reaches', i.e. 'how far this matter is attended to'. Cf. *ava ite pi cha me āvuti* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict IV, l. 15.

[9] This seems to refer to the judge who happens to decide an individual case. Senart compared *eka-pulise* (= *eka-munise* at Jaugaḍa) with the Buddhist term *pṛithagjana* (see Childers, s.v. *puthujjano*), and Bühler rendered it by 'a private person'; see ZDMG, 41. 15. The expression *eka-pulise* or *eka-munise*, 'a single person', occurs again in section J (= K at Jaugaḍa), where it is opposed to 'many other people' in section K (= L at Jaugaḍa). In section W 'a single (person)' is contrasted with the whole body of officers in section V; see also the second separate edict, N and O.

[10] Cf. the rock-edict V, F, and VII, D.

[11] See above, p. 47, n. 6.

(J) It happens in the administration (of justice)[1] that a single person suffers either imprisonment or harsh treatment.[2]

(K) In this case (an order) cancelling the imprisonment[3] is (obtained) by him[4] accidentally, while [many] other people continue to suffer.

(L) In this case you must strive to deal (with all of them) impartially.

(M) But one fails to act (thus) on account of the following dispositions:[5] envy, anger,[6] cruelty, hurry, want of practice,[7] laziness, (and) fatigue.

(N) (You) must strive for this, that these dispositions may not arise to you.

(O) And the root of all this is the absence of anger and the avoidance of hurry.

(P) He who is fatigued in the administration (of justice), will not rise; but one ought to move, to walk, and to advance.

(Q) He who will pay attention to this, must tell you:[8] 'See that (you) discharge the debt (which you owe to the king);[9] such and such is the instruction of **Dēvānāṁpriya.**'

(R) The observance of this produces great fruit, (but its) non-observance (becomes) a great evil.[10]

(S) For if one fails to observe this,[11] there will be neither attainment of heaven nor satisfaction of the king.[12]

(T) For how (could) my mind be pleased if one badly fulfils this duty?[13]

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[1] As recognized by Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 859), *nīti* is here = *daṇḍa-nīti.* I connect the locative *nītyāṁ* with *asti*; at Jaugaḍa it is replaced by *bahuka*, 'frequently'.

[2] Bühler translated *palikilesa* by 'trouble'. Senart and Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 841, n. 1, and 857) render it by 'torture'. But in the *Kauṭilīya* the technical term for 'torture' is *karman*, and *pariklēśayataḥ*, which occurs on p. 223, l. 16, cannot have the same meaning as *karma kārayataḥ* in the next preceding line.

[3] The correct explanation of *ba[ṁ*]dhanaṁtika* and *daviye* is due to Lüders; see SPAW, 1914. 861 f.

[4] As stated by Bühler (ZDMG, 41. 16), one would expect *tasa* for *tena.* He proposed to supply *prāptam.*

[5] As Senart remarks, this unusual meaning of *jātāni* is justified by etymology; see IA, 19. 89.

[6] For *āsulopa*, 'anger' (literally: 'quick infatuation'), see Bühler, ZDMG, 48. 60 f.

[7] With Bühler (ZDMG, 41. 16) I take *āvūti* (Dhauli) or *āvuti* (Jaugaḍa) = Skt. *āvṛitti*, 'repetition'. In the pillar-edict IV, L, *āvuti* corresponds to Skt. *āyukti*, 'an order'.

[8] Hitherto the construction and bearing of this sentence have been misunderstood. The relative *e* corresponds to the demonstrative *tena*, and the subject is probably one of the controlling officers who are mentioned at the end of the edict.

[9] Cf. below, section U. Previous translators failed to make out the actual meaning of this sentence because they read *aṁnaṁne*, which they divided into *aṁnaṁ ne* = Skt. *ājñāṁ naḥ* (Senart and Bühler) or *anyat+naḥ* (Lüders).

[10] Both at Dhauli and at Jaugaḍa, the predicate is a masculine or neuter, although the subject is a feminine. Cf. above, p. 49, n. 1.

[11] As *vipaṭipādayamīne* corresponds to *vipaṭipātayaṁtaṁ* at Jaugaḍa, it must be a nominative singular absolute. The same applies to *saṁpaṭipajamīne* in section U, below, to *anuvekhamāne* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, P, and to *vijinamane* in the Kālsī edict XIII, E. Cf. below, p. 97, n. 3, and Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 1011 ff.

[12] For *āladhi* (= **ārāddhi*) see above, p. 19, n. 16.

[13] In the translation of this difficult passage I follow Franke, GN, 1895. 537 f., but explain *duāhale* as a nominative absolute, because in the Māgadha dialect the locative would end in *-asi.*

(U) But if (you) observe this, you will attain heaven, and you will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me.[1]

(V) And this edict must be listened to (by all) on (every day of) the constellation Tishya.[2]

(W) And it may be listened to even by a single (person) also on frequent (other) occasions between (the days of) Tishya.

(X) And if (you) act thus,[3] you will be able[4] to fulfil (this duty).

(Y) For the following purpose has this rescript been written here, (viz.) in order that the judicial officers of the city may strive at all times[5] (for this), [that] neither undeserved fettering[6] nor undeserved harsh treatment are happening to [men].

(Z) And for the following purpose I shall send out every five years[7] [a *Mahāmātra*] who will be neither harsh[8] nor fierce, (but) of gentle actions, (viz. in order to ascertain) whether (the judicial officers),[9] paying attention to this object, ... are acting thus, as my instruction (implies).

(AA) But from **Ujjayini** also the prince (governor) will send out for the same purpose . . . . . a person of the same description,[10] and he will not allow (more than) three years to pass (without such a deputation).

(BB) In the same way (an officer will be deputed) from **Takshaśilā** also.

(CC) When . . . . . these *Mahāmātras* will set out on tour, then, without neglecting their own duties, they will ascertain this as well, (viz.) whether (the judicial officers) are carrying out this also thus, as the instruction of the king (implies).

SECOND SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

1 (A) देवानंपियस वचनेन तोसलियं कुमाले महामाता च वतविय (B) अं किछि दखामि हकं तं इ . . . .

2 दुवालते च आलभेहं (C) एस च मे मोख्यमत दुवाला एतसि अठसि अं तुफेसु . . . . मम

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[1] Cf. the Dhauli separate edict II, L.

[2] i.e. three times per year; see the Dhauli separate edict II, N.

[3] The forms *kalaṁtaṁ* (here and in II, L and P), °*pātayaṁtaṁ* (Jaugaḍa separate edict I, S and T), *saṁtaṁ* (II, Q, and pillar-edict IV, I), *nāsaṁtaṁ* (pillar-edict IV, M), and °*pajaṁtaṁ* (Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, PP) are nominatives singular absolute. Cf. above, p. 35, n. 9.

[4] Franke (VOJ, 9. 340 ff.) has shown that *chaghati* is the future of *chak*, a variant of the root *śak*. Cf. *chakiye* in the Dhauli separate edict II, l. 5, in the Sahasrām rock-inscription, l. 3, and in the Bairāṭ rock-inscription, l. 5; also *chakye*, ibid., l. 6.

[5] In the translation of *sasvataṁ samayaṁ* I follow Kern (JRAS, 1880. 391) and Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 864).

[6] See above, p. 33, n. 8.

[7] Cf. the rock-edict III, C.

[8] Cf. Dhammapada, verse 408:

akakkasaṁ viññāpaniṁ giraṁ sachchaṁ udīraye ।
yāya nâbhisaje kañchi tam ahaṁ brūmi brāhmaṇaṁ ॥

[9] The context shows that these are meant here, and that the *Mahāmātras* were directed by the king to control them; see SPAW, 1914. 865 f.

[10] See above, p. 40, n. 2.

3 (E) अथ पजाये इछामि हकं किंति सवेन हितसुखेन हिदलोकिकपाललोकिकाये युजेवू ति हेवं ··········

4 (F) सिया अंतानं अविजितानं किछंदे सु लाज अफेसु ·· (G) ····· मव इछ मम अंतेसु ·· ि पापुनेवु ते इति देवानंपिय ······· अनुविगिन ममाये

5 हुवेवू ति अस्वसेवु च सुखंमेव लहेवु ममते नो दुखं हेवं ·· ुनेवू इति खमिसति ने देवानंपिये अफाका ति ए चकिये खमितवे मम निमितं व च धंमं चलेवू

6 हिदलोक पललोकं च आलाधयेवू (H) एतसि अठसि हकं अनुसासामि तुफे अनने एतकेन हकं अनुसासितु छंदं च वेदितु आ हि धिति पटिंना च ममा

7 अजला (I) से हेवं कटु कंमे चलितविये अस्वास ···· ि च तानि एन पापुनेवू इति अथ पिता तथ देवानंपिये अफाक अथा च अतानं हेवं देवानंपिये अनुकंपति अफे

8 अथा च पजा हेवं मये देवानंपियस (J) से हकं अनुसासितु छंदं च वेदितु तुफाक देसावुतिके होसामि एताये अठाये (K) पटिबला हि तुफे अस्वासनाये हितसुखाये च तेस

9 हिदलोकिकपाललोकिकाये (L) हेवं च कलंतं तुफे स्वगं आलाधयिसथ मम च आननियं एहथ (M) एताये च अठाये इयं लिपि लिखिता हिद एन महामाता स्वसतं सम

10 युजिसंति अस्वासनाये धंमचलनाये च तेस अंतानं (N) इयं च लिपि अनु-चातुंमासं तिसेन नखतेन सोतविया (O) कामं चु खणसि खनसि अंतला पि तिसेन एकेन पि

11 सोतविय (P) हेवं कलंतं तुफे चघथ संपटिपादयितवे

1 (A) **Devānaṁpiyas**[a] vachanena **Tosaliyaṁ** kumāle mahāmātā cha vataviya (B) aṁ kichhi dakhām[i] h[akaṁ taṁ i] . . . .

2 duvālate cha ālabhehaṁ (C) esa cha me mokhya-mata duvālā etasi aṭhasi aṁ tuphe[s]u . . . . mama

3 (E) ath[a] pajāye ichhāmi hakaṁ ki[ṁ]ti savena hi[ta-sukhe]na hidalokika-pālalokikāye[1] yujevū ti h[e]v[aṁ] . . . .

4 (F) siyā aṁtānaṁ avijitānaṁ ki-chha[ṁde] su lāja [aphesu] . . (G) . . . . . m[a]va[2] ichha mama aṁtesu . . . i[3] [p]ā[p]unevu te iti **Devānaṁp[iy]** . . . . [anu]v[i]g[ina] mamāye

5 huvevū ti asvasevu cha sukhaṁmeva lahevu mamat[e] no dukha[ṁ] h[e]va[ṁ]

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[1] Read *-pālalokikena*, as in the first separate edict, F.

[2] *mave* Bühler; read perhaps *hevameva.*

[3] Restore *kiṁti.*

. . . un[e]vū[1] iti khamisati[2] ne **Devānaṁpiye** [aph]ākā[3] ti e chakiye khamitave mama nimitaṁ [va][4] cha dhaṁmaṁ chalevū

6 hidaloka palaloka[ṁ] cha ālādhayevū **(H)** etasi aṭhasi haka[ṁ] anusāsāmi tuphe ana[n]e [e]takena hakaṁ anusāsitu chhaṁdaṁ cha veditu ā [hi] dhi[t]i paṭiṁñā cha mamā

7 [a]jalā **(I)** s[e] hevaṁ kaṭu kaṁme chal[i]t[a]v[i]ye asv[āsa] . . . . . i[5] [cha] tāni ena pāpunevū iti atha pitā tatha **Devānaṁpiy[e]** aphāka athā cha atānaṁ[6] hevaṁ **Devānaṁpiye** [a]nukaṁpati aphe

8 athā cha pajā[7] hevaṁ may[e] **D[e]vānaṁpiyasa (J)** se hakaṁ anusāsitu [chha]ṁda[ṁ] ch[a veditu tu]phāk[a] desāvutike hosāmi etāye aṭhāye[8] **(K)** paṭibalā hi tuph[e] asvāsanāye hita-sukhāye cha [tesa]

9 hidalokika-pālalo[ki]kāye **(L)** hevaṁ cha kalaṁtaṁ tuphe svagaṁ ālādha[yi]satha mama ch[a] ānaniyaṁ ehatha **(M)** etāye cha aṭhāye iyaṁ lipi likhitā hida e[na ma]hāmātā svasata[ṁ sa]ma[9]

10 yujisaṁti as[vā]s[a]nāye dhaṁma-chala[n]āye cha tes[a] aṁtānaṁ **(N)** iyaṁ cha lipi [anu]chātuṁmāsaṁ tisena nakhatena sotaviyā **(O)** kāmaṁ chu[10] [kha]ṇas[i][11] khanasi aṁtalā pi tisena ekena [p]i

11 [so]taviya **(P)** hevaṁ kala[ṁ]taṁ [t]uphe chaghatha saṁpaṭipādayitave

TRANSLATION

(A) At the word of **Dēvānāṁpriya**, the prince (governor) and the *Mahāmātras* at **Tōsalī** have to be told (thus).

(B) Whatever I recognize (to be right), that . . . . and to accomplish by (various) means.

(C) And this is considered by me the principal means for this object, viz. . . . . to you.

(D) . . . . my . . . . .

(E) As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, thus . . . .

(F) It might occur[12] to (my) unconquered borderers[13] (to ask): 'What does the king desire[14] with reference to us?'

(G) [This] alone is my wish with reference to the borderers, that they may learn that **Dēvānāṁpriya** . . . . that they may not be afraid of me, but may have

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[1] Restore *pāpunevū*. [2] The syllable *sa* is entered above the line.
[3] *aphākaṁ* Senart and Bühler. [4] Senart and Bühler omit *va*. [5] Restore *asvāsaniyāni*.
[6] The syllable *naṁ* is entered above the line. [7] *paja* Bühler.
[8] *athāye* Senart and Bühler. [9] Read *sasvataṁ samayaṁ*.
[10] *cha* Senart and Bühler. [11] The syllable *si* is entered above the line.
[12] Lüders showed that *siyā* is not the last word of section E, as previous translators thought, but opens section F, and is used in the same way as *huthā* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, D and J. He also pointed out the correct construction of sections F and G, which had been curiously misunderstood; see SPAW, 1914. 866 ff.
[13] Cf. the Kālsī rock-edict II, A; V, J; XIII, Q.
[14] Kern (JRAS, 1880. 381) explained *su* by Skt. *svit*. Cf. *gachhema su* in the Dhauli separate edict I, D, and *kinasu* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, F, G, H.

confidence (in me); that they may obtain only happiness from me,[1] not misery; that they may [learn] this, that **Dēvānāṁpriya** will forgive them[2] what can be forgiven;[3] that they may (be induced) by me (to) practise morality; (and) that they may attain (happiness in) this world and (in) the other world.

(H) For the following purpose I am instructing you, (viz. that) I may discharge the debt (which I owe to them)[4] by this, that I instruct (you) and inform (you) of (my) will, i. e. my unshakable[5] resolution and vow.

(I) Therefore, acting thus, (you) must fulfil (your) duty and must inspire confidence to them,[6] in order that they may learn that **Dēvānāṁpriya** is to them like a father, that **Dēvānāṁpriya** loves them like himself, and that they are to **Dēvānāṁpriya** like (his own) children.

(J) Therefore, having instructed (you), and having informed you of (my) will, I shall have (i. e. entertain) officers in (all) provinces[7] for this object.

(K) For you are able to inspire confidence to those (borderers) and (to secure their) welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world.

(L) And if (you) act thus, you will attain heaven, and will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me.

(M) And for the following purpose has this rescript been written here, (viz.) in order that the *Mahāmātras* may strive at all times to inspire confidence to those borderers (of mine) and (to induce them) to practise morality.

(N) And this rescript must be listened to (by all) every four months[8] on (the day of) the constellation Tishya.[9]

(O) But if desired, it may be listened to even by a single (person)[10] also on frequent (other) occasions between (the days of) Tishya.

(P) If (you) act thus, you will be able to carry out (my orders).

---

[1] Here and at Jaugaḍa, Senart and Bühler wrongly read *mama te* (in two words) instead of *mamate*, which, as Kern recognized, corresponds to the Prākṛit ablative *mamatto*. See JRAS, 1880. 380, 382, 383; SPAW, 1914. 868; Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 415 f.

[2] As Bühler (ASSI, I. 128, n. 24) remarked, either *ne* or *aphākā* is superfluous.

[3] Cf. the Shāhbāzgaṛhī rock-edict XIII, L. For *chakiye* see above, p. 97, n. 4.

[4] Cf. the rock-edict VI, L.

[5] *ajala* corresponds to *achala* at Jaugaḍa, as *loga* (Jaugaḍa separate edict II, ll. 7 and 13) to *loka*, *libi* (Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, QQ and SS) to *lipi*, *hiḍa* (Kālsī, V, J and K) to *hita*, and *dose* (Kālsī, VI, H) to *tosẹ*.

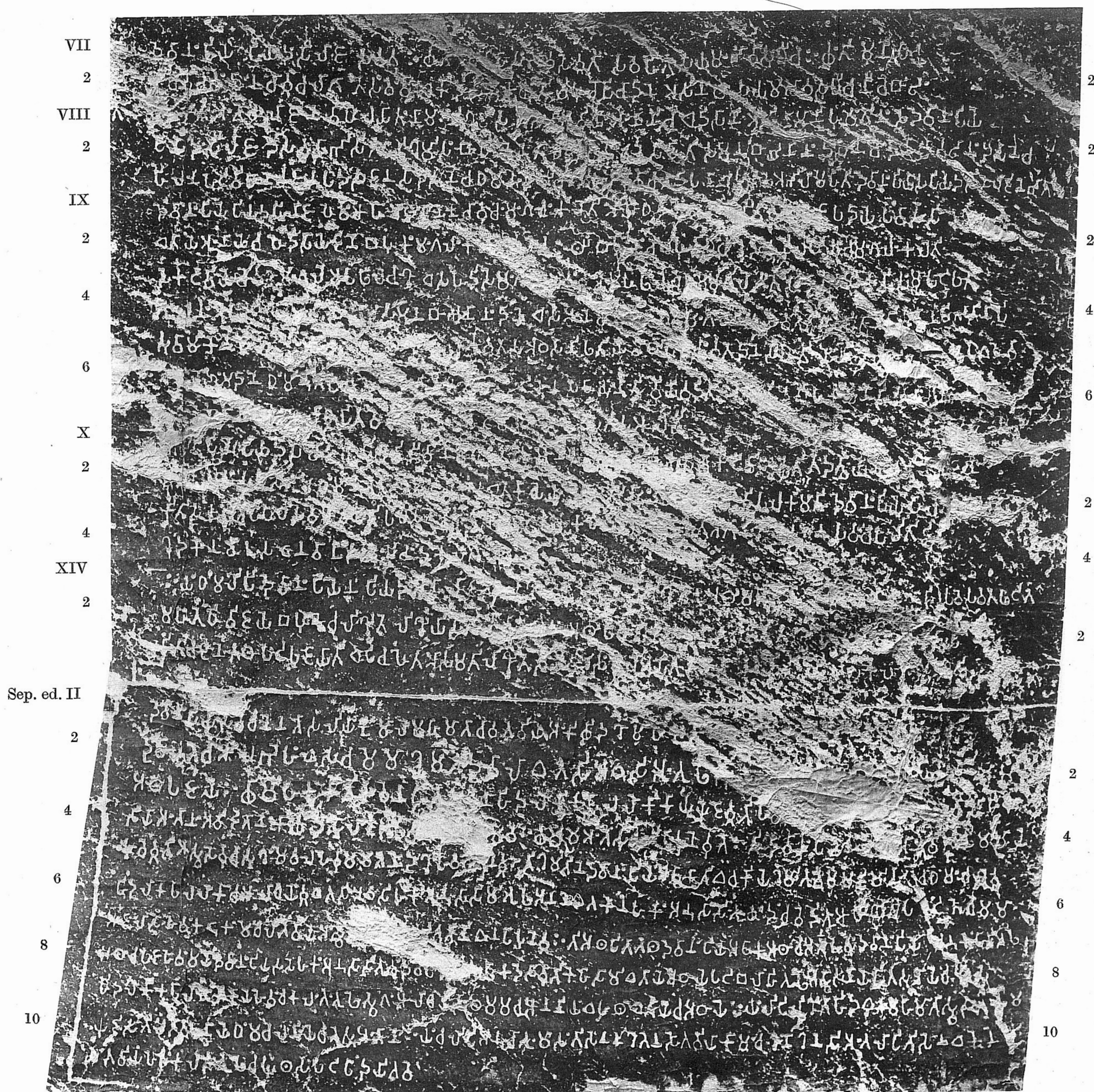
[6] The neuter *tāni* is improperly used for the masculine *te*, which is the reading of the Jaugaḍa version.

[7] Kern (JRAS, 1880. 384) translated: 'I will entrust the country to your care.' For the difficult term *desāvutika* (Dhauli) or [*saka*]*la-desā-āy*[*ut*]*ika* (Jaugaḍa) see Bühler (ZDMG, 41. 28), who took *āyuti* = Skt. *āyuktin*, 'an official'. Cf. *āvuti* = Skt. *āyukti*, 'an order', in the pillar-edict IV, L. The provincial officers who are here referred to, are perhaps identical with the *Mahāmātras* whom Aśōka ordered to be deputed on inspection duty from Pāṭaliputra, Ujjayinī, and Takshaśilā; see the four last sections of the Dhauli separate edict I.

[8] Cf. *chātuṁmāsī* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict V, ll. 11, 16, 18.

[9] Cf. the Dhauli separate edict I, V.

[10] See above, p. 95, n. 9.



SCALE ONE-SEVENTH

VI. THE JAUGADA ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1 (A) इयं धंमलिपी खेपिंगलसि पवतसि देवानंपियेन पियदसिना लाजिना लिखापिता (B) हिद नो किछि जीवं आलभितु पजोहितविये
2 (C) नो पि च समाजे कटविये (D) बहुकं हि दोसं समाजस द्रखति देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा (E) अथि पि चु एकतिया समाजा साधुमता देवानंपियस
3 पियद्रसिने लाजिने (F) पुलुवं महानससि देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने अनुदिवसं बहूनि पानसतसहसानि आलभियिसु सूपठाये
4 (G) से अज अदा इयं धंमलिपी लिखिता तिंनि येव पानानि आलंभियंति दुवे मजूला एके मिगे से पि चु मिगे नो धुवं (H) एतानि पि चु तिंनि पानानि
5 पछा नो आलभियिसंति

1 (A) iyaṁ dhaṁma-lipī **Khepi[ṁ]galasi**[1] **pavatasi Devānaṁpiyena Piyadasinā lājinā** likhāpitā (B) hida no kichhi jīvaṁ ālabhi[t]u pajohitaviye
2 (C) no pi cha samāje kaṭaviye (D) bahukaṁ hi dosaṁ samājasa[2] drakhati[3] **Devānaṁpiye Piyadasī lājā** (E) athi pi chu ekatiyā samājā sādhu-matā **Devānaṁpiyasa**
3 **Piyadrasine**[4] **lājine** (F) puluvaṁ mahā[nasa]si **Devānaṁpiyasa Piyadasine lājine** anudivasaṁ bah[ū]ni pāna-sata-sah[a]sāni ālabhiyisu sūpa[ṭh]āye
4 (G) se aja adā iyaṁ dhaṁma-lipī likhitā tiṁni yeva pānāni āla[ṁ]bhiyaṁti[5] duve majūlā eke mige se pi chu mige no dhuvaṁ (H) etāni pi chu tiṁni pānāni
5 pachhā no āla[bh]iyisaṁti

TRANSLATION

(A) This rescript on morality has been caused to be written on the **Khēpiṅgala**[6] **mountain** by **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin.**

(B) Here no living being must be killed and sacrificed.

(C) And also no festival meeting must be held.

(D) For **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** sees much evil in festival meetings.

(E) But there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin.**

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[1] *Khapiṁgalasi* Bühler, but the *e* of *khe* is perfectly distinct.

[2] *samājasi* Bühler.

[3] A horizontal stroke, which may be meant for *r*, seems to be attached both at the top and at the bottom of *da*; *dakhati* Senart and Bühler.

[4] *Piyadasine* Senart and Bühler. The curve at the bottom of *da* is probably intended for *r*.

[5] *ālabhiyaṁti* Senart and Bühler.

[6] The etymological meaning of this name is: '(which appears) brown in the air;' see Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 92.

(F) Formerly in the kitchen of **king Devānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** many hundred thousands of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry.

(G) But now, when this rescript on morality is written, only three animals are being killed (daily), (viz.) two peacocks (and) one deer, but even this deer not regularly.

(H) But even these three animals shall not be killed in future.

SECOND ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1 (A) सवत विजितसि देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने ए वा पि अंता अथा
चोडा पंडिया सतियपुते . . . . ी अंतियोके नाम

2 योनलाजा ए वा पि तस अंतियोकस सामंता लाजाने सवत देवानंपियेन
पियदसिना लाजि. . . . . चिकिसा च

3 पसुचिकिसा च (B) ओसधानि आनि मुनिसोपगानि पसुओपगानि च अतत
नथि सवत . . . . च अतत नथि

4 सवत्र हालापिता च लोपापिता च (D) मगेसु उदुपानानि खानापितानि
लुखानि च . . . .

1 (A) savata vijitasi **Devānaṁpiyasa Piyadasine lājine** e vā pi aṁtā athā **Choḍā**
Paṁḍiyā Satiyapu[t]e . . . . ī **Aṁtiyoke** nāma

2 **Yona-lājā** [e] vā pi tasa **Aṁtiyokasa** sāmaṁtā lājāne savata **Devānaṁpiyena**
Piyadasinā lāji . . . . [ch]ikisā cha

3 pasu-chikisā cha (B) osadhāni āni munisopagāni pasu-opagāni cha atata nathi
sava[ta] . . . . cha atata nathi

4 s[a]vatra[1] hālāpitā cha lopāpitā cha (D) magesu udupānāni khānāpitāni lukhāni
cha . . . .

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGAḌA)

(A) Everywhere in the dominions of **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin,** and also (of those) who (are his) borderers, such as the **Chōḍas,** the **Pāṇḍyas,** the **Satiyaputa,** . . . . the **Yōna king** named **Antiyoka,** and also the kings who are the neighbours of this **Antiyoka,**—everywhere [two (kinds of) medical treatment were established] by **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin,** (viz.) medical treatment [for men] and medical treatment for cattle.

(B) Wherever there were no herbs that are beneficial to men and beneficial to cattle, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.[2]

(C) Wherever there were no roots and [fruits], everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(D) On the roads wells were caused to be dug, and trees were caused to be planted for the use of [cattle and men].

---

[1] *sāvata* Senart, *savatu* Bühler.

[2] The last words of this section are missing at Jaugaḍa, but are preserved at Dhauli. Henceforth I shall use straight brackets in the translation only if words are lost in both of these versions of the rock-edicts.

THIRD ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) दुवादसवसाभिसितेन मे इयं आ . . . . च पादेसिके च
2 पंचसु पंचसु वसेसु अनुसयानं निखमावू अथा अंनाये पि कंमने . . . . सा मितसंथुतेस . .
3 नातिसु च बंभनसमनेहि साधु दाने जीवेसु अनालंभे साधु . . . . यि . . . .
4 हेतुते च वियंजनते च

1 **(A) Devā[na]mpiye Piyadasī lājā** hevaṁ āhā **(B) duvādasa-vasābhisitena** me iyaṁ [ā] . . . . cha pād[e]sike cha
2 paṁchasu paṁchasu vasesu anusayānaṁ nikhamāvū athā aṁnāye pi kaṁma[n]e . . . . [s]ā mita-saṁthute[s] . . .
3 nātisu ch[a] baṁbhana-samanehi sādhu dāne jīvesu [a]nālaṁbhe sādhu . . . . [y]i . . . .
4 hetute cha viyaṁjanate cha

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) **King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** speaks thus.

(B) (When I had been) **anointed twelve years,** the following was ordered by me.

(C) [Everywhere] in my dominions the *Yuktas*, the *Lajuka*, and the *Prādēśika* shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years, just as for other business, even so for the following instruction in morality.

(D) 'Meritorious is obedience to mother and father, to friends and acquaintances, and to relatives. Liberality to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas is meritorious. Abstention from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious.'

(E) And the council (of *Mahāmātras*) also shall order the *Yuktas* to register (these rules) both with (the addition of) reasons and according to the letter.

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1 (A) अतिकंतं अंतलं बहूनि वससतानि वढिते व पानालंभे . . . .
2 (B) से अज देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने धंमचलनेन भेल . . . .
3 दिवियानि लूपानि दसयितु मुनिसानं (C) आदिसे बहूहि वससते . . . .
4 धंमानुसथिया अनालंभे पानानं अविहिसा भूतानं नातिसु संप . . . .
5 (D) एस अंने च बहुविधे धंमचलने वढिते (E) वढयि . . . .
6 पियदसिने लाजिने पवढयिसंति येव धंमचल . . . .
7 (H) धंमचलने पि चु नो होति . . . .
8 हीनि च मा अलोचयि . . . .

1 (A) a[t]ikaṁtaṁ aṁtalaṁ bahūni vasa-satāni vaḍhite va pānālaṁbhe . . . .
2 (B) se aja **Devānaṁpiyasa Piyadasine lājine** dhaṁma-chalanena bhe[l] . . . .
3 divi[y]āni lūpāni drasayitu[1] munisānaṁ (C) ādise bahūhi vasa-sate . . . .
4 dhaṁmānusathiyā anālaṁbhe pānānaṁ avihisā bhūtānaṁ nātisu [saṁpa] . . . .
5 (D) esa aṁne cha bahuvidhe dhaṁma-chalane vaḍhite (E) va[ḍhay]i . . . .
6 **Piyadasine lājine** pavaḍhayi[sa]ṁ[t]i [y]e[va] dhaṁma-cha[la] . . . .
7 (H) dhaṁma-chalane pi chu no ho[t]i . . . .
8 [hī]ni cha mā aloch[ay]i . . . .

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) In times past, for many hundreds of years, there had ever been promoted the killing of animals and the hurting of living beings, discourtesy to relatives, (and) discourtesy to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas.

(B) But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin,** the sound of drums has become the sound of morality, showing the people representations of aerial chariots, elephants, masses of fire, and other divine figures.

(C) Such as they had not existed before for many hundreds of years, thus there are now promoted, through the instruction in morality on the part of **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin,** abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas, obedience to mother and father, (and) obedience to the aged.

(D) In this and many other ways is the practice of morality promoted.

(E) And **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** will ever promote this practice of morality.

(F) But also the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** will ever promote this practice of morality until the æon (of destruction of the world), (and) will instruct (people) in morality, abiding by morality and by good conduct.

(G) For this is the best work, viz. instruction in morality.

(H) But the practice of morality also is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct.

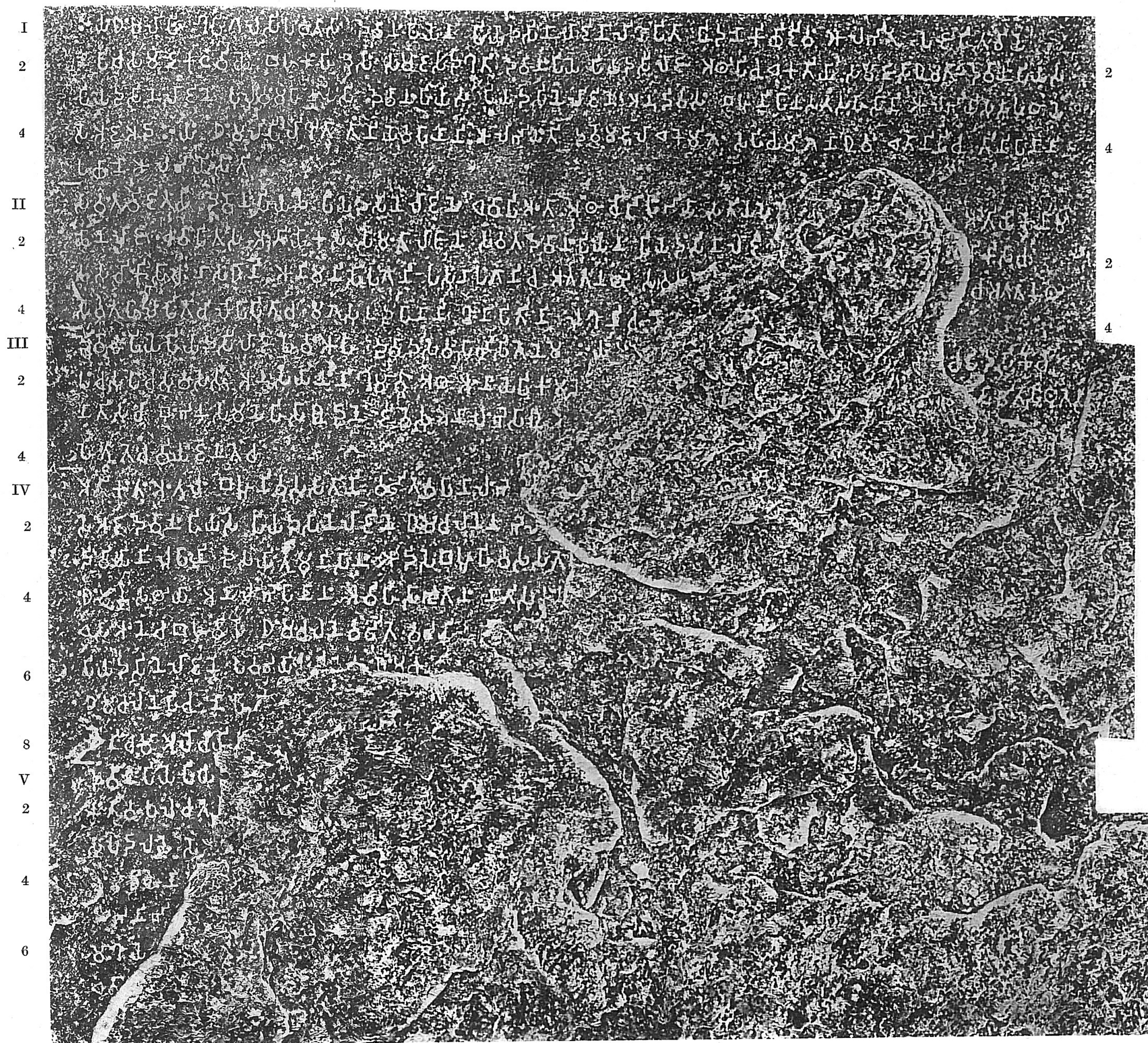
(I) Therefore promotion and not neglect of this object is meritorious.

(J) For the following purpose has this been written, (viz. in order that) they should devote themselves to the promotion of this practice, and that they should not approve[2] the neglect (of it).

(K) This has been written here by **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** (when he had been) **anointed twelve years.**

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[1] *dusayitu* Senart, *dasayitu* Bühler. [2] See above, p. 31, n. 7.



SCALE ONE-SEVENTH

FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1 (A) देवानंपिये पियद . . . .
2 नती व पलं च ते . . . .
3 सुपदालये (H) से अ . . . .
4 धंमाधिथाना . . . .
5 . . भनिभि . . . .
6 मोखाये . . . .
7 ए वा . . . .
8 . . . .

1 **(A) Devā[na]ṁpiye Piya[da]** . . . .
2 nat[ī][1] va palaṁ cha te . . . .
3 s[u]padālaye **(H)** se [a] . . . .
4 [dha]ṁ[m]ā[dh]i[th]ānā[2] . . . .
5 . . bhanibhi . . . .
6 mokhāye . . . .
7 e [v]ā . . . .
8 . . . .

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) **King Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** speaks thus.

(B) It is difficult to perform virtuous deeds.

(C) He [who starts performing] victorious deeds accomplishes something difficult.

(D) Now, by me many virtuous deeds have been performed.

(E) Therefore (among) my sons and grandsons, and (among) my descendants (who shall come) after them until the æon (of the destruction of the world), those who will conform to this (duty) will perform good deeds.

(F) He who will neglect even a portion of this (duty) will perform evil deeds.

(G) For sin indeed steps fast.[3]

(H) Now in times past, (officers) called *Mahāmātras* of morality did not exist before.

(I) But (the officers) called *Mahāmātras* of morality were appointed by me (when I had been) **anointed thirteen years.**

(J) These are occupied with all sects in establishing morality, in promoting morality, and for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality (even) among the **Yōnas, Kambōchas,** and **Gandhālas,** among the **Laṭhikas** and **Pitēnikas,** and whatever other western borderers (of mine there are).

(K) They are occupied with servants and masters, with Brāhmaṇas and Ibhyas,

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[1] *naṁti* Senart, *nati* Bühler. [2] °*ṭhānā* Bühler. [3] See above, p. 33, n. 3.

with the destitute, and with the aged, for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality,[1] (and) in releasing (them) from the fetters (of worldly life).[2]

(L) They are occupied in supporting prisoners (with money), in causing (their) fetters to be taken off, and in setting (them) free, if (one has) children, or is bewitched, or aged, respectively.

(M) They are occupied everywhere, both here and in all the outlying towns, in all the harems of myself, of my brothers, and of (my) sisters, and with (my) other relatives.

(N) These *Mahāmātras* of morality are occupied on the whole earth with those who are devoted to morality, (in order to ascertain) whether one is eager for morality, or established in morality, or furnished with gifts.

(O) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my descendants may conform to it.

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1 (A) · · · · नंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) अतिकंतं अंतलं नो हूतपुलुवे सवं कालं अठकंमे पटिवेदना व (C) से ममया कटे (D) सवं कालं

2 · · · · · · स मे अंते ओलोधनसि गभागालसि वचसि विनीतसि उयानसि च सवत पटिवेद्का जनस अठं प्रटिवेदयंतु मे ति (E) सवत च जनस

3 · · · · · · · · · · कं (F) अं पि च किंछि मुखते आनपयामि दापकं वा सावकं वा ए वा महामातेहि अतियायिके आलोपिते होति तसि अठसि विवादे व

4 · · · · · · · · · · लिसायं आनंतलियं पटिवेदेतविये मे ति सवत सवं कालं (G) हेवं मे अनुसथे (H) नथि हि मे तोसे उठानसि अठसंतीलनाय च

5 (I) · · · · · · · · · · मे सवलोकहिते (J) तस च पन इयं मूले उठाने च अठसंतीलना च (K) नथि हि कंमतला सवलोकहितेन (L) अं च किछि पलकमामि हकं

6 · · · · · · · · · · नियं येहं ति हिद च कानि सुखयामि पलत च स्वगं आलाधयंतू ति (M) एताये अठाये इयं धंमलिपी लिखिता चिलठितीका होतु

7 · · · · · · · · · · ता मे पलकमंतु सवलोकहिताये (N) दुकले चु इयं अंनत अगेन पलकमेन

1 (A) . . . . [na]ṁpiye **Piyadasī lājā** hevaṁ āhā (B) atikaṁtaṁ aṁtalaṁ no hūta-puluve savaṁ kālaṁ aṭha-kaṁm[e] paṭivedanā va (C) se mamayā kaṭe (D) savaṁ kālaṁ

2 . . . . . . [sa m]e aṁte olodhanasi gabhāgālasi vachasi vinītas[i] uyānasi cha savata paṭivedakā janasa aṭhaṁ praṭivedayaṁtu[3] me ti (E) savata cha janasa

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[1] See above, p. 33, n. 7. [2] See above, p. 33, n. 8.

[3] The *r* is expressed by a horizontal stroke before *pa*, which therefore looks like *pe*; *paṭi°* Senart and Bühler.

3 . . . . [ka]ṁ (F) aṁ pi cha kiṁchhi mukhate ānapayāmi dāpakaṁ vā sāvakaṁ vā e v[ā] mah[ā]mātehi a[t]i[yā]yike [ā]lopite hoti tasi aṭhasi vivāde va

4 . . . . lisāy[aṁ[1] ā]naṁ[ta]liyaṁ paṭivedetaviye me ti savata savaṁ kālaṁ (G) hevaṁ me anusathe (H) nathi hi me tose uṭhānasi aṭha-saṁtīlan[ā]y[a] cha

5 (I) . . . . me sava-loka-hite (J) tasa cha pana iyaṁ mūle uṭhāne cha aṭha-saṁtīlanā cha (K) nathi hi k[aṁ]matalā sava-loka-hiteṅ[a] (L) aṁ cha kichhi p[a]lakamāmi hakaṁ

6 . . . . [n]iyaṁ yehaṁ ti hida cha kāni su[kha]yāmi palata cha svagaṁ ālādhayaṁtū ti (M) etāye aṭhāye i[ya]ṁ dhaṁma-lipī likhitā chila-ṭhitīkā hotu[2]

7 . . . . [t]ā[3] me [pa]lakamaṁtu sava-loka-hitāye (N) dukale chu i[ya]ṁ aṁnata agena palakamena

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) **King Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** speaks thus.

(B) In times past neither the disposal of affairs nor the submission of reports at all times did exist before.

(C) But I have made (the following arrangement).

(D) Reporters have to report to me the affairs of the people at any time (and) anywhere, while I am [eating], within[4] the harem, in the inner apartment, at the cowpen, in the palanquin, and in the park.

(E) And everywhere I am disposing of the affairs of the people.

(F) And also, if in the council (of *Mahāmātras*) a dispute arises, or an amendment is moved, in connexion with any donation or proclamation which I am ordering verbally, or (in connexion with) an emergent matter which has been delegated to the *Mahāmātras*, it must be reported to me immediately, anywhere, (and) at any time.

(G) Thus I have ordered.

(H) For I am never satisfied in exerting myself and in dispatching business.

(I) For I consider it my duty (to promote) the welfare of all men.

(J) But the root of that (is) this, (viz.) exertion and the dispatch of business.

(K) For no duty is more important than (promoting) the welfare of all men.

(L) And whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).

(M) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my sons (and) great-grandsons may display the same zeal for the welfare of all men.

(N) But it is difficult to accomplish this without great zeal.

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[1] °*sāya* Senart and Bühler. [2] *hotū* Bühler.

[3] On plate 68 of ASSI, vol. I, a portion of the syllable *po* is visible before *tā*.

[4] The preposition *ante*, 'within', is used with the locative, just as *anto* in Pāli; see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, p. 39 b.

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1 (A) · · · · · · · · · · दसी लाजा सवत इछति सवपासंडा वसे · · ति (B) सवे हि
ते सयमं भावसुधी च इछंति (C) मुनिसा च उचावुचछंदा उचावुचलागा
2 (D) · · · · · · · · · · सं व कछंति (E) विपुले पि चा दाने · · · · · · · · · · धी
च नीचे बाढं

1 (A) . . . . da[sī][1] lājā savata ichhati sava-p[ā]saṁḍā va[s]e . . [t]i (B) [sav]e hi te sa[yama]ṁ bhāva-[su]dhī cha ichhaṁti (C) munisā cha uchāvucha-chhaṁdā uchāvuch[a]-lāgā
2 (D) . . . . [sa]ṁ[2] va kachhaṁti (E) [v]i[pul]e [p]i chā[3] [d]ā[ne] . . . . [dhī] cha nīche [b]āḍhaṁ

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) **King Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** desires (that) all sects may reside everywhere.
(B) For all these desire self-control and purity of mind.
(C) And men possess various desires (and) various passions.
(D) They will fulfil either the whole or (only) a portion (of their duties).
(E) And even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control and purity of mind, is very mean.

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1 · · · · · · · · · · · विया अंनानि च एदि · · · · · · · · · · · मानि हुवंति नं (C) से
देवानंपिये
2 पिय · · · · · · · · दस · · · · · · · · · · · · ता (E) ततेस होति स · · · · · · · · · ·
च दाने च वुढानं दसने च
3 हिलंनपटिविधाने च · · · · · · · · · · धंमपलिपुछा · · · · · · · · · · ·ि लामे
होति देवानंपियस
4 पियदसिने लाजिने भागे अ · · ·

1 [4] . . . . [v]i[y]ā [a]ṁnāni cha e[d]i . . . . [m]āni huvaṁti naṁ (C) se **Devānaṁpiye**
2 **[Piya]** . . . . **[dasa]**[5] . . . . [tā] (E) [ta]tesa hoti [sa] . . . . cha dāne[6] cha vuḍhānaṁ dasane cha
3 hilaṁna-paṭiv[i]dh[ā]ne [cha] . . . . [dha]ṁma-p[al]i[puchh]ā[7] . . . . ilāme hoti **De[v]ānaṁpiyasa**
4 **Piyadasine lājine** bhāge [a] . . .

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[1] On plate 68 of ASSI, vol. I, the two syllables [*Piya*] are visible before *dasī*.
[2] The same plate reads [*va*] *eka-desaṁ*. [3] *cha* Senart and Bühler.
[4] At the beginning of this line, plate 68 of ASSI, vol. I, reads [*a**][*ti*]*kaṁtaṁ aṁtalaṁ lājā.*
[5] The same plate reads *Piyadasī* [*l*]*ājā dasa.*
[6] *cha* looks almost like *chu*, and *dāne* like *dāno.*
[7] *-pāli°* Senart and Bühler.

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) In times past, kings used to set out on so-called pleasure-tours.

(B) On these (tours) hunting and other such pleasures were (enjoyed).[1]

(C) But when **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin had been anointed ten years,** he went out to **Sambōdhi.**

(D) Therefore tours of morality (were undertaken) here.

(E) On these (tours) the following takes place, (viz.) visiting Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas and making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality, as suitable for this (occasion).

(F) This second period (of the reign) of **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** becomes a pleasure in a higher degree.

NINTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा . . . . पजुपदाये पवाससि एताये अंनाये च

2 हेदिसाये जने बहुकं . . . . च मंगलं कलेति (D) से कटविये चेव खो मंगले

3 (E) अपफले चु खो एस हेदिसे म . . . . . (F) इयं चु . . . . सभटकसि संम्यापटिपति गुलूनं अपचिति पानेसु सयमे

4 समनबाभनानं दाने एस अंने . . . . पितिना पि पुतेन पि भातिना पि सुवामिकेन पि इयं साधु इयं कटविये

5 . . . . से दाने अनुगहे वा आदिसे धंमदाने धंमानुगहे च (K) से चु खो मितेन

6 . . . . यं साधू इमेन सकिये स्वगे आलाधयितवे (L) किं हि इमेन कटवियतला

7 . . . .

1 (A) **Devān[aṁ]piye Piyadasī lā[jā]** . . . . [pa]jupadāye pavāsasi etāye aṁnāye cha

2 hedisāye jane [ba]hu[ka]ṁ . . . . [cha ma]ṁ[gala]ṁ k[a]leti (D) se kaṭaviye cheva kho maṁgale

3 (E) apa-[pha]le chu [kh]o e[sa] he[d]ise ma . . . . . (F) i[ya]ṁ [chu][2] . . . . [sa-bha]ṭakasi saṁmyā-paṭipati gulūnaṁ apachiti pānesu say[a]me

4 saman[a]-bābha[n]ā[naṁ] d]ā[n]e [esa a]ṁ[n]e . . . . [pi]tinā pi putena pi bhātinā pi suvāmike[na] pi iyaṁ sādhu iyaṁ kaṭaviye

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[1] With *huvaṁti naṁ* cf. *etehi na* in the Kārlē and Nāsik inscriptions (EI, 7. 64, text l. 4; 8. 65, text l. 14; 71, text l. 4; 73, text l. 11). In the Jaina Prākṛit, *ṇaṁ* is used as an enclitical particle, and in Śaurasēnī, according to the grammarians, in the sense of *nanu.* Pischel (*Grammatik*, § 150) derives it from Skt. *nūnam.*

[2] These two words are invisible on plate 68 of ASSI, vol. I.

5 . . . . [s]e dāne anugah[e] vā ādi[s]e dhaṁma-dāne dhaṁmānugahe cha (K) se chu kho mitena

6 . . . . yaṁ sādh[ū] imena sakiye svage ālādhayitave (L) kiṁ hi imena kaṭaviyatalā

7 . . . .

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) **King Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** speaks thus.

(B) Men are practising various ceremonies during illness . . . . at the marriage of a daughter, at the birth of a child,[1] (and) when setting out on a journey; on these and other such (occasions) men [are practising] many ceremonies.

(C) But . . . . . women are practising many and various vulgar and useless ceremonies.

(D) Now ceremonies should certainly be practised.

(E) But such ceremonies as these bear little fruit indeed.

(F) But the following bears much fruit indeed, viz. the practice of morality.

(G) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas; these and other [such] (virtues) are called the practice of morality.

(H) Therefore a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master ought to say:—'This is meritorious. This [practice] should be observed until the (desired) object is attained.'

(I) And it has been said thus:—'Gifts are meritorious.'

(J) But there is no [such] gift or benefit as the gift of morality and the benefit of morality.

(K) Therefore a friend . . . . [a relative], and a companion should indeed admonish (another) on such and such an occasion:—'This . . . . this is meritorious. By this (practice) it is possible to attain heaven.'

(L) For what is more desirable than this, [viz.] the attainment of heaven?

TENTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1 (A) . . . . यसो वा किटी वा इछति तद्त्वाये आयतिये च जने धंमसुसूसं सुसूसतु मे

2 . . . . ति देवानंपिये पालतिकाये वा किंति सकले अपपलिसवे हुवेया ति

3 (D) . . . . लितिजितु खुदकेन वा उसटेन वा (F) उसटेन चु दुकलतले

1 (A) . . . . [ya]so vā ki[ṭ]ī vā ichh[a]ti tadatvāye ā[ya]tiye cha jane dhaṁma-susūsaṁ susūsatu me

2 . . . . [t]i **Devānaṁpiye** pālatikāye vā ki[ṁ]ti [sa]kale apa-palisave [h]uveyā ti

3 (D) . . . . [l]itijit[u] khudakena [v]ā u[sa]ṭena vā (F) usaṭena chu dukalatale

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[1] For *pajupadāye* see above, p. 38, n. 22.



SCALE ONE-SEVENTH

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) **King Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** does not think that either glory or fame [conveys much advantage, except whatever] glory or fame he desires (on account of his aim that) at the present time, and in the future, men may (be induced) by him to practise obedience to morality . . . . morality.

(B) On this (account) [he is desiring] glory and fame.

(C) [Whatever] effort **Dēvānāṁpriya** is making, (is) only for the sake of (merit) in the other (world), (and) in order that all (men) may run little danger.

(D) The danger . . . .

(E) . . . . difficult to accomplish either for a lowly (person) or for a high one [without] great [zeal] and (without) laying aside every (other aim).

(F) But it is more difficult to accomplish for a high (person).

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1 (A) . . . . मझिमेन अथि विथटेन (B) नो हि सवे सवत घटिते (C) महंते हि विजये

2 . . . . स माधुलियाये किंति च जने तथा पटिपजेया ति (E) ए पि चु हेत

3 . . . .

1 (A) . . . . [ma]jhime[na] ath[i] vithaṭena (B) [no] hi save savata ghaṭite (C) mahaṁte hi vijaye

2 . . . . [sa] mādhuliyāye kiṁt[i] cha jane tathā paṭipajeyā ti (E) e pi chu heta

3 . . . .

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) These rescripts on morality [have been caused] to be written by **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** . . . . or of middle (size), or at full length.

(B) For the whole was not suitable everywhere.

(C) For (my) dominions are wide, and much has been written, [and I] shall cause [still] (more) to be written.

(D) . . . . has been stated . . . . because of the charm of [certain topics], and in order that men should act accordingly.

(E) But whatever of this is written incompletely . . . .

FIRST SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1 (A) देवानंपिये हेवं आहा (B) समापायं महामाता नगलवियोहालक हेवं वतविया (C) अं किछि दखामि हकं तं इछामि किंति कं कमन पटिपातयेहं

2 दुवालते च आलभेहं (D) एस च मे मोखियमत दुवालं अं तुफेसु अनुसथि (E) फे हि बहूसु पानसहसेसु आयत पनयं गछेम सु मुनिसानं (F) सवमुना मे

3 पजा (G) अथ पजाये इछामि किंति मे सवेन हितसुखेन यूजेयू ति हिदलोगिक-पाललोकिकेन हेमेव मे इछ सवमुनिसेसु (H) नो चु तुफे एतं पापुनाथ आवगमुके

4 इयं अठे (I) केचा एकमुनिसे पापुनाति से पि देसं नो सवं (J) दखथ हि तुफे पि सुविता पि (K) बहुक अठि ये एति एकमुनिसे बंधनं पलिकिलेसं पि पापुनाति (L) तत होति अक-

5 स्मा ति तेन बधनंतिक अन्ये च वगे बहुके वेदयति (M) तत तुफेहि इछितये किंति मझं पटिपातयेम (N) इमेहि जातेहि नो पटिपजति इसाय आसुलोपेन निठूलियेन

6 तुलाय अनावुतिय आलस्येन किलमथेन (O) हेवं इछितविये किंति मे एतानि जातानि नो हेयू ति (P) सवस चु इयं मूले अनासुलोपे अतुलना च (Q) नितियं एयं किलंते सिय ....

7 संचलितु उथाया संचलितव्ये तु वटितविय पि एतविये पि नीतियं (R) एवे दखेया आनंने णिझपेतविये हेवं हेवं च देवानंपियस अनुसथि ति (S) एतं संपटिपातयं-

8 तं महाफले होति असंपटिपति महापाये होति (T) विपटिपातयंतं नो स्वगआलधि नो लाजाधि (U) दुआहले एतस कंमस स मे कुते मनो-अतिलेके (V) एतं संपटिपजमीने मम

9 च आननेयं एसथ स्वगं च आलाधयिसथा (W) इयं चा लिपी अनुतिसं सोतविया (X) अला पि खनेन सोतविया एककेन पि (Y) .... मीने चघथ ....

10 तवे (Z) एताये च अठाये इयं लिखिता लिपी एन महामाता नगलक सस्वतं समयं एतं युजेयु ति एन मुनिसानं अ .... ने पलिकि .... ये

11 पंचसु पंचसु वसेसु अनुसयानं निखामयिसामि महामातं अचंडं अफलुसं त .... पि कुमाले वि .. त .... मयि .... लाते ......

12 .... वचनिक अद अनुसयानं निखमिसंति अतने कंमं ...... यितु तं पि तथा कालंति अथा ....

1 **(A) Dev[ā]naṁpiye** he[va]ṁ [ā]hā **(B) Sam[ā]pāyaṁ** mahāmātā [na]gala-viyohālaka he[vaṁ va]tav[i]y[ā] **(C)** aṁ kichhi dakhāmi ha[ka]ṁ [taṁ] ichhām[i k]iṁt[i kaṁ [1] kamana [2] pa]ṭipātayehaṁ

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[1] Senart and Bühler omit *kaṁ*. Cf. the Jaugaḍa separate edict II, end of line 1, and see above, p. 35, n. 12.

[2] [*kaṁ*]*mana* Bühler.

2 duvālate cha ālabhehaṁ (D) es[a] cha me mokhiya-mata duvālaṁ a[ṁ] tuphesu anusathi (E) phe hi bahūsu pāna-sahasesu [ā]ya[ta] p[a]na[yaṁ] gachhema [su] m[u]n[i]s[ā]na[ṁ] (F) sava-mu[n]ā me[1]

3 pajā (G) atha pa[jā]ye ichhām[i kiṁ]t[i] me savena hita-sukhena y[ū]jeyū ti hi[dal]o[g]ik[a]-pālalokikena [he]meva me ichha sava-munis[e]su (H) no chu[2] tu[phe e]taṁ [p]ā[p]unātha āva-gamu[k]e[3]

4 [i]yaṁ aṭh[e] (I) kechā eka-[muni]s[e][4] pā[p]unāti[5] se pi desaṁ no savaṁ (J) dakhatha hi [tuphe] pi[6] suvitā [p]i (K) bahuka aṭhi[7] ye eti eka-munise ba[ṁ]dhanaṁ pali[kile]saṁ [p]i[8] pāpunāti (L) tata [ho]t[i aka]-

5 sm[ā] ti[9] ten[a] badhana[ṁ]ti[ka[10] anye][11] cha [va]ge bahuke vedayati (M) tata tuphe[hi ichhi]taye kiṁti majhaṁ [pa]ṭipātayem[a] (N) imehi jāte[hi][12] no [pa]ṭipa[ja]ti[13] i[s]ā[ya][14] āsulopena [ni]ṭhū[li]ye[na][15]

6 t[ul]āya[16] [a]nā[v]uti[ya[17] āla]s[y]e[na ki]lamath[e]na (O) hevaṁ ichhit[a]vi[y]e kiṁti me et[ā]ni jātā[ni n]o hveyū[18] ti (P) savasa chu[19] iyaṁ mū[le] a[n]ā[s]u[lo]p[e atulanā] cha (Q) ni[tiya]ṁ [e]y[aṁ k]il[aṁt]e [siya] . . . .

7 saṁchalitu uthāy[ā][20] saṁchalitavye tu v[a]ṭitaviya[21] [pi] etaviye pi nīt[i]yaṁ (R) eve dakh[e]yā[22] āna[ṁ]ne[23] ṇijhap[e]ta[vi]ye[24] heva[ṁ hevaṁ] cha **Devānaṁ[p]i[ya]sa** an[u]sa[thi ti] (S) [eta]ṁ [saṁpaṭipā]ta[yaṁ]-

8 taṁ mahā-phale hoti asaṁpaṭipati mahāpāy[e] hoti (T) vipaṭipātayaṁtaṁ no svag[a]-āladhi no lājādhi[25] (U) du[ā]hale etasa [kaṁ]masa sa me k[u]t[e ma]n[o-ati]le[ke][26] (V) [etaṁ saṁpaṭipajamīne mama]

9 cha ānaneyaṁ esatha svagaṁ cha ālā[dha]yisa[th]ā (W) iyaṁ chā[27] li[p]ī anutisaṁ sot[a]v[i]yā (X) [a]lā[28] [p]i kha[ne]na sota[vi]yā ek[a]k[e]na pi (Y) . . . . m[ī]ne[29] ch[aghatha] . . . .

10 tave (Z) etāye cha aṭh[ā]ye iyaṁ [li]khitā [l]ipī ena mahāmātā nagalaka sa[s]vata[ṁ] sama[ya]ṁ [etaṁ] yu[j]ey[u] t[i] ena [muni]s[ā]naṁ [a] . . . . ne [pal]i[k]i[30] . . . . ye

11 [pa]ṁchasu paṁchasu va[sesu] anu[sa]yānaṁ[31] nikhāma[y]isāmi[32] mahāmāta[ṁ] achaṁḍa[ṁ] aphal[usa]ṁ[33] ta[34] . . . . pi kumāle [v]i[35] . . ta . . . . m[ayi][36] . . . . [lā]t[e][37] . . . . . .

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[1] Read *-munisā me*; *-munise* Senart and Bühler.

[2] *cha* Bühler.

[3] *āvā-* Bühler; *-gamake* Senart and Bühler.

[4] *-pulise* Senart and Bühler.

[5] *pi manati* Senart, *pi* [*ma*]*nāti* Bühler.

[6] *hi* Bühler.

[7] *athi* Bühler.

[8] *hi* Bühler.

[9] Senart and Bühler omit *ti*.

[10] *baṁdha°* Senart and Bühler.

[11] Bühler omitted this word.

[12] *jātehī* Bühler.

[13] *saṁpaṭi°* Senart, *saṁti°* Bühler.

[14] *isā*[*ye*] Bühler.

[15] *nithu°* Senart, *niṭhu°* Bühler.

[16] *tulāye* Senart and Bühler.

[17] *°tiye* Senart and Bühler.

[18] *heyū* Senart and Bühler.

[19] *cha* Senart and Bühler.

[20] *uthā*[*ye*] Bühler.

[21] *vajita°* Senart and Bühler.

[22] *dekheyi* Senart and Bühler.

[23] *aṁna ne* Senart and Bühler.

[24] *nijha°* Senart and Bühler.

[25] Read *lājāladhi*.

[26] [*ma*]*ne-* Bühler.

[27] *cha* Senart and Bühler.

[28] Read *aṁtalā*.

[29] *mane* Bühler.

[30] Restore *akasmā baṁdhane palikilese.*

[31] *°saṁyānaṁ* Senart and Bühler.

[32] *°sāmī* Bühler.

[33] *aphalaha* Bühler.

[34] Bühler adds . . *vachanele*; perhaps *sakhinālaṁbhaṁ* is intended, as in the corresponding passage at Dhauli.

[35] *vā* Bühler.

[36] Restore *nikhāmayisati.*

[37] This is probably a remnant of *Takhasilāte*.

12 .... vachanik[a][1] ada[2] [anusa]yānaṁ[3] n[ikha]mi[saṁ]ti a[ta]ne ka[ṁma]ṁ ...... [yitu taṁ pi tathā] kalaṁti [athā]..........

TRANSLATION

(A) **Dēvānāṁpriya** speaks thus.

(B) The *Mahāmātras* at *Samāpā*, (who are) the judicial officers of the city, have to be told this.

(C) Whatever I recognize (to be right), that I strive to carry out by deeds, and to accomplish by (various) means.

(D) And this is considered by me the principal means, viz. (to give) instruction to you.

(E) For you are occupied with many thousands of men, with the object of gaining the affection of men.

(F) All men are my children.

(G) As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided by me with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, even so is my desire on behalf of all men.

(H) But you do not learn this, (viz.) how far this (my) object reaches.

(I) Some single person (only) learns (this), (and) even he (only) a portion, (but) not the whole.

(J) Now you must also pay attention (to this), although you are in prosperous circumstances.[4]

(K) It happens frequently that a single person undergoes imprisonment and suffers harsh treatment.[5]

(L) In this case (an order) cancelling the imprisonment is (obtained) by him accidentally, while many other people[6] (continue to) suffer.

(M) In this case you must strive to deal (with all of them) impartially.

(N) One fails to act (thus) on account of the following dispositions: envy, anger, cruelty, hurry, want of practice, laziness, (and) fatigue.

(O) (You) must strive for this, that these dispositions may not arise in you.

(P) But the root of all is this: the absence of anger and the avoidance of hurry.

(Q) Whoever is fatigued in the administration (of justice), will [not] move and rise; but one ought to move, to walk, and to advance in the administration (of justice).

(R) He who will pay attention to this,[7] must exhort[8] (you) to discharge (your) debt (to the king), (by telling you): 'Such and such is the instruction of **Dēvānāṁpriya**.'

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[1] *javacha°* Senart, *ājavacha°* Bühler; cf. *l[ā]ja-vachanik[a]* in the Jaugaḍa separate edict II, B.

[2] *tada* Senart, *adā* Bühler. [3] *°saṁyānaṁ* Senart and Bühler.

[4] For *suvita* see Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary. Dhauli has the synonym *suvihita*.

[5] Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 862) renders the Dhauli version of this section: 'There is also a single officer who hears of imprisonment or torture'; but, in order to vindicate this translation, he is obliged to change *eti* in the Jaugaḍa version to *eta* (p. 856, n. 17), which gives no sense. The verb *pāpunāti* has the same meaning as here in the rock-edict XIII; cf. above, p. 47, n. 5.

[6] For *vage* = *jane* see above, p. 40, n. 2.

[7] As *eve dakh[e]yā* corresponds to *hevaṁmeva e da[kheya]* at Dhauli, it seems to represent *evaṁ e dakheyā*.

[8] For *nijhapeti* see above, p. 69, n. 4.

(S) If one observes this, great gain results, (but its) non-observance becomes a great evil.

(T) If one fails to observe (this), (there will be) neither attainment of heaven nor satisfaction of the king.

(U) How (could) my mind be pleased if one fulfils this duty badly?

(V) If (you) observe this, you will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me, and you will attain heaven.

(W) And this rescript must be listened to (by all) on every (day of) Tishya.

(X) It may be listened to even by a single (person) also on (other) occasions between (the days of Tishya).

(Y) . . . . you will be able to . . . .

(Z) And for the following purpose has this rescript been written, (viz.) in order that the *Mahāmātras* (who are) city-judges may strive at all times for this, that to men [undeserved imprisonment or harsh treatment] . . . .

(AA) . . . . I shall send out every five years on a complete tour (throughout his charge)[1] a *Mahāmātra* who is neither fierce nor harsh . . . .

(BB) . . . . also the prince (governor) [will send out] . . . .

(CC) . . . . from **[Takshaśi]lā.**

(DD) When, at the word [of the king],[2] they will set out on tour, (then), [without neglecting] their own duties, (they will ascertain[3] whether the judicial officers) are carrying out this also just, as . . . .

SECOND SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1 **(A) देवानंपिये हेवं आह (B) समापायं महमता लाजवचनिक वतविया (C) अं किछि दखामि हकं तं इछामि हकं किंति कं कमन**

2 **पटिपातयेहं दुवालते च आलभेहं (D) एस च मे मोखियमत दुवाल एतस अथस अं तुफेसु अनुसथि (E) सवमुनि-**

3 **सा मे पजा (F) अथ पजाये इछामि किंति मे सवेण हितसुखेन युजेयू अथ पजाये इछामि किंति मे सवेन हितसु-**

4 **खेन युजेयू ति हिदलोगिकपाललोकिकेण हेवंमेव मे इछ सवमुनिसेसु (G) सिया अंतानं अविजिता-**

5 **नं किंछांदे सु लाजा अफेसू ति (H) एताका वा मे इछ अंतेसु पापुनेयु लाजा हेवं इछति अनुविगिन ह्वेयू**

6 **ममियाये अस्वसेयु च मे सुखंमेव च लहेयू ममते नो खं हेवं च पापुनेयु खमिसति ने लाजा**

7 **ए सकिये खमितवे ममं निमितं च धंमं चलेयू ति हिदलोगं च पललोगं च आलाधयेयू (I) एताये**

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[1] See above, p. 5, n. 4.

[2] See below, p. 117, n. 10.

[3] The word *jānisaṁti* seems to be omitted at Jaugaḍa, but is required by the context; see the Dhauli version, CC.

8 च अठाये हकं तुफेनि अनुसासामि अनने एतकेन हकं तुफेनि अनुसासितु छंदं
 च वेदि-

9 तु आ मम धिति पटिंना च अचल‘ (J) स हेवं कटू कंमे चलितविये
 अस्वासनिया च ते एन ते पापुने-

10 यु अथा पित हेवं ने लाजा ति अथ अतानं अनुकंपति हेवं अफेनि अनुकंपति
 अथा पजा हे-

11 वं मये लाजिने (K) तुफेनि हकं अनुसासित छांदं च वेदित आ मम धिति
 पटिंना चा अचल सकल-

12 देसाआयुतिके होसामी एतसि अथसि (L) अलं हि तुफे अस्वासनाये हितसुखाये
 च तेसं हिद-

13 लोगिकपाललोकिकाये (M) हेवं च कलंतं स्वगं च आलाधयिसथ मम च
 आननेयं एसथ (N) ए-

14 ताये च अथाये इयं लिपी लिखित हिद एन महामाता सास्वतं समं युजेयू
 अस्वासनाये च

15 धंमचलनाये च अंतानं (O) इयं च लिपी अनुचातुंमासं सोतविया तिसेन (P)
 अंतला पि च सोतविया

16 (Q) खने संतं एकेन पि सोतविया (R) हेवं च कलंतं चघथ संपटिपातयितवे

1 (A) **Devānaṁpiye** hevaṁ ā[ha] (B) **Samāpāyaṁ** mahamatā l[ā]ja-vachanik[a][1] vataviyā (C) aṁ kichhi dakh[ā]mi hakaṁ taṁ i[chh]āmi hakaṁ k[iṁ]ti kaṁ kamana

2 paṭipātayehaṁ duvā[la]te cha ālabhehaṁ (D) esa cha me mokhiya-mat[a][2] duvāl[a] etasa a[tha]sa a[ṁ] t[uph]esu anusa[thi] (E) sava-muni-

3 sā me pajā (F) atha pajāy[e] ichhāmi kiṁti me saveṇā hita-su[kh]ena yu[je]yū [a]tha pajāye ichhāmi kiṁ[ti] m[e] savena hita-su-

4 kh[e]na yujeyū[3] ti hidalogika-pālaloki[k]e[ṇa][4] hevaṁmeva me ichha sava-munisesu (G) siyā aṁtānaṁ [a]vijitā-

5 naṁ kiṁ-chhāṁde[5] su lājā aphesū ti (H) etākā[6] [vā] me ichha [a]ṁtesu pāpuneyu lājā hevaṁ ichh[a]ti anu[v]i[g]ina hve[yū][7]

6 mamiyāye [a]svaseyu cha me sukhaṁ[m]ev[a] cha lahey[ū] mamate [n]o kha[ṁ][8] hevaṁ cha pāpuneyu kha[m]i[sa]ti ne lājā

7 e s[a]kiye[9] khamitave mamaṁ nimitaṁ cha dhaṁma[ṁ][10] chaley[ū] ti hidalog[aṁ] cha palalogaṁ cha ālādhayey[ū][11] (I) etāye

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[1] *laja-* Senart and Bühler. [2] *-mate* Senart, *-mataṁ* Bühler.

[3] Cancel the eight last words ([*a*]*tha* to *yujeyū*), which the writer has repeated by mistake.

[4] °*kena* Senart and Bühler. [5] *-chhaṁde* Senart and Bühler.

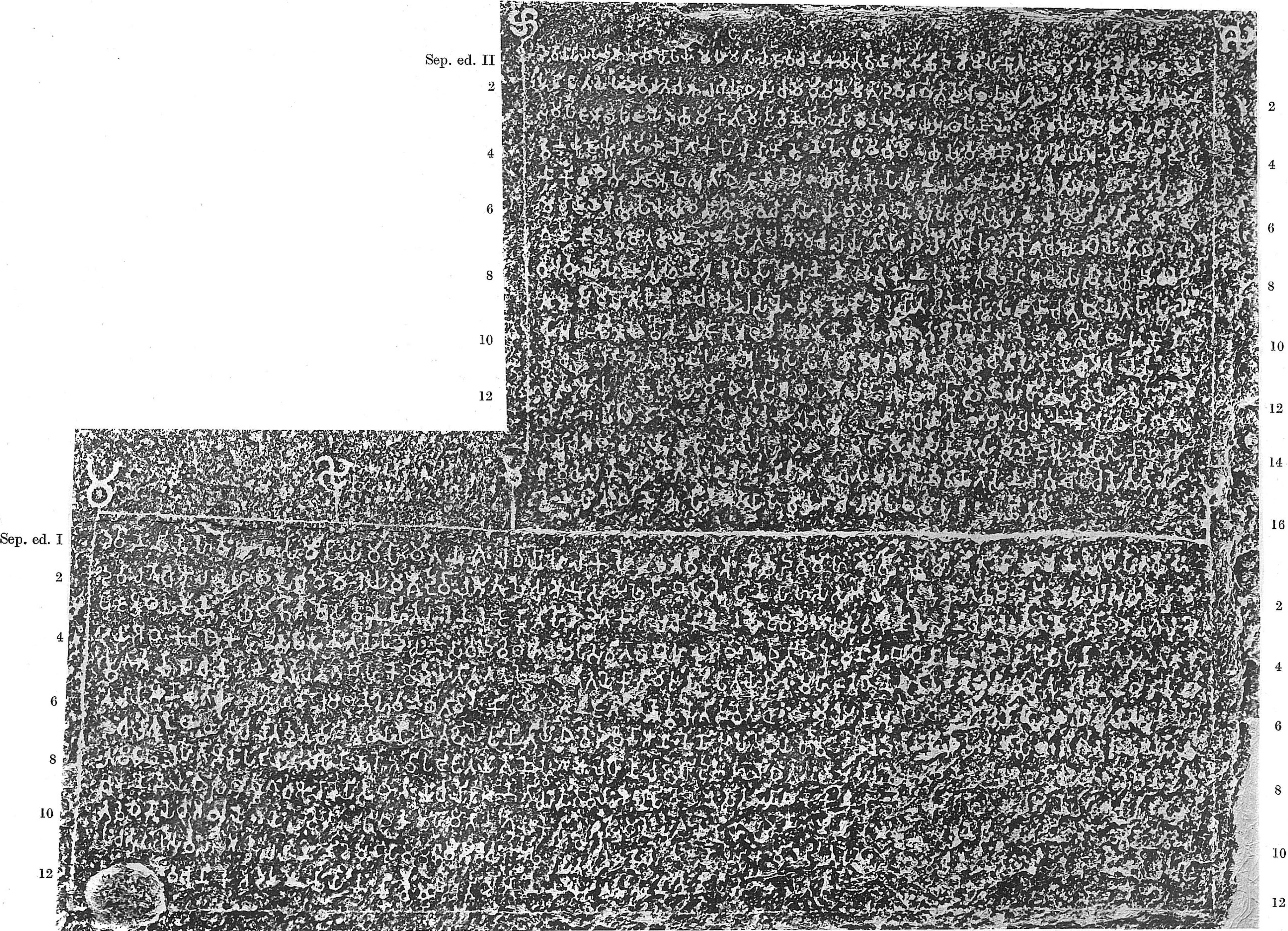
[6] Read *etakā*, as proposed by Lüders, SPAW, 1914. 867.

[7] *heyu* Senart and Bühler. [8] Read *dukhaṁ*.

[9] *chha kiye* Senart, *chakiye* Bühler.

[10] The Anusvāra of *maṁ* stands above the line; *dhaṁma* Senart and Bühler.

[11] °*yeyu* Senart and Bühler.



SCALE ONE-SEVENTH

8 cha aṭhāye hakaṁ tupheni anusāsāmī ana[ne eta]kena [ha]kaṁ tupheni a[nu]sāsitu chhaṁda[ṁ cha] vedi-

9 [t]u ā mama dhiti paṭiṁnā cha achala (J) sa hevaṁ [ka]ṭū[1] k[aṁ]me [cha]litaviye asvāsa[n]iyā ch[a] te en[a] te pāpune-

10 yu a[th]ā pita [h]evaṁ [n]e lājā ti atha [a]tānaṁ anukaṁpat[i he]vaṁ a[ph]eni anuka[ṁpa]ti athā pajā he-

11 vaṁ [may]e lā[j]ine (K) tupheni hakaṁ anusāsita[2] [chh]āṁdaṁ[3] [cha v]e[di]ta[4] [ā[5] ma]ma dhiti paṭi[ṁ]nā chā achala [saka]la-

12 desā-āy[ut]ike[6] hosāmī et[a]si [a]thas[i] (L) [a]laṁ [h]i tuphe asvāsa[nā]ye hi[ta]-sukhāye [cha te]sa[ṁ] hida-

13 logi[ka]-p[ā]lal[o]ki[k]ā[y]e (M) hevaṁ cha kalaṁtaṁ svaga[ṁ cha ā]lādhayisa[tha] mama cha āna[n]eyaṁ es[a]tha (N) e-

14 tāye cha a[th]āye i[ya]ṁ lipī li[kh]i[ta[7] hi]da e[na ma]h[ā]mātā sāsvataṁ[8] samaṁ[9] yujeyū asvāsanāye cha

15 dhaṁma-chala[nā]ye [cha] aṁtā[na]ṁ (O) iyaṁ cha lipī a[nu]ch[ā]tuṁ[m]āsaṁ s[ota]viyā tisena (P) aṁta[lā] pi cha sotaviyā

16 (Q) khane saṁtaṁ eke[na] pi [sota]v[i]yā (R) heva[ṁ] cha [ka]laṁ[ta]ṁ chaghatha saṁpaṭipātayit[av]e

TRANSLATION

(A) **Dēvānāṁpriya** speaks thus.

(B) The *Mahāmātras* at **Samāpā** have to be told (this) at the word of the king.[10]

(C) Whatever I recognize (to be right), that I strive to carry out by deeds and to accomplish by (various) means.

(D) And this is considered by me the principal means for this object, viz. (to give) instruction to you.

(E) All men are my children.

(F) As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided by me with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, even so is my desire on behalf of all men.

(G) It might occur to (my) unconquered borderers (to ask): 'What does the king desire with reference to us?'

(H) This alone is my wish with reference to the borderers, (that) they may learn (that) the king desires this, (that) they may not be afraid of me, but may have confidence in me; (that) they may obtain only happiness from me, not misery; (that) they may learn this, (that) the king will forgive them what can be forgiven; that they may (be induced) by me (to) practise morality; (and that) they may attain (happiness) both (in) this world and (in) the other world.

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[1] *kaṭu* Senart and Bühler.

[2] Read °*sāsitu*, which is Bühler's reading.

[3] *chhaṁdaṁ* Senart and Bühler.

[4] Read *veditu*; *vedāta* Senart, *vedit[u]* Bühler.

[5] Senart and Bühler omit *ā*.

[6] Read *desāyutike*.

[7] *likhitā* Senart and Bühler.

[8] *sasvataṁ* Senart and Bühler.

[9] Read *samayaṁ*.

[10] The derivative *l[ā]ja-vachanik[a]* seems to convey the same meaning as the two words *Devānaṁpiyasa vachanena* at the beginning of each of the two separate edicts at Dhauli, and of the Queen's pillar-edict at Allahabad. Cf. also the opening phrase of the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura rock-inscriptions.

(I) And for the following purpose I am instructing you, (viz. that) I may discharge the debt (which I owe to them) by this, that I instruct you and inform (you) of (my) will, i. e. (of) my unshakable resolution and vow.

(J) Therefore, acting thus, (you) must fulfil (your) duty and must inspire them with confidence,[1] in order that they may learn that the king is to them like a father, (that) he loves them as he loves himself, (and that) they are to the king like (his own) children.

(K) Having instructed you and having informed (you) of (my) will, i. e. (of) my unshakable resolution and vow, I shall have (i. e. maintain) officers in all provinces for this object.

(L) For you are able to inspire those (borderers) with confidence and (to secure their) welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world.

(M) And if (you) act thus, you will attain heaven, and you will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me.

(N) And for the following purpose has this rescript been written here, (viz.) in order that the *Mahāmātras* may strive at all times to inspire (my) borderers with confidence and (to induce them) to practise morality.

(O) And this rescript must be listened to (by all) every four months on (the day of) Tishya.

(P) And it may be listened to also between (the days of Tishya).

(Q) It may be listened to even by a single (person) when an occasion offers.[2]

(R) And if (you) act thus, you will be able to carry out (my orders).

VII. THE BOMBAY-SOPARA FRAGMENT OF THE EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT

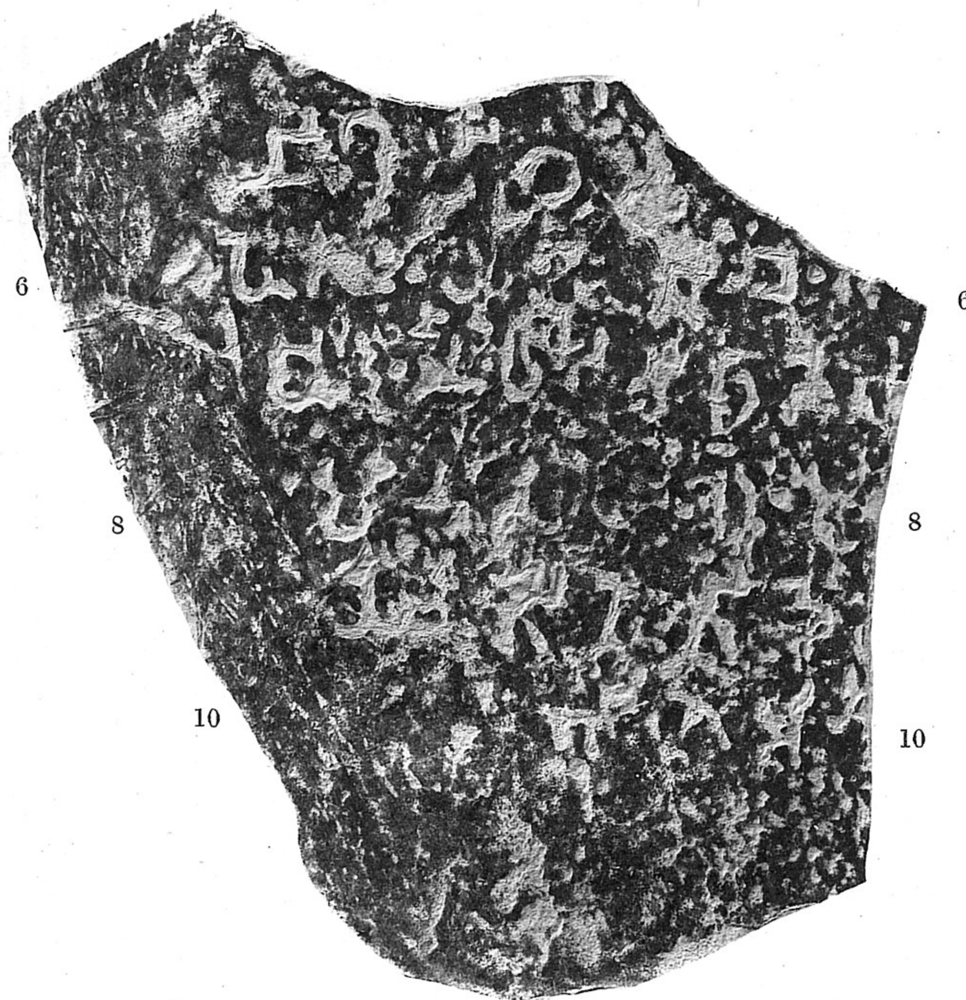
. . . .

5 निखमिठ स . . . .
6 (E) हेत इयं होति बंभ . . . .
7 वुढानं दसने च हिरंनपटिविधाने च . . . .
8 धंमानुसथि धंम . . . .
9 . . ये रती होति दे . . . .
10 . . . . ने भागे अं . .

. . . .
5 nikhamiṭha Sa[3] . . . .
6 (E) heta iyaṁ [ho]ti baṁ[bha] . . . .
7 vuḍhānaṁ dasane[4] [cha] hiraṁna-paṭividhāne cha . . . .
8 [dha*]ṁmānusa[thi][5] dhaṁma . . . .
9 . . ye [ra]tī[6] hoti De . . . .
10 . . . . n[e] bhāge aṁ . .

[1] With *asvāsa[n]iyā* cf. *visvaṁsayitave* on the Sārnāth pillar, ll. 8 and 9.
[2] The two words *khane saṁtaṁ* are nominatives absolute; cf. above, p. 97, n. 3.
[3] *nikhamithā saṁ* Bhagvanlal Indraji.
[4] These two words are entered above the line.
[5] °*saṭhi* Bh. I.
[6] *rati* Bh. I.

BOMBAY-SOPARA FRAGMENT OF THE EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT



Scale One-third

SECOND PART: THE PILLAR-EDICTS

I. THE DELHI-TOPRA PILLAR

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

North Face of Pillar.

1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आहा (B) सडुवीसति-
2 वसअभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापिता
3 (C) हिदतपालते दुसंपटिपादये अंनत अगाया धंमकामताया
4 अगाय पलीखाया अगाय सुसूयाया अगेन भयेना
5 अगेन उसाहेना (D) एस चु खो मम अनुसथिया
6 धंमापेखा धंमकामता चा सुवे सुवे वढिता वढीसति चेवा
7 (E) पुलिसा पि च मे उकसा चा गेवया चा मझिमा चा अनुविधीयंती
8 संपटिपादयंति चा अलं चपलं समादपयितवे (F) हेमेवा अंत-
9 महामाता पि (G) एस हि विधि या इयं धंमेन पालना धंमेन विधाने
10 धंमेन सुखियना धंमेन गोती ति

1 **(A) Devānaṁpiye Piyaḍasi lāja** hevaṁ āhā **(B) saḍuvīsati-**
2 **vasa-abhisitena** me iyaṁ dhaṁma-lipi likhāpitā
3 **(C)** hidata-pālate dusaṁpaṭipādaye aṁnata agāyā dhaṁma-kāmaṭāyā
4 agāya palīkhāyā agāya su[sū]yāyā agena bhayenā
5 agena usāhenā **(D)** esa chu kho mama anusathiyā
6 dhaṁmāpekhā dhaṁma-kāmatā chā suve suve vaḍhitā vaḍhīsati chevā
7 **(E)** pulisā pi cha me ukasā chā gevayā chā majhimā chā anuvidhīyaṁtī
8 saṁpaṭipādayaṁti chā alaṁ chapalaṁ samādapayitave **(F)** hemevā aṁta-
9 mahāmātā pi **(G)** esa [1] hi [2] vidhi yā iyaṁ dhaṁmena pālanā dhaṁmena vidhāne
10 dhaṁmena sukhiyanā dhaṁmena gotī ti

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) This rescript on morality was caused to be written by me (when I had been) **anointed twenty-six years.**

(C) (Happiness) in this (world) and in the other (world) [3] is difficult to secure

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[1] *esā* Bühler.

[2] *pi* Senart and Bühler; *hi* is quite distinct on the inked estampages.

[3] With the base *pālata*, which is derived from the Sanskrit adverb *paratra*, cf. *pāratrika* at Girnār (= *pālaṁtikya* at Kālsī, and *pālatika* elsewhere).

without great love of morality, careful examination, great obedience, great fear (of sin), (and) great energy.

(D) But indeed by my instruction this regard for morality and love of morality have been promoted day by day [1] and will progress still (more).

(E) And my agents [2] also, both the high ones [3] and the low ones,[4] and those of middle rank, are conforming to and practising (morality), (and are thus) able to stir up [5] fickle (persons).

(F) In the same way the *Mahāmātras* of the borderers [6] also (are acting).

(G) For (their) instruction (is) this, viz.[7] to protect according to morality, to dispose according to morality, to cause pleasure [8] according to morality, (and) to guard (their speech) [9] according to morality.

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

North Face of Pillar.

10 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज
11 हेवं आहा (B) धंमे साधू कियं चु धंमे ति (C) अपासिनवे बहु कयाने
12 दया दाने सचे सोचये (D) चखुदाने पि मे बहुविधे दिंने (E) दुपद-
13 चतुपदेसु पखिवालिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहे कटे आ पान-
14 दाखिनाये (F) अंनानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि कटानि (G) एताये मे
15 अठाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखापिता हेवं अनुपटिपजंतु चिलं-
16 थितिका च होतू ती ति (H) ये च हेवं संपटिपजीसति से सुकटं कछती ति

10 **(A) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja** [10]
11 hevaṁ āhā (**B**) dhaṁme sādhū kiyaṁ chu dhaṁme ti (**C**) apāsinave [11] bahu kayāne
12 dayā dāne sache sochaye (**D**) chakhu-dāne pi me [12] bahuvidhe diṁne (**E**) dupada-

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[1] For *suve suve* = Skt. *śvaḥ śvaḥ* (literally: 'to-morrow to-morrow'), see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *sve*.

[2] I adopt V. A. Smith's translation of *pulisa*; see his *Asoka*, sec. ed., p. 182, n. 3. Cf. the pillar-edict IV, G, and VII, M.

[3] *ukasa* (= *utkarsha*) is used in the sense of *utkṛishṭa*.

[4] This meaning of *gevayā* is evident from the context. Bühler (ZDMG, 48. 62) derived *gevaya* (for **gēvaka*) from the root *gēv*, to which the *Dhātupāṭha* attributes the meaning of *sēv*, 'to serve'. For the change of *k* to *y* cf. *supadālaya*, above, p. 33, n. 3. But the existence of the root *gēv* is far from certain; see Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 991 and n. 1.

[5] For *samādapeti* see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *samādiyati*.

[6] Cf. the separate edict II at Dhauli (M) and at Jaugaḍa (N).

[7] For this meaning of *yā iyaṁ* see Senart, IA, 17. 305, who compares with it the Pāli expression *yad idaṁ*.

[8] Cf. the pillar-edict IV, E, and VII, V.

[9] Cf. the rock-edict XII, D.

[10] *lājā* Senart and Bühler.

[11] A superfluous horizontal stroke is attached to the left side of the lower portion of *ve*.

[12] A vertical stroke is attached to the bottom of *me*.

13 chatupadesu pakhi-vālichalesu vividhe me anugahe kaṭe ā pāna-
14 dākhināye (F) aṁnāni pi cha me bahūni kayānāni kaṭāni (G) etāye me
15 aṭhāye iyaṁ dhaṁma-lipi likhāpitā hevaṁ anupaṭipajaṁtu chilaṁ-
16 thitikā cha hotū tī ti[1] (H) ye cha hevaṁ saṁpaṭipajīsati se sukaṭaṁ kachhatī[2] ti

TRANSLATION

(A) **King Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** speaks thus.

(B) (To practise) morality is meritorious; but what does morality include?[3]

(C) (It includes) few sins,[4] many virtuous deeds, compassion, liberality, truthfulness, (and) purity.

(D) The gift of spiritual insight[5] also has been bestowed by me in many ways.

(E) On bipeds and quadrupeds, on birds and aquatic animals various benefits have been conferred by me, (even) to the boon of life.[6]

(F) And many other virtuous deeds also have been performed by me.[7]

(G) For the following purpose was this rescript on morality caused to be written by me, (viz.) in order that (men) might conform to it, and that it might be of long duration.

(H) And he who will act thus will perform good deeds.[8]

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

North Face of Pillar.

17 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं अहा (B) कयानंमेव देखति इयं मे
18 कयाने कटे ति (C) नो मिन पापं देखति इयं मे पापे कटे ति इयं वा आसिनवे
19 नामा ति (D) दुपटिवेखे चु खो एसा (E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये (F) इमानि
20 आसिनवगामीनि नाम अथ चंडिये निठूलिये कोधे माने इस्या
21 कालनेन व हकं मा पलिभसयिसं (G) एस बाढ देखिये (H) इयं मे
22 हिदतिकाये इयंमन मे पालतिकाये

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[1] The remaining versions read *hotū ti*. Three verses of Manu in which *iti* is doubled are quoted in Böhtlingk and Roth's *Wörterbuch*, I, p. 790, l. 18. Cf. also *kiti t[i]* at Kālsī, XII, D.

[2] An apparent Anusvāra after *ka* is probably accidental.

[3] Burnouf (*Lotus*, p. 667) explained *kiyaṁ* = Skt. *kiyān*.

[4] *āsinava* is a dialectic variety of the Jaina term *aṇhaya* which is derived from *ā*+*snu*; see Weber's *Ind. Studien*, 16. 326, n. 7, and Michelson, IF, 23. 267 f. The corresponding Pāli term is *āsava*, which is Sanskritized by *āśrava* or *āsrava*. See Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 822 f.; *Sarvadarśana-saṁgraha*, translated by Cowell and Gough, p. 53 f.; ZDMG, 72. 149. With the compound *apāsinave* cf. *apa-vyayatā*, *apa-phalaṁ*, and *apa-parisrave* in the Girnār edict III, l. 5, IX, l. 3, and X, l. 3, respectively.

[5] Literally: 'the gift of the eye'. According to the *Itivuttaka* (ed. by Windisch, p. 52), the three *chakkhūni* are *maṁsa-chakkhu*, *dibba-chakkhu*, and *paññā-chakkhu*; see Bühler, ZDMG, 48. 62.

[6] For details of these regulations see the pillar-edict V.

[7] Cf. the rock-edict V, D.

[8] Cf. the same edict, E.

17 (A) **Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja** hevaṁ ahā (B) kayānaṁmeva dekhati iyaṁ me
18 kayāne kaṭe ti (C) no mina pāpaṁ d[e]khati iyaṁ me pāpe kaṭe ti iyaṁ vā āsinave
19 nāmā ti (D) dupaṭivekhe chu kho esā (E) hevaṁ chu kho esa dekhiye (F) imāni
20 āsinava-gāmīni nāma atha chaṁḍiye niṭhūliye kodhe māne isyā
21 kālanena va hakaṁ mā palibhasayisaṁ (G) esa bāḍha dekhiye (H) iyaṁ me
22 hidatikāye iyaṁmana me pālatikāye

TRANSLATION

(A) **King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** speaks thus.

(B) (Men) regard only (their) virtuous deeds, (thinking): 'This virtuous deed has been performed by me.'

(C) They do not at all[1] regard (their) evil deeds, (thinking): 'This evil deed has been performed by me; this very (act) is called a sin.'[2]

(D) Now this is indeed difficult to recognize.

(E) But indeed this ought to be regarded thus:

(F) 'These (passions), viz. fierceness, cruelty, anger, pride, envy, are called sinful.[3] Let me not[4] ruin (myself) by (these) very (passions).'

(G) The following ought to be specially regarded:

(H) 'This (action conduces) to my (happiness) in this (world), that other (action)[5] to my (happiness) in the other (world).'

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

West Face of Pillar.

1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आहा (B) सडुवीसतिवस-
2 अभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापिता (C) लजूका मे
3 बहूसु पानसतसहसेसु जनसि आयता (D) तेसं ये अभिहाले वा
4 दंडे वा अतपतिये मे कटे किंति लजूका अस्वथ अभीता

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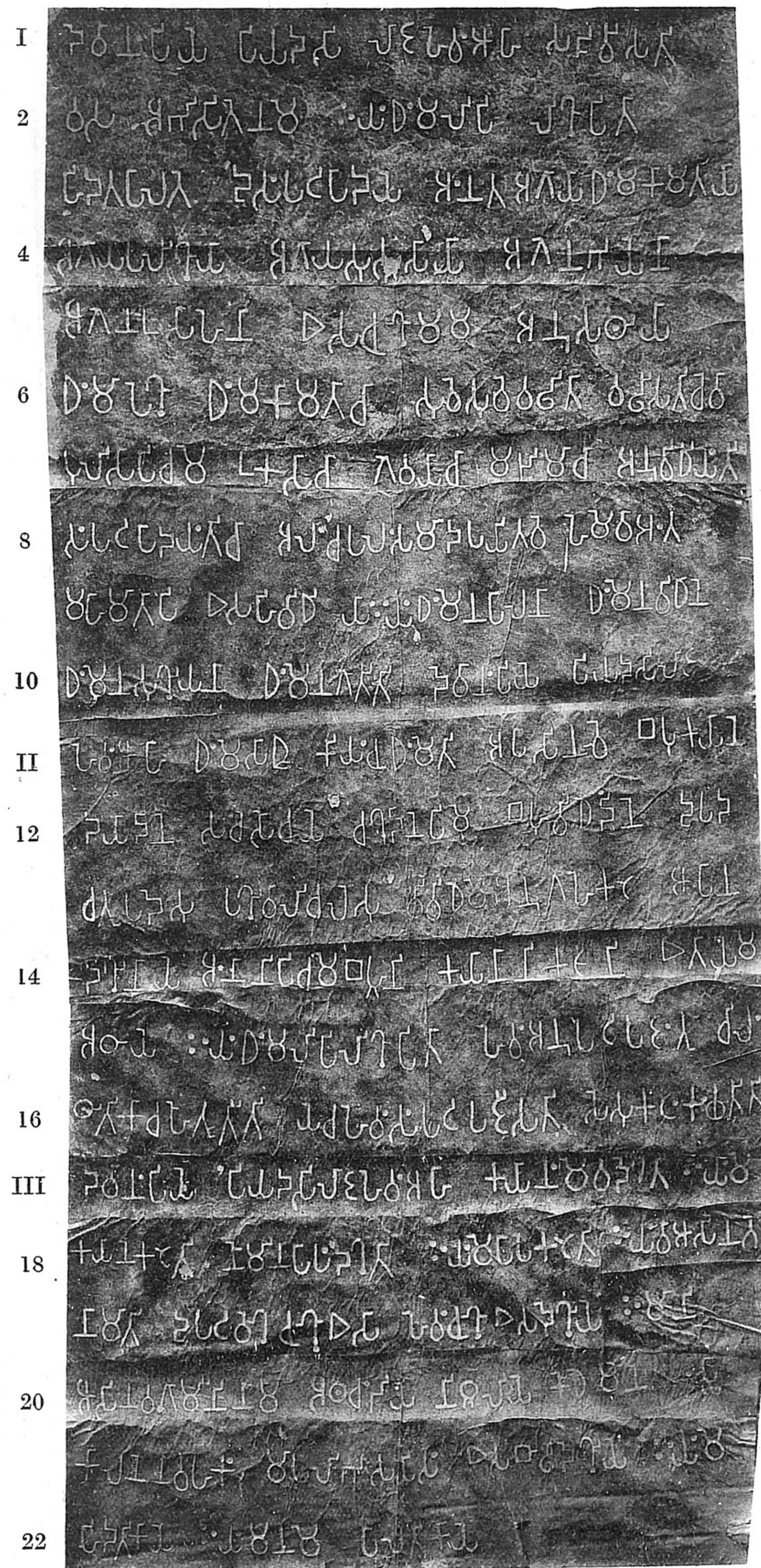
[1] Michelson (IF, 23. 236 f.) dissolves *nomina* into *no amina*, and identifies *aṁina* with the Pāli *aminā*, to which he attributes the meaning 'also'; but this word rather means 'hereby'. Bühler (EI, 2. 251, n. 21) seems to be right in taking *no mina* = Skt. *na manāk*. For the change of *a* to *i* cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, §§ 101–103.

[2] For *āsinava* see above, p. 121, n. 4.

[3] With the compound *āsinava-gāmin* cf. *āva-gamuka* in the first separate edict at Dhauli (G) and Jaugaḍa (H).

[4] See Michelson, IF, 23. 262. To the reasons adduced by him against taking *mā* to be the accusative of the pronoun *mad*, we may add that, if *mā* were the object of *palibhasayisaṁ*, it would be an unidiomatic substitute of Skt. *ātmānam*.

[5] Michelson (IF, 23. 237 f.) connects *mana* with Skt. *manāk*, and Bühler translated it by 'at least'. The adverb *mana* does occur in the *Jātaka*, vol. I, p. 405, verse 97, where it means 'nearly'. I suspect that *iyaṁmana* represents Skt. *idam anyat*. For the Sandhi cf. *kayānaṁmeva* in line 17; *hevaṁmeva* (or °*vā*) in the Allahabad-Kōsaṁ pillar-edict VI, D, the Dhauli separate edict I, l. 13, the Jaugaḍa separate edict II, l. 4, and the Calcutta-Bairāṭ rock-inscription, F; *sukhaṁmeva* in the Dhauli separate edict II, l. 5, and the Jaugaḍa separate edict II, l. 6.



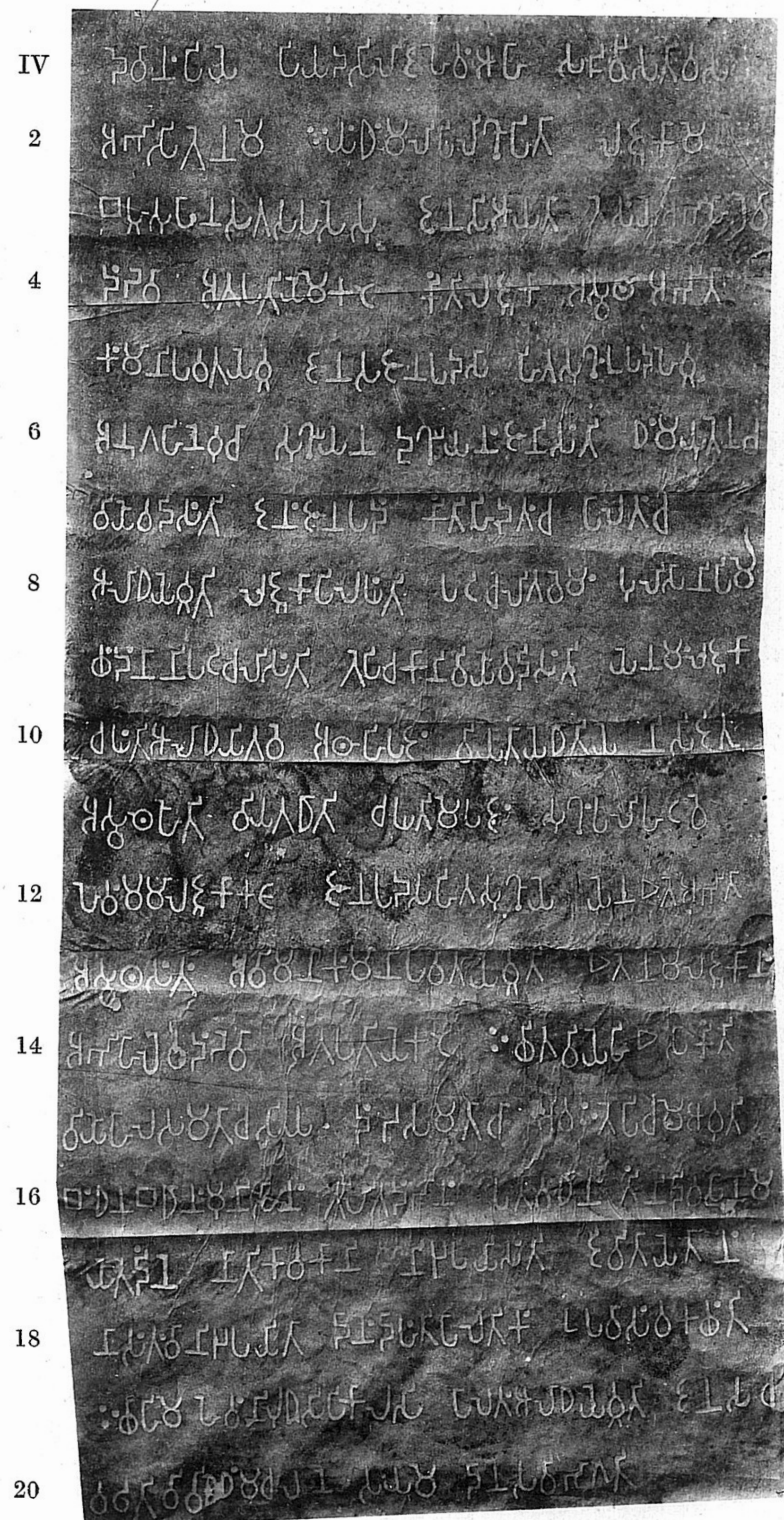
SCALE ONE-SIXTH

5 कंमानि पवतयेवू जनस जानपदसा हितसुखं उपदहेवू
6 अनुगहिनेवु चा (E) सुखीयनदुखीयनं जानिसंति धंमयुतेन च
7 वियोवदिसंति जनं जानपदं किंति हिदतं च पालतं च
8 आलाधयेवू ति (F) लजूका पि लघंति पटिचलितवे मं (G) पुलिसानि पि मे
9 छंदंनानि पटिचलिसंति (H) ते पि च कानि वियोवदिसंति येन मं लजूका
10 चघंति आलाधयितवे (I) अथा हि पजं वियताये धातिये निसिजितु
11 अस्वथे होति वियत धाति चघति मे पजं सुखं पलिहटवे
12 हेवं ममा लजूका कटा जानपदस हितसुखाये (J) येन एते अभीता
13 अस्वथ संतं अविमना कंमानि पवतयेवू ति एतेन मे लजूकानं
14 अभिहाले व दंडे वा अतपतिये कटे (K) इछितविये हि एसा किंति
15 वियोहालसमता च सिय दंडसमता चा (L) अव इते पि च मे आवुति
16 बंधनबधानं मुनिसानं तीलितदंडानं पतवधानं तिंनि दिवसानि मे
17 योते दिंने (M) नातिका व कानि निझपयिसंति जीविताये तानं
18 नासंतं वा निझपयिता दानं दाहंति पालतिकं उपवासं व कछंति
19 (N) इछा हि मे हेवं निलुधसि पि कालसि पालतं आलाधयेवू ति (O) जनस च
20 वढति विविधे धंमचलने संयमे दानसविभागे ति

1 (A) **Devānampiye Piyadasi l[ā]ja** hevaṁ āhā (B) **saḍuvīsati-vasa-**
2 **abhisitena** me iyaṁ dhaṁma-lipi likhāpitā (C) lajūkā me
3 bahūsu pāna-sata-sahasesu janasi āyatā (D) tesaṁ ye abhihāle vā
4 daṁḍe vā ata-patiye me kaṭe kiṁti lajūkā asvatha abhītā
5 kaṁmāni pavatayevū janasa jānapadasā hita-sukhaṁ upadahevū
6 anugahinevu chā (E) sukhīyana-dukhīyanaṁ jānisaṁti dhaṁma-yutena cha
7 viyovadisaṁti janaṁ jānapadaṁ kiṁti hidataṁ cha pālataṁ cha
8 ālādhayevū ti (F) lajūkā pi laghaṁti paṭichalitave maṁ (G) pulisāni pi me
9 chhaṁdaṁnāni paṭichalisaṁti (H) te pi cha kāni viyovadisaṁti yena maṁ lajūkā
10 chaghaṁti ālādhayitave (I) athā hi pajaṁ viyatāye dhātiye nisijitu
11 asvathe hoti viyata dhāti chaghati me pajaṁ sukhaṁ palihaṭave
12 hevaṁ mamā lajūkā kaṭā jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (J) yena ete abhītā
13 asvatha saṁtaṁ avimanā kaṁmāni pavatayevū ti etena me lajūkānaṁ
14 abh[i]hāle[1] va daṁḍe vā ata-patiye kaṭe (K) ichhitaviye [h]i esā kiṁti
15 viyohāla-samatā cha siya daṁḍa-samatā chā (L) ava ite pi cha me āvuti
16 baṁdhana-badhānaṁ munisānaṁ tīl[i]ta-daṁḍānaṁ[2] pata-vadhānaṁ tiṁni divasā[n]i me
17 yote diṁne (M) nātikā va kāni nijhapayisaṁti jīvitāye tānaṁ
18 nāsaṁtaṁ vā nijhapayitā dānaṁ dāhaṁti pālatikaṁ upavāsaṁ va kachhaṁti
19 (N) ichhā hi me hevaṁ niludhasi pi kālasi pālataṁ ālādhayevū ti (O) janasa cha
20 vaḍhati vividhe dhaṁma-chalane saṁyame dāna-savibhāge ti

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[1] *abhīhāle* Bühler. [2] *tīlita-* Senart and Bühler.



SCALE ONE-SIXTH

TRANSLATION

(A) **King Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** speaks thus.

(B) This rescript on morality was caused to be written by me (when I had been) **anointed twenty-six years.**

(C) My *Lajūkas*[1] are occupied with the people, with many hundred thousands of men.[2]

(D) I have ordered that either rewards[3] or punishments are left to their discretion,[4] in order that the *Lajūkas* should perform (their) duties confidently (and) fearlessly, that they should bestow welfare and happiness on the people of the country, and that they should confer benefits (on them).

(E) They will know how to cause pleasure[5] and to cause pain (to them), and will exhort the people of the country through those who are devoted to morality,[6] in order that they may attain (happiness) both in this (world) and in the other (world).

(F) The *Lajūkas* also must obey me.[7]

(G) They will also obey the agents[8] who know (my) wishes.

(H) And these (agents) will also exhort those (people),[9] in order that the *Lajūkas* may be able to please me.[10]

(I) For, as one feels confident after having entrusted (his) child to an intelligent[11] nurse, (thinking): 'The intelligent nurse will be able to keep my child well', so the *Lajūkas* were appointed by me for the welfare and happiness of the country-people.[12]

(J) In order that they should perform (their) duties, being fearless, confident, (and) unperturbed,[13] for this (purpose) I have ordered that either rewards or punishments are left to the discretion of the *Lajūkas*.

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[1] For *Lajūka* or *Rājūka* see above, p. 5, n. 2.

[2] For *āyata* cf. above, p. 95, n. 4.

[3] In the *Jātaka* the word *abhihāra* has the meaning of 'a present, an offering'; see Bühler, ZDMG, 46. 539 f., and Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 991 f.

[4] As shown by Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 990 f.), *ata-patiya* is an adjective formed of *ātman+pati* with the affix *-ya*, which seems to stand for *-ka*; see Franke, VOJ, 9. 347. Cf. *nilathiya* in the Kālsī rock-edict IX, C, and *aṭha-bhāgiya* on the Rummindēī pillar, C.

[5] Cf. *sukhiyanā* in the pillar-edict I, l. 10, and *sukhāyanā*, VII, V.

[6] Bühler translated *dhaṁma-yutena* by 'in accordance with the principles of the sacred law'. In the pillar-edict VII, N, *dhaṁma-yu[ta]ṁ* is an adjective qualifying *janaṁ*, 'the people who are devoted to morality'. The same translation suits *dhama-yute[na]* at Maski, l. 5, and the substantives *dhrama-yutasa* and *dhrama-yutasi* in the Shāhbāzgaṛhī rock-edict V (J, K, N), which, as the variant [*dhaṁma*]-*yutānaṁ* at Girnār (V, K) shows, are used (just as here) in a collective sense. V. A. Smith (*Asoka*, sec. ed., p. 185) and Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 992) understand the word *dharma-yukta* to be the collective designation of certain officials.

[7] Kern (*Jaartelling*, p. 96) compared *laghaṁti* with Skt. *arhanti*.

[8] Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 992 ff.) has shown that *pulisāni* is the accusative of *pulisā*, which occurs in the pillar-edict I, E, and VII, M; cf. above, p. 30, n. 1.

[9] For *kāni* see above, p. 35, n. 12.

[10] For *chaghati* = Skt. *śakshyati* see above, p. 97, n. 4.

[11] Kern (*Jaartelling*, p. 99) first identified *viyata* with Skt. *vyakta*, which, according to the *Amarakōśa*, has also the meaning of *prājña*, and which is used with this meaning in Buddhist Sanskrit; see Böhtlingk's *Abridged Dictionary*, s. v. व्यक्त, and Aśvaghōsha's *Saundarananda*, II, 38.

[12] I follow Senart and Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1009 f.) in making this section end here.

[13] *saṁtaṁ* is a nominative singular absolute. See Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 1010 f., and cf. above, p. 97, n. 3.

(K) For the following is to be desired, (viz.) that there should be both impartiality in judicial proceedings and impartiality in punishments.

(L) And my order[1] (reaches) even so far[2] (that) a respite of three days is granted by me to persons lying in prison on whom punishment has been passed,[3] (and) who have been condemned to death.

(M) (In this way) either (their) relatives will persuade[4] those (*Lajūkas*) to (grant) their life, or, if there is none who persuades (them),[5] they will bestow gifts or will undergo fasts in order to (attain happiness) in the other (world).[6]

(N) For my desire is this, that, even when the time (of respite) has expired,[7] they should attain (happiness) in the other (world).

(O) And various moral practices, self-control, (and) the distribution of gifts are (thus) promoted among the people.

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

South Face of Pillar.

1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं अहा (B) सडुवीसतिवस-
2 अभिसितेन मे इमानि जातानि अवधियानि कटानि सेयथा
3 सुके सालिका अलुने चकवाके हंसे नंदीमुखे गेलाटे
4 जतूका अंबाकपीलिका दळी अनठिकमछे वेदवेयके
5 गंगापुपुटके संकुजमछे कफटसयके पंनससे सिमले
6 संडके ओकपिंडे पलसते सेतकपोते गामकपोते
7 सवे चतुपदे ये पटिभोगं नो एति न च खादियती (C) · · · · · · · · ि

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[1] With *āvuti* = *āyukti* (Senart) cf. *-āvutike* in the Dhauli separate edict II, l. 8 = *-āy[ut]ike* at Jaugaḍa, II, l. 12; *vishava* at Sārnāth (l. 10), Shāhbāzgaṛhī, and Mānsehrā, and *viśava* at Kālsī = *vi[sa]ya* at Girnār, XIII, R; *supadarave* at Mānsehrā = *supadālaye* at Kālsī, Dhauli, and Jaugaḍa, V, G; *sochave* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, l. 28 = *sochaye* in edict II, l. 12.

[2] Senart (IA, 18. 9) translated *ava ite* (= Skt. *yāvad itaḥ*) by 'from this day'. I follow Bühler's rendering (EI, 2. 254), and compare *āva-gamu[k]e* in the first separate edict at Dhauli (G) and Jaugaḍa (H). Michelson (IF, 23. 236) compares *ava* with Avestan *yavaṭ*, and *āvā*, the reading of three other versions of this edict, with Ancient Persian *yāvā*.

[3] With *tīlita-daṁḍa* cf. *tīritaṁ* (*kāryam*), Manu, IX, 233, and *atha-saṁtīraṇā* at Girnār, VI, ll. 9, 10.

[4] Literally: 'will induce to meditate or consider'. Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1022 f.) quotes *na machchuno nijjhapaṇaṁ karonti* from the *Jātaka*. The means of 'persuasion' was evidently the payment of ransom; cf. the *Kauṭilīya*, p. 146, last line: पुण्यशीलाः समयानुबद्धा वा दोषनिष्क्रयं [बन्धनस्थानां] दद्युः.

[5] Three other versions read: 'if there is none to persuade (them)'. Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1023) has explained *nāsaṁtaṁ* as the nominative singular absolute of the participle present of *nathi* (Skt. *nāsti*).

[6] As shown by Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1024 f.), the prisoners themselves are the subject of the last sentence.

[7] Bühler (EI, 2. 254, n. 28) took *niruddhē 'pi kālē* in the sense of *nirōdha-kālē 'pi*, 'even during (their) imprisonment'. Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1026) translates: 'even in limited time', and Thomas (JRAS, 1916. 123): 'though their hour of death is irrevocably fixed'. In favour of my rendering I may quote Childers, s. v. *niruddho*.

8 एळका चा सूकली चा गभिनी व पायमीना व अवधिय- प-तके
9 पि च कानि आसंमासिके (D) वधिकुकुटे नो कटविये (E) तुसे सजीवे
10 नो झापेतविये (F) दावे अनठाये वा विहिसाये वा नो झापेतविये
11 (G) जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितविये (H) तीसु चातुंमासीसु तिसायं पुंनमासियं
12 तिंनि दिवसानि चावुदसं पंनडसं पटिपदाये धुवाये चा
13 अनुपोसथं मछे अवधिये नो पि विकेतविये (I) एतानि येवा दिवसानि
14 नागवनसि केवटभोगसि यानि अंनानि पि जीवनिकायानि
15 न हंतवियानि (J) अठमीपखाये चावुदसाये पंनडसाये तिसाये
16 पुनावसुने तीसु चातुंमासीसु सुदिवसाये गोने नो नीलखितविये
17 अजके एडके सूकले ए वा पि अंने नीलखियति नो नीलखितविये
18 (K) तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुंमासिये चातुंमासिपखाये अस्वसा गोनसा
19 लखने नो कटविये (L) यावसडुवीसतिवसअभिसितेन मे एताये
20 अंतलिकाये पंनवीसति बंधनमोखानि कटानि

1 (A) **Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja** hevaṁ ahā (B) **saḍuvīsati-vasa-**
2 **abhisitena** me imāni jātāni avadhiyāni kaṭāni seyathā
3 suke sālikā alune chakavāke haṁse naṁdīmukhe gelāṭe
4 jatūkā aṁbā-kapīlikā daḷī[1] anaṭhika-machhe vedaveyake
5 Gaṁgā-pupuṭake saṁkuja-machhe kaphaṭ[a]-sayake paṁna-sase simale
6 saṁḍake okapiṁḍe palasate seta-kapote gāma-kapote
7 save chatupade ye paṭibhogaṁ no eti na cha khādiyatī[2] (C) . . . . i[3]
8 [e]ḷakā[4] chā sūkalī chā gabhinī va pāyamīnā va avadhi[y . p . ta]ke[5]
9 pi cha kāni āsaṁmāsike (D) vadhi-kukuṭe no kaṭaviye (E) tuse sajīve
10 no jhāpetaviye (F) dāve anaṭhāye vā vihisāye vā no jhāpetaviye
11 (G) jīvena jīve no pusitaviye (H) tīsu chātuṁmāsīsu tisāyaṁ puṁnamāsiyaṁ
12 tiṁni divasāni chāvudasaṁ paṁnaḍasaṁ paṭipadāy[e] dhuvāye chā
13 anuposathaṁ machhe avadhiye no pi viketaviye (I) etāni yevā[6] divasāni
14 nāga-vanasi kevaṭa-bhogasi yāni aṁnāni pi jīva-nikāyāni
15 no haṁtaviyāni (J) aṭhamī-pakhāye chāvudasāye paṁnaḍasāye tisāye
16 punāvasune tīsu chātuṁmāsīsu sudivasāye gone no nīlakhitaviye
17 ajake eḍake sūkale e vā pi aṁne nīlakhiyati no nīlakhitaviye
18 (K) tisāye punāvasune chātuṁmāsiye chātuṁmāsi-pakhāye asvasā gonasā
19 lakhane no kaṭaviye (L) **yāva-saḍuvīsati-vasa-abhisitena** me etāye
20 aṁtalikāye paṁnavīsati baṁdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni

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[1] *daḍī* Bühler; but see his *Ind. Pal.*, § 16, C, 41, and Lüders in JRAS, 1911. 1088. Three other versions read *duḷi*, and the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar *duḍī*.

[2] *khādiyati* Bühler.

[3] Three other versions read *ajakā nāni*.

[4] *eḍakā* Bühler.

[5] Restore *avadhiyā potake*.

[6] *yeva* Bühler.

TRANSLATION

(A) **King Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** speaks thus.

(B) (When I had been) **anointed twenty-six years**, the following animals were declared by me inviolable, viz.[1] parrots, mainas, the *aruṇa*, ruddy geese, wild geese, the *nandīmukha*, the *gelāṭa*, bats, queen-ants,[2] terrapins,[3] boneless fish, the *vedaveyaka*, the *Gaṅgā-pupuṭaka*, skate-fish,[4] tortoises[5] and porcupines, squirrels (?),[6] the *sṛimara*,[7] bulls set at liberty,[8] iguanas (?), the rhinoceros,[9] white doves, domestic doves, (and) all the quadrupeds which are neither useful nor edible.

(C) Those [she-goats],[10] ewes, and sows (which are) either with young or in milk, are inviolable, and also those (of their) young ones (which are) less than six months old.

(D) Cocks must not be caponed.

(E) Husks containing living animals must not be burnt.

(F) Forests must not be burnt either uselessly or in order to destroy (living beings).

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[1] *seyathā* = Pāli *seyyathā* and Skt. *tadyathā*.

[2] Michelson (IF, 23. 266 f.) dissolves *aṁbākapīlikā* into **ambāka* (an adjective formed of *ambā*) and **pīlikā* (for *pipīlikā* by haplology). But it seems easier to divide the word into *ambā* and *kapīlikā* = Pāli *kipillika*. The Allahabad-Kōsam pillar actually reads *aṁbā-kipilikā*. Skt. *pipīlikā* has been changed to *kapīlikā*, &c. through dissimilation; cf. Trenckner's *Pāli Miscellany*, p. 59.

[3] Monmohan Chakravarti (*Memoirs*, ASB, 1. 368) takes *d[u]ḷī* in the sense of 'the female tortoise'. But tortoises are mentioned separately in the sequel.

[4] With *saṁkuja* Senart (IA, 18. 75) compares Skt. *śaṅkuchi* or *sāṁkuchi*, which may be derived from *saṁkuch*, 'to contract'.

[5] The identification of *kaphaṭa* with Skt. *kamaṭha* is due to Senart; see IA, 18. 75.

[6] This doubtful explanation of *parṇa-śaśa* was proposed by Bühler; see EI, 2. 260.

[7] This animal is mentioned in the *Kauṭilīya*, p. 100, l. 12.

[8] C. M. Mulvany (IA, 37. 211) remarks that this translation of *saṇḍaka* is improbable because 'Hindūs would hardly kill a bull'; but matters may have been different in Aśōka's time. Cf. the reference in Kālidāsa's *Mēghadūta* (v. 45) to king Rantidēva who, according to the *Mahābhārata* (7. 67, 5; 12. 29, 123; 13. 66, 42 f.), sacrificed so many cows that their blood formed the river Charmaṇvatī. According to the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (III, 1, 2, 21), Yājñavalkya was fond of tender beef. At the beginning of the fourth act of Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāmacharita* it is stated that a heifer (*vatsatarī*) was slaughtered by Vālmīki in honour of Vasishṭha's visit to his hermitage. According to Pāṇini, III, 4, 73, *gōghna* means 'a guest' because a cow is killed for him. Pāraskara (I, 3, 27) specifies the verse which had to be recited at the killing of the cow. Āpastamba (*Gṛihyasūtra*, I, 3, 9) permits the slaughter of a cow at the reception of a guest, at the worship of the manes, and at the celebration of a marriage; cf. Manu, V, 41. For a description of the *śūlagava* or 'spit-ox' offered to Rudra, see Hillebrandt's *Ritual-Litteratur*, p. 83 f. The Buddhist *Suttas* mention beef-butchers; see Neumann's translation of the *Dīghanikāya*, vol. II, p. 448, n. 5. Cf. also *Memoirs*, ASB, 1. 373; Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, vol. II, p. 145; Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, article 'cow' by Jacobi.

[9] According to Trenckner's *Pāli Miscellany*, p. 58, n. 6, *palasata* (=Vēdic *parasvat*) is the original of Pāli *palāsāda*, 'a rhinoceros', and the latter, which means literally 'eating leaves', is an etymologizing corruption of the former. The form *palāsāda* occurs in the *Jātaka*, V, p. 406, v. 267, and *palasata* ibid., VI, p. 277, v. 1205; see Kern's *Toevoegselen op 't Woordenboek van Childers* (Amsterdam, 1916), II, p. 13.

[10] For the pronoun *nāni* see above, p. 13, n. 5. Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 998, n. 1) has refuted a suggestion of Franke (VOJ, 9. 343), who wanted to join *ajakānāni* into one word, and to consider it a Prākṛit form of *ajakā*. Just as the nom. plur. neut. *nāni* is connected here with the nom. sing. fem. *ajakā*, and with the nom. sing. neut. *she* in the Queen's edict, l. 4, *kāni* is combined with the nom. sing. masc. *potake* in l. 9; see Lüders, p. 997, and cf. above, p. 35, n. 12.

(G) Living animals must not be fed with (other) living animals.

(H) Fish are inviolable, and must not be sold, on the three Chāturmāsīs [1] (and) on the Tishyā full-moon [2] during three days, (viz.) the fourteenth, the fifteenth, (and) the first (*tithi*), and invariably on every fast-day.[3]

(I) And during these same days also no other classes of animals which are in the elephant-park [4] (and) in the preserves of the fishermen, must be killed.

(J) On the eighth (*tithi*) of (every) fortnight,[5] on the fourteenth, on the fifteenth, on Tishyā, on Punarvasu, on the three Chāturmāsīs, (and) on festivals,[6] bulls [7] must not be castrated, (and) he-goats, rams, boars, and whatever other (animals) are castrated (otherwise), must not be castrated (then).

(K) On Tishyā, on Punarvasu, on the Chāturmāsīs, (and) during the fortnight of (every) Chāturmāsī, horses (and) bullocks must not be branded.

(L) Until (I had been) **anointed twenty-six years,** in this period the release of prisoners was ordered by me twenty-five (times).[8]

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

East Face of Pillar.

1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं अहा (B) दुवाडस-
2 वसअभिसितेन मे धंमलिपि लिखापिता लोकसा
3 हितसुखाये से तं अपहटा तं तं धंमवढि पापोवा
4 (C) हेवं लोकसा हितसुखे ति पटिवेखामि अथ इयं
5 नातिसु हेवं पतियासंनेसु हेवं अपकटेसु

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[1] i.e. certain full-moon days of each of the three seasons (summer, rains, and winter); see Bühler, EI, 2. 261 ff., and cf. the second separate edict at Dhauli (N) and Jaugaḍa (O).

[2] *tisā* (i.e. *tishyā*), instead of which three other versions read *tisi* (i.e. **tishī*), is the full-moon of the month Taisha or Pausha; see EI, 2. 264.

[3] With the words *dhuvāye chā anuposathaṁ* cf. *anuposathaṁ cha dhuvāye* on the Sārnāth pillar, l. 8.

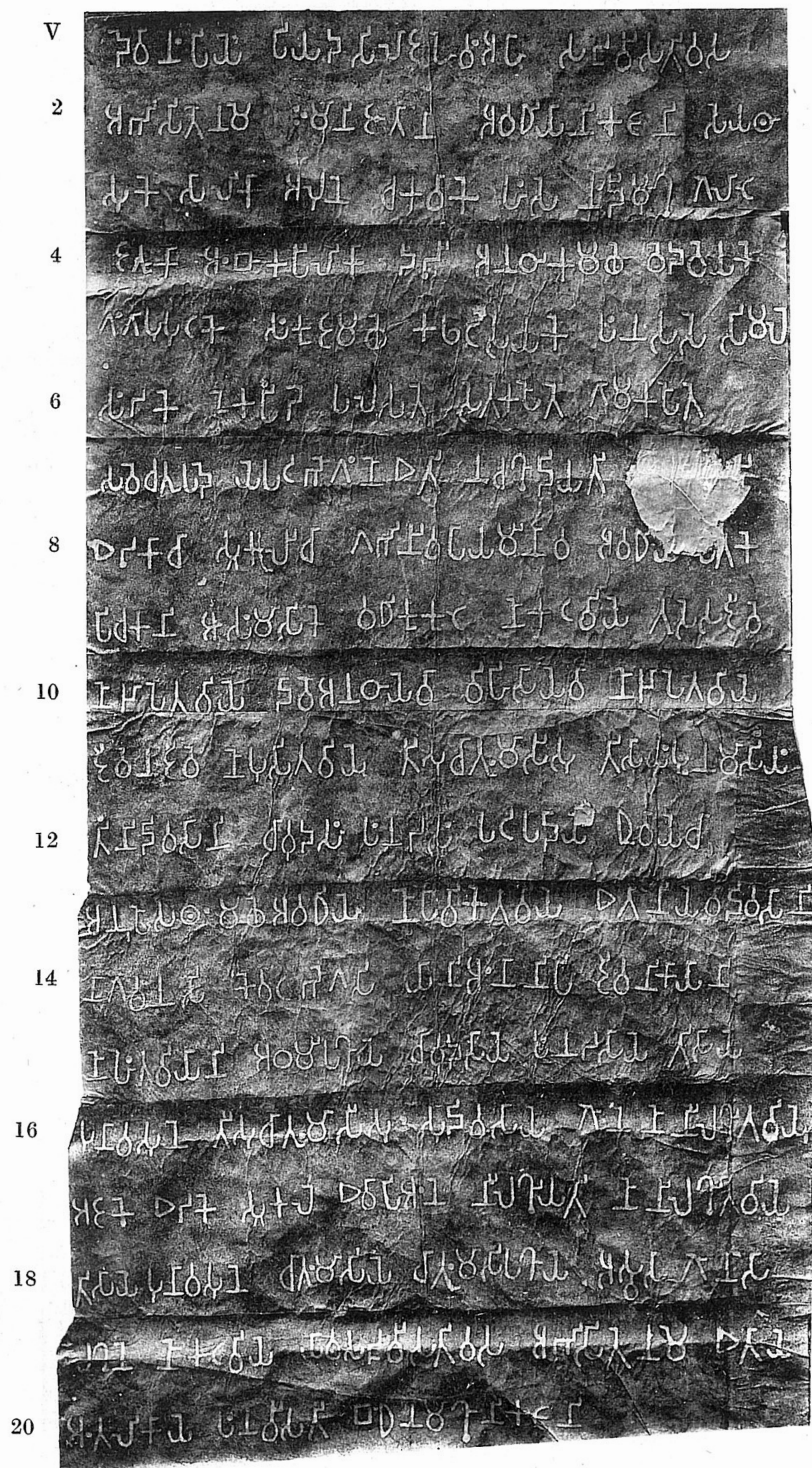
[4] For *nāga-vana* see the *Dhammapada*, verse 324, and the *Kauṭilīya*, p. 50.

[5] In the compound *aṭhamī-pakha* the usual order of the two members is reversed. Similar expressions were quoted by Bühler, EI, 2. 266, and by Franke in KZ, 34. 434.

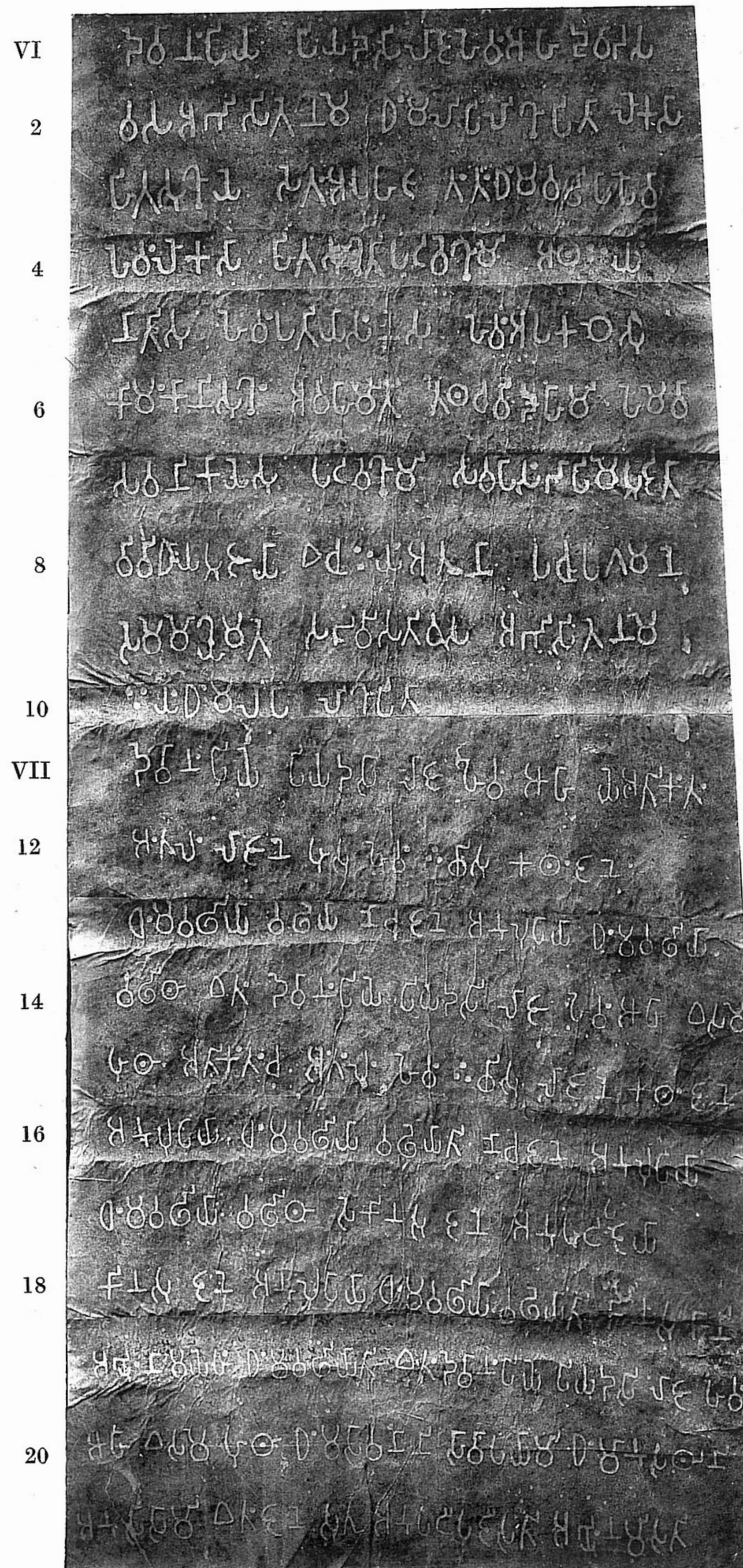
[6] According to the *Kauṭilīya*, p. 407, l. 9 f., the king's birthday and local festivals are meant; see below, n. 8.

[7] For *goṇa*, the Prākṛit and Pāli equivalent of Skt. *gō*, 'an ox', see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 393.

[8] The occasions on which it was customary to release prisoners are enumerated in the *Kauṭilīya*, p. 146 f. Cf. also Bühler, ZDMG, 48. 63 f., and Zachariae, VOJ, 27. 406. With sections C, H, J, and L of this edict cf. the *Kauṭilīya*, p. 407: [विजिगीषुर्नवमवाप्य लब्धं] कारयेत्सर्वबन्धनमोचणं . . . . चातुर्मास्येष्वर्धमासिकमघातं पौर्णमासीषु च चातूरात्रिकं राजदेशनक्षत्रेष्वेकरात्रिकं योनिबालवधं पुंस्त्वोपघातं च प्रतिषेधयेत्; '[having acquired a new territory, the conqueror] shall order all prisoners to be released . . . . and the slaughter (of animals) to be avoided on the Chāturmāsyas during half a month, on full-moon days during four nights, on the king's birthday and on local festivals during one night, (and) shall prohibit the slaughter of females and (their) young ones and the castration of males (on the same occasions).'



SCALE ONE-SIXTH



SCALE ONE-SIXTH

6 किमं कानि सुखं अवहामी ति तथ च विदहामि (D) हेमेवा
7 सवनिकायेसु पटिवेखामि (E) सवपासंडा पि मे पूजिता
8 विविधाय पूजाया (F) ए चु इयं अतना पचूपगमने
9 से मे मोख्यमते (G) सडुवीसतिवसअभिसितेन मे
10 इयं धंमलिपि लिखापिता

1 (A) **Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja** hevaṁ ahā (B) **duvāḍasa-**
2 **vasa-abhisitena** me dhaṁma-lipi likhāpitā lokasā
3 hita-sukhāye se taṁ apahaṭā taṁ taṁ dhaṁma-vaḍhi pāpovā
4 (C) hevaṁ lokasā hita-[sukhe] ti paṭivekhāmi atha iyaṁ
5 nātisu hevaṁ patiyāsaṁnesu hevaṁ apakaṭhesu
6 kimaṁ kāni sukhaṁ avahāmī ti tatha cha vidahāmi (D) hemevā
7 sava-nikāyesu paṭivekhāmi [1] (E) sava-pāsaṁḍā pi me pūjitā
8 vividhāya pūjāyā (F) e chu iyaṁ at[a]nā [2] pachūpagamane
9 se me mokhya-mate (G) **saḍuvīsati-vasa-abhisitena** me
10 iyaṁ dhaṁma-lipi likhāpitā

TRANSLATION

(A) **King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** speaks thus.

(B) (When I had been) **anointed twelve years,** rescripts on morality were caused to be written by me for the welfare and happiness of the people, (in order that), not transgressing [3] those (rescripts), they might attain a promotion of morality in various respects.

(C) (Thinking): 'thus the welfare and happiness of the people (will be secured)', I am directing my attention not only [4] to (my) relatives, but to those who are near and far, in order that [5] I may lead them [6] to happiness, and I am instructing (them) accordingly.

(D) In the same manner I am directing my attention to all classes.[7]

(E) And all the sects have been honoured by me with honours of various kinds.[8]

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[1] A superfluous horizontal stroke is attached to the left side of the lower portion of *ve*; cf. above, p. 120, n. 11.

[2] *atunā* Bühler; but see Fleet's note, IA, 13. 310.

[3] Kern (*Jaartelling*, p. 92 f.) explained *apahaṭā* by *a-prahartā*, and translated it by 'leaving untouched'. Franke (VOJ, 9. 344, n. 2) suggested two slight modifications: *apahaṭā* may correspond as well to **a-prahṛitvā* (Skt. *a-prahṛitya*), and *pra-hṛi* may be taken in the sense of 'transgressing'. I adopt this translation, but believe that Kern found the correct Sanskrit equivalent. The gerund in *-tvā* would be without parallel in the earlier dialect; see Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 1024, n. 1. Cf. also the nominative singular *nijhapayitā* in the pillar-edict IV, M.

[4] With *atha iyaṁ* cf. *yathayidaṁ*, 'just as', in Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*.

[5] *kimaṁ* (or *kiṁmaṁ* as three other versions read) appears to be used in the sense of *kiṁti*, and to be an enlarged form of Skt. *kim*, as Pāli *sudaṁ* of Skt. *svid*. See the remarks of Senart in IA, 18. 107, and those of Franke in KZ, 34. 430. Bühler (EI, 2. 269) preferred to derive it from **kimva = kimiva*.

[6] See above, p. 35, n. 12.

[7] Cf. the rock-edict XIII, J.

[8] Cf. the rock-edict XII, A.

(F) But this is considered by me (my) principal (duty),[1] viz.[2] visiting (the people) personally.[3]

(G) (When I had been) **anointed twenty-six years,** this rescript on morality was caused to be written by me.

SEVENTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

A.—East Face of Pillar.

11 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (B) ये अतिकंतं
12 अंतलं लाजाने हुसु हेवं इछिसु कथं जने
13 धंमवढिया वढेया नो चु जने अनुलुपाया धंमवढिया
14 वढिथा (C) एतं देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (D) एस मे
15 हुथा (E) अतिकंतं च अंतलं हेवं इछिसु लाजाने कथं जने
16 अनुलुपाया धंमवढिया वढेया ति नो च जने अनुलुपाया
17 धंमवढिया वढिथा (F) से किनसु जने अनुपटिपजेया
18 (G) किनसु जने अनुलुपाया धंमवढिया वढेया ति (H) किनसु कानि
19 अभ्युंनामयेहं धंमवढिया ति (I) एतं देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं
20 आहा (J) एस मे हुथा (K) धंमसावनानि सावापयामि धंमानुसथिनि
21 अनुसासामि (L) एतं जने सुतु अनुपटीपजीसति अभ्युंनमिसति

B.—Round the Pillar.

22 धंमवढिया च बाढं वढिसति (M) एताये मे अठाये धंमसावनानि सावापितानि धंमानुसथिनि विविधानि आनपितानि य .... सा पि बहुने जनसि आयता ए ते पलियोवदिसंति पि पवियलिसंति पि (N) लजूका पि बहुकेसु पानसतसहसेसु आयता ते पि मे आनपिता हेवं च हेवं च पलियोवदाथ

23 जनं धंमयुतं (O) देवानंपिये पियदसि हेवं आहा (P) एतमेव मे अनुवेखमाने धंमथंभानि कटानि धंममहामाता कटा धंम . . . . कटे (Q) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (R) मगेसु पि मे निगोहानि लोपापितानि छायोपगानि होसंति पसुमुनिसानं अंबावडिक्या लोपापिता (S) अढकोसिक्यानि पि मे उदुपानानि

24 खानापापितानि निंसिढया च कालापिता (T) आपानानि मे बहुकानि तत तत कालापितानि पटीभोगाये पसुमुनिसानं (U) ल ...... एस पटीभोगे

[1] Cf. the Shāhbāzgaṛhī rock-edict XIII, P.

[2] Cf. above, p. 120, n. 7.

[3] Cf. the rock-edict VIII, E, and *atana āgācha* on the Rummindeī and Nigālī Sāgar pillars. Senart (IA, 18. 107 f.) translated *atanā pachūpagamane* by 'the personal adherence (to the sects)', and Bühler (EI, 2. 268) by 'the approach through one's own free will'.

नाम (V) विविधाया हि सुखायनाया पुलिसेहि पि लाजीहि ममया च सुखयिते लोके (W) इमं चु धंमानुपटीपती अनुपटीपजंतु ति एतदथा मे

25 एस कटे (X) देवानंपिये पियदसि हेवं आहा (Y) धंममहामाता पि मे ते बहुविधेसु अठेसु आनुगहिकेसु वियापटासे पवजीतानं चेव गिहिथानं च सव .... डेसु पि च वियापटासे (Z) संघठसि पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंति ति हेमेव बाभनेसु आजीविकेसु पि मे कटे

26 इमे वियापटा होहंति ति निगंठेसु पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंति नानापासंडेसु पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंति ति पटिविसिठं पटीविसिठं तेसु तेसु ते ...... माता (AA) धंममहामाता चु मे एतेसु चेव वियापटा सवेसु च अंनेसु पासंडेसु (BB) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा

27 (CC) एते च अंने च बहुका मुखा दानविसगसि वियापटासे मम चेव देविनं च सवसि च मे ओलोधनसि ते बहुविधेन आकालेन तानि तानि तुठायतनानि पटी .... हिद चेव दिसासु च (DD) दालकानं पि च मे कटे अंनानं च देविकुमालानं इमे दानविसगेसु वियापटा होहंति ति

28 धंमापदानठाये धंमानुपटिपतिये (EE) एस हि धंमापदाने धंमपटीपति च या इयं दया दाने सचे सोचवे मदवे साधवे च लोकस हेवं वढिसति ति (FF) देवानंपिये प ...... स लाजा हेवं आहा (GG) यानि हि कानिचि ममिया साधवानि कटानि तं लोके अनूपटीपंने तं च अनुविधियंति (HH) तेन वढिता च

29 वढिसंति च मातापितिसु सुसुसाया गुलुसु सुसुसाया वयोमहालकानं अनुपटीपतिया बाभनसमनेसु कपनवलाकेसु आव दासभटकेसु संपटीपतिया (II) देवानंपिय ... यदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (JJ) मुनिसानं चु या इयं धंमवढि वढिता दुवेहि येव आकालेहि धंमनियमेन च निझतिया च

30 (KK) तत चु लहु से धंमनियमे निझतिया व भुये (LL) धंमनियमे चु खो एस ये मे इयं कटे इमानि च इमानि जातानि अवधियानि (MM) अंनानि पि चु बहुक ... धंमनियमानि यानि मे कटानि (NN) निझतिया व चु भुये मुनिसानं धंमवढि वढिता अविहिंसाये भुतानं

31 अनालंभाये पानानं (OO) से एताये अथाये इयं कटे पुतापपोतिके चंदमसुलियिके होतु ति तथा च अनुपटीपजंतु ति (PP) हेवं हि अनुपटीपजंतं हिदतपालते आलधे होति (QQ) सतविसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिबि लिखापापिता ति (RR) एतं देवानंपिये आहा (SS) इयं

32 धंमलिबि अत अथि सिलाथंभानि वा सिलाफलकानि वा तत कटविया एन एस चिलठितिके सिया

A.—East Face of Pillar.

11 (A) **Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lājā** hevaṁ āhā (B) ye atikaṁtaṁ
12 aṁtalaṁ lājāne husu hevaṁ ichhisu kathaṁ jane
13 dhaṁma-vaḍhiyā vaḍheyā no chu jane anulupāyā dhaṁma-vaḍhiyā
14 vaḍhithā (C) etaṁ **Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lājā** hevaṁ āhā (D) esa me
15 huthā (E) atikaṁtaṁ cha aṁtaṁl[a]ṁ [1] hevaṁ ichhisu lājāne kathaṁ jane
16 anulupāyā dhaṁma-vaḍhiyā vaḍheyā ti no cha jane anulupāyā
17 dhaṁma-vaḍhiyā vaḍhithā (F) se kinasu jane anu[pa]ṭipajeyā [2]
18 (G) kinasu jane anulupāyā dhaṁma-vaḍhiyā vaḍheyā ti (H) k[i]nasu kāni
19 abhyuṁnāmayehaṁ dhaṁma-vaḍhiyā ti (I) etaṁ **Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lājā** hevaṁ
20 āhā (J) esa me huthā (K) dhaṁma-sāvanāni sāvāpayāmi dhaṁmānusathini
21 anus[ā]sāmi (L) etaṁ jane sutu anupaṭīpajīsati abhyuṁnamisati

B.—Round the Pillar.

22 dhaṁma-vaḍhiyā cha bāḍhaṁ vaḍhisat[i] (M) etāye me aṭhāye dhaṁma-sāvanāni sāvāpitāni dhaṁmānusathini vividhāni ānapitāni [ya] . . . . [is]ā [3] pi bahune janasi āyatā e te [4] paliyovadisaṁti pi pavithalisaṁti pi (N) lajūkā pi bahukesu pāna-sata-sahasesu āyatā te pi me ānapitā hevaṁ cha hevaṁ cha paliyovadātha
23 janaṁ dhaṁma-yu[ta]ṁ (O) [**Dev**]**ānaṁpiye Piyadasi** hevaṁ āhā (P) etameva me anuvekhamāne dhaṁma-thaṁbhāni kaṭāni dhaṁma-mahāmātā kaṭā dhaṁ[ma] . ā . . . e [5] kaṭe (Q) **Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lājā** hevaṁ āhā (R) magesu pi me nigohāni lopāpitāni chhāyopagāni hosaṁti pasu-munisānaṁ aṁbā-vaḍikyā lopāpitā (S) aḍha-[kos]ikyāni pi me udupānāni
24 khānāpāpitāni niṁsi[ḍha]yā [6] cha kālāpitā (T) āpānāni me ba[h]ukāni tata tata k[ā]lāpitāni paṭībhogāye p[a]su-munisānaṁ (U) [la] . . . . [7] esa paṭībhoge nāma (V) vividhāyā hi sukhāyanāyā pulimehi pi lājīhi mamayā cha sukhayite loke (W) imaṁ chu dhaṁmānupaṭīpatī anupaṭīpajaṁtu ti etadathā me
25 esa kaṭe (X) **Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi** hevaṁ āhā (Y) dhaṁma-mahāmātā pi me te bahuvidhesu aṭhesu ānugahikesu viyāpaṭāse pavajītānaṁ cheva gihithānaṁ cha sava . . . . [ḍ]esu [8] pi cha viyāpaṭāse (Z) saṁghaṭhasi pi me kaṭe ime viyāpaṭā hohaṁti ti hemeva bābhanesu ā[j]īvikesu pi me kaṭe
26 ime viyāpaṭā hohaṁti ti nigaṁṭhesu pi me kaṭe ime viyāpaṭā hohaṁti nānā-pāsaṁḍesu pi [9] me [ka]ṭe ime viyāpaṭā hohaṁti ti paṭivisiṭhaṁ paṭīvisiṭhaṁ tesu tesu [te] . . . . . . mātā [10] (AA) dhaṁma-mahāmātā chu me etesu cheva viyā[pa]ṭā savesu cha aṁnesu pāsaṁḍesu (BB) **Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lājā** hevaṁ āhā

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[1] Read *aṁtalaṁ*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.
[2] The *pa* of °*pajeyā* is inserted above the line.
[3] Restore *yathā pulisā*.
[4] *ete* (in one word) Senart and Bühler.
[5] Restore *dhaṁma-sāvane*.
[6] *niṁsiḍhiyā* Bühler.
[7] Restore *lahuke chu*.
[8] Restore *sava-pāsaṁḍesu*.
[9] *pi* looks almost like *ghi*.
[10] Restore *te te mahāmātā*. When Fleet's plate (IA, 13. 310) was prepared, the missing letters were still visible.

27 **(CC)** ete cha aṁne cha bahukā mukhā dāna-visagasi viyāpaṭāse mama cheva devinaṁ cha savasi cha me olodhanasi te bahuvidhena ā[kā]lena tāni tāni tuṭhāyatan[ā]ni paṭī . . . .[1] hida cheva disāsu cha **(DD)** dālakānaṁ pi cha me kaṭe aṁnānaṁ cha devi-kumālānaṁ ime dāna-visagesu viyāpaṭā hohaṁti ti

28 dhaṁmāpadānaṭhāye dhaṁmānupaṭipatiye **(EE)** esa hi dhaṁmāpadāne dhaṁma-paṭīpati cha yā iyaṁ dayā dāne sache sochave madave sādha[v]e cha lokasa hevaṁ vaḍhisati ti **(FF)** **Devānaṁpiye** [P . . . . . s .[2] l]ājā hevaṁ āhā **(GG)** yāni hi [k]ānichi mamiyā sādhavāni kaṭāni taṁ loke anūp[a]ṭīpaṁne taṁ cha anuvidhiyaṁti **(HH)** tena vaḍhitā cha

29 vaḍhisaṁti cha mātā-pit[i]su sususāyā gulusu sususāyā vayo-mahālakānaṁ anupaṭīpatiyā bābhana-samanesu kapana-valākesu āva dāsa-bhaṭakesu saṁpaṭīpatiyā **(II)** **Devānaṁp[iy . . . ya]dasi**[3] **lājā** hevaṁ āhā **(JJ)** munisānaṁ chu yā iyaṁ dhaṁma-vaḍhi vaḍhitā duvehi yeva ākālehi dhaṁma-niyamena cha nijhatiyā [cha]

30 **(KK)** tata chu lahu se dhaṁma-niyame nijhatiyā va bhuye **(LL)** dhaṁma-niyame chu kho esa ye me iyaṁ kaṭe imāni cha imāni jātāni avadhiyāni **(MM)** aṁnāni pi chu bahu[k]. . .[4] dhaṁma-niyamāni yāni me kaṭāni **(NN)** nijhatiyā va chu bhuye munisānaṁ dhaṁma-vaḍhi vaḍhitā avihiṁsāye bhutānaṁ

31 anālaṁbhāye pānānaṁ **(OO)** se etāye a[th]āye[5] iyaṁ kaṭe putā-papotike chaṁdama-suliyike hotu ti tathā cha anupaṭīpajaṁtu ti **(PP)** hevaṁ hi anupaṭīpajaṁtaṁ hi[da]ta-[pāla]te āladhe hoti **(QQ)** **satavisati-vasābhis[i]tena** me iyaṁ dhaṁma-libi likhāpāpitā ti **(RR)** etaṁ **Devānaṁpiye**[6] āhā **(SS)** iyaṁ

32 dhaṁma-libi ata athi silā-thaṁbhāni vā silā-phalakāni vā tata kaṭaviyā ena esa chila-ṭhitike siyā

TRANSLATION

(A) **King Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** speaks thus.

(B) The kings who were in times past, had this desire, that[7] men might (be made to) progress by the promotion of morality; but men were not made to progress by an adequate promotion of morality.

(C) Concerning this,[8] **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** speaks thus.

(D) The following occurred to me.

(E) On one hand, in times past kings had this desire, that men might (be made to) progress by an adequate promotion of morality; (but) on the other hand, men were not made to progress by an adequate promotion of morality.

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[1] Bühler (EI, 2. 274, note *k*) restored *paṭīpādayaṁti*, which he translated by 'they point out'. I suspect that the actual reading of the pillar was *paṭīvedayaṁti*; cf. *prativedayaṁtu* in the Jaugaḍa rock-edict VI, D.

[2] Restore *Piyadasi.*

[3] Restore °*piye Piyadasi.*

[4] Restore *bahukāni.*

[5] *aṭhāye* Bühler.

[6] The late Dr. Fleet drew my attention to the fact that a peculiar mark is attached to the top of the *de* of *Devānaṁpiye*, and that there is a corresponding mark above the word *a[th]āye* in section OO. This double *kākapāda* or caret (cf. Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, IV, 117) suggests that the writer wanted us to place sections RR and SS before section OO.

[7] Franke (GN, 1895. 537) attributes to *kathaṁ* the meaning of 'that'. Bühler translated it by 'in some way'.

[8] Cf. the Shāhbāzgaṛhī rock-edict XI, D.

(F) How[1] then might men (be made to) conform to (morality)?

(G) How might men (be made to) progress by an adequate promotion of morality?

(H) How could I elevate[2] them[3] by the promotion of morality?

(I) Concerning this, **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** speaks thus.

(J) The following occurred to me.

(K) I shall issue proclamations on morality,[4] (and) shall order instruction in morality (to be given).

(L) Hearing this, men will conform to (it), will be elevated, and will (be made to) progress considerably by the promotion of morality.

(M) For this purpose proclamations on morality were issued by me, (and) manifold instruction in morality was ordered (to be given), in order that those agents (of mine)[5] too, who are occupied[6] with many[7] people, will exhort (them) and will explain (morality to them) in detail.

(N) The *Lajūkas*[8] also, who are occupied with many hundred thousands of men, —these too were ordered by me: 'In such and such a manner[9] exhort ye the people who are devoted to morality'.

(O) **Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** speaks thus.

(P) Having in view this very (matter),[10] I have set up pillars of morality,[11] appointed *Mahāmātras* of morality, (and) issued [proclamations] on morality.

(Q) **King Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** speaks thus.

(R) On the roads banyan-trees were caused to be planted by me, (in order that) they might afford shade to cattle and men,[12] (and) mango-groves[13] were caused to be planted.

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[1] Senart (IA, 18. 302) explains *kinasu* = Pāli *kenassu* and Skt. *kēna-svit*; cf. Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v. *assu*. For *su* = *svit* see above, p. 99, n. 14.

[2] With the optative °*nāmayehaṁ* cf. [*pa*]*ṭi*[*pāday*]*ehaṁ* and *ālabhehaṁ* in the Dhauli separate edict I, B, and *yehaṁ* in four versions of the rock-edict VI, L.

[3] See above, p. 35, n. 12.

[4] Bühler translated: 'Sermons on the sacred law I will order to be preached'. With the meaning which I assign to *sāvāpayāmi*, cf. *iyaṁ sāvaṇe sāvāpite* at Brahmagiri (l. 5), for which the Śiddāpura edict (l. 11) reads [*iya*]*ṁ sāvaṇe sāvite*, and the Rūpnāth edict (l. 3) *sāvane kaṭe*. These three records and the Sahasrām, Bairāṭ, Maski, and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara rock-inscriptions are actual specimens of the *dhaṁma-sāvanāni* to which Aśōka is alluding here.

[5] See above, p. 120, n. 2. [6] See above, p. 95, n. 4.

[7] With the locative *bahune* Bühler (EI, 2. 270, n. 68) compared *punāvasune* in the pillar-edict V, ll. 16 and 18, which, however, might be a dative.

[8] See above, p. 124, n. 1.

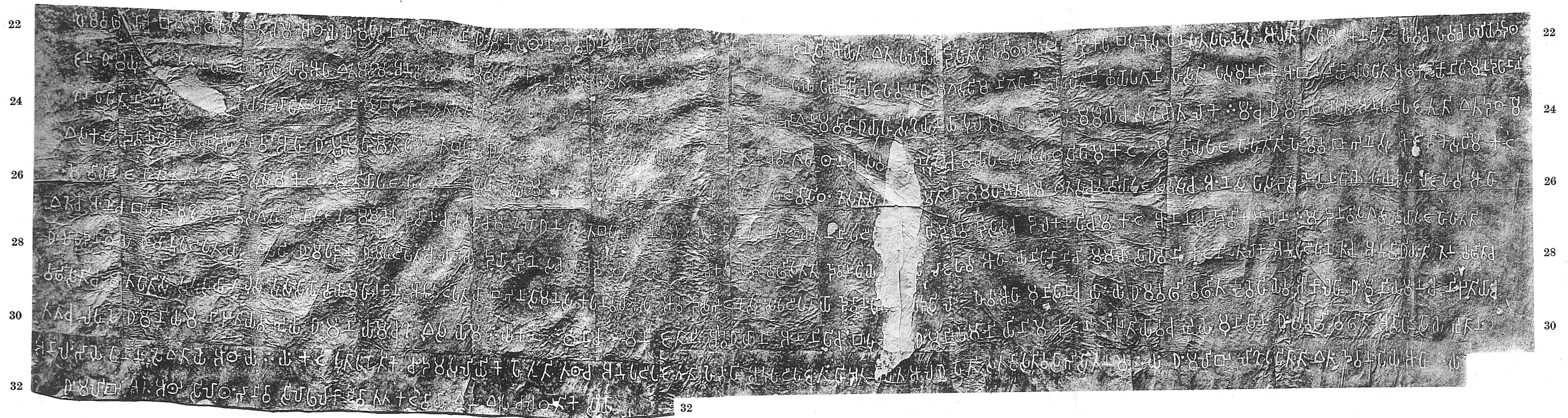
[9] Cf. the Dhauli separate edict I, l. 12.

[10] *anuvekhamāne* is a nominative singular absolute. See above, p. 96, n. 11, and Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 1013.

[11] As noted by Bühler (ZDMG, 46. 90), this is a reference to the pillars bearing the six first edicts.

[12] Cf. the rock-edict II, D.

[13] In *aṁbā-vaḍikyā* and *aḍha-*[*kos*]*ikya* (below, section S) the *k* of the two affixes *-kā* and *-ika* is palatalized through the influence of the preceding vowel *i*, as frequently at Kālsī; see there *nātikya*, *pālaṁtikya*, &c. The form *aṁbā-vaḍikā* occurs in the Queen's pillar-edict, l. 3. The first member of this compound, *aṁbā* (for the Sanskrit masculine *āmra*), seems to be used as feminine; cf. *ābikā-bhati* (=**āmrikā-bhṛiti*) at Junnar (ASWI, 4. 97, No. 26). The second member, *vaḍikā*, is the regular Prākṛit equivalent of Skt. **vṛitikā* (= *vṛiti*, 'a hedge'), while its usual Sanskrit synonym, *vāṭikā*, presupposes the form **vartikā*; cf. Wackernagel's *Altind. Grammatik*, I, p. 168.



SCALE ONE-SIXTH

(S) And (at intervals) of eight *kōs*[1] wells were caused to be dug by me, and flights of steps (for descending into the water)[2] were caused to be built.

(T) Numerous drinking-places[3] were caused to be established by me, here and there, for the enjoyment of cattle and men.

(U) [But] this so-called enjoyment (is) [of little consequence].[4]

(V) For with various comforts have the people been blessed both by former kings and by myself.

(W) But by me this has been done for the following purpose:[5] that they might conform to that practice of morality.

(X) **Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** speaks thus.

(Y) Those[6] my *Mahāmātras* of morality too are occupied[7] with affairs of many kinds which are beneficial to ascetics as well as to householders, and they are occupied also with all sects.

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[1] Fleet (JRAS, 1906. 401 ff.) showed that *aḍha* here represents Skt. *ashṭan*, and not *ardha*. According to Hiuen-Tsiang, Bāṇa, and Kauṭilya (JRAS, 1912. 239), one *yōjana* = eight *kōs* = nine miles was considered a day's march of an army, while it would have been unnecessarily lavish and unpractical to sink wells and build rest-houses at distances of but little more than half a mile.

[2] Bühler read *niṁsiḍhiyā*, which he rendered by 'rest-houses', connecting it with *nishidiyā* (from Skt. *nishīdati*) in the Nāgārjunī Hill cave-inscriptions; cf. also *Arahata-nisidiyā-samīpe* in the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravēla, l. 15. Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 852) compares with it the Ardhamāgadhī *seḍhi* = Skt. **ślishṭi*. As *seḍhi* is synonymous with Skt. *śrēṇi*, he attributes to *niṁsiḍhiyā* the sense of Skt. *niśrayaṇī*, 'a ladder, a flight of steps'. This meaning would fit the text admirably, but the actual reading of the pillar is *niṁsi[ḍha]yā*, which would correspond to Skt. **niślishṭakā*. For the change of *śl* to *ṁs* see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 74, and for *ḍh* = original *shṭ* cf. *aḍha-* = *ashṭa-* at the beginning of section S.

[3] With *āpāna* cf. *prapā* in the Nāsik cave-inscription No. 10, l. 3 (EI, 8. 78), and in the Palitānā plates of Siṁhāditya (EI, 11. 18, text l. 12). I cannot refrain from quoting the following description from F. Drew's charming work, *The Northern Barrier of India* (London, 1877), p. 99: 'At this time of the year the ground is dry, and all the way from Akhnūr the road has been hot and thirst-bringing. A good charitable custom of the Hindūs brings relief to the traveller. On many a spot in the hottest part, perhaps at the summit of one of the steep rises of the uneven road, will be found a hut where cool water kept in clean porous vessels is at the service of any who may ask for it. The man in charge is probably a Brahman, so that people of every caste can take water from his hands; he may have been placed there by some well-to-do Hindū, whose piety prompts him to this good work. It is the Brahman's business to bring the water from the nearest stream, which may be a long walk off, and distribute it to wayfarers. When the rains come, and water is to be found in every pool and little stream, the establishment will be no longer kept up.' The same charitable arrangement is evidently alluded to in the text of Aśōka's pillar-edict. The Hindūs are wonderfully conservative; e.g. the bullock-cart and the carrying-pole (Hindī *bahaṅgī*, Dravidian *kāvaḍi*) figured at Bharaut (Cunningham's *Stūpa of Bharhut*, plate 57; 41, fig. 1; 42, fig. 7; 45, fig. 5; 46, fig. 8) do not differ from those one sees at the present day.

[4] A similar phrase occurs in the Kālsī and Shāhbāzgaṛhī edict XIII, V, and below, section KK.

[5] For *athā* = *athāya* see above, p. 22, n. 3. Although in the dialect of the pillar-edicts Skt. *artha* is generally represented by *aṭha*, the form *atha* (with dental *th*) occurs also in section OO of the edict VII. Michelson's explanation of *etadathā* (IF, 23. 248 f.) appears to me 'too bold', as he confesses himself.

[6] The pronoun *te* seems to refer to section P, above.

[7] Franke (VOJ, 9. 349 f.) has pointed out that *viyāpaṭāse*, which occurs twice in this section and once in CC, below, is the Prākṛit equivalent of the Vēdic nominative plural in *-āsaḥ*. Cf. above, p. 87, n. 3.

(Z) Some (*Mahāmātras*) were ordered by me to busy themselves[1] with the affairs of the *Saṁgha*;[2] likewise others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the Brāhmaṇas (and) Ājīvikas;[3] others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the Nirgranthas;[4] others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with various (other) sects; (thus) different *Mahāmātras* (are busying themselves) specially with different (congregations).[5]

(AA) But my *Mahāmātras* of morality are occupied with these (congregations) as well as with all other sects.

(BB) **King Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** speaks thus.

(CC) Both these and many other chief (officers)[6] are occupied with the delivery of the gifts of myself as well as of the queens, and among my whole harem [they are reporting] in divers ways different worthy recipients of charity[7] both here[8] and in the provinces.

(DD) And others[9] were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the delivery of the gifts of (my) sons and of other queens' sons,[10] in order (to promote) noble deeds of morality (and) the practice of morality.

(EE) For noble deeds of morality and the practice of morality (consist in) this, that (morality), viz.[11] compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity, gentleness, and goodness, will thus be promoted among men.

(FF) **King Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** speaks thus.

(GG) Whatsoever good deeds have been performed by me, those the people have imitated, and to those they are conforming.

(HH) Thereby they have been made to progress and will (be made to) progress in obedience to mother and father, in obedience to elders, in courtesy to the aged, in courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, to the poor and distressed, (and) even to slaves and servants.

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[1] Literally: 'it has been made by me that these will be occupied'. In the subsequent sentences I have translated *ime* by 'others'.

[2] i. e. the Buddhist clergy.

[3] For the Ājīvika sect see my last note on the first Barābar Hill cave-inscription.

[4] i. e. the Jaina monks.

[5] As remarked by Senart (IA, 18. 305), the officers mentioned in this section are distinct from the *Dharma-mahāmātras* of sections Y and AA.

[6] As at Shāhbāzgaṛhī (XIII, 8) and Mānsehrā (XIII, 9), *mukha* corresponds to Skt. *mukhya*. Michelson (IF, 23. 263 f.) prefers to identify it with Skt. *mukha*, because in *mokhya* (= Skt. *maukhya*, Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VI, l. 9) the group *khy* is not assimilated. But Skt. *mukha* is always neuter, and the masculine *mukha* seems to be a fiction of the Kōśas. Thomas renders *bahukā mukhā* by 'many departments'; see JRAS, 1915. 99.

[7] Kern and Bühler (EI, 2. 274) explained *tuṭhāyatan[ā]ni* by *tushṭy-āyatanāni*, 'sources of contentment', i. e. 'opportunities for charity'. I adopt this suggestion, but prefer to take *āyatana* as a synonym of *pātra* or *tīrtha*, and follow Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 853) in considering the first member of the compound to be *tushṭa* in the sense of *tushṭi*.

[8] viz. in Pāṭaliputra. Cf. above, p. 33, n. 10.

[9] Literally: 'these'. Cf. above, n. 1.

[10] Cf. the Kālsī edict V, M, where Aśōka mentions the harems of his brothers, sisters, and other relatives.

[11] See above, p. 120, n. 7. Before *yā iyaṁ* we may have to supply *dhaṁme*, which includes the virtues that are enumerated after it; cf. the pillar-edict II, C. I differ here slightly from Lüders, SPAW, 1914. 854.

(II) **King Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** speaks thus.

(JJ) Now this progress of morality among men has been promoted (by me) only in two ways, (viz.) by moral restrictions and by conversion.[1]

(KK) But among these (two), those moral restrictions are of little consequence; by conversion, however, (morality is promoted) more considerably.

(LL) Now moral restrictions indeed are these, that I have ordered this, (that) certain animals are inviolable.[2]

(MM) But there are also many other moral restrictions which have been imposed by me.

(NN) By conversion, however, the progress of morality among men has been promoted more considerably, (because it leads) to abstention from hurting living beings (and) to abstention from killing animals.

(OO) Now for the following purpose has this been ordered, that it may last as long as (my) sons and great-grandsons (shall reign and) as long as the moon and the sun (shall shine),[3] and in order that (men) may conform to it.

(PP) For if one conforms to this,[4] (happiness) in this (world) and in the other (world) will be attained.

(QQ) This rescript on morality was caused to be written by me (when I had been) **anointed twenty-seven years.**

(RR) Concerning this, **Dēvānāṁpriya** says.[5]

(SS) This rescript on morality must be engraved there, where either stone pillars or stone slabs are (available), in order that[6] this may be of long duration.

II. THE DELHI-MIRATH PILLAR

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

1 . . . . नं धंमेन विधाने
2 धमे . . . .

1 . . . . [naṁ] dhaṁmen[a] v[i]dh[āne]
2 dha[me] . . . .

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आ . . (B) धंमे साधु कियं . . . . मे ति
2 (C) अपासिनवे बहु कयाने दया दाने सचे सोचये (D) चखुदाना पि मे

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[1] Literally: 'by inducing to meditate'. Cf. above, p. 69, n. 4. Thomas (JRAS, 1916. 122) has shown that in Buddhist Sanskrit works *nidhyapti* has the meaning 'reflection'.

[2] See the pillar-edict V.

[3] Cf. *puta-papotike chaṁdama-sūriyike* on the Sāṁchī pillar, C, *ā-chaṁdama-shūliyaṁ* in the three Nāgārjunī Hill cave-inscriptions (IA, 20. 364 f.), and *ā-chandrārkam* in Sanskrit inscriptions.

[4] See above, p. 97, n. 3.

[5] This section and the next one may have to be placed before section OO; see above, p. 133, n. 6.

[6] *Yena* is used in the same way in the Dhauli separate edict I, Y, and II, I and M.

3 बहुविधे दिंने (E) दुपदचतुपदेसु पखिवालिचलेसु विविधे मे अनु-
4 गहे कटे आ पानदाखिनाये (F) अंनानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि
5 कटानि (G) एताये मे अठाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखापिता · · · ·
6 अनुपटिपजंतू चिलंथितिका च होतू ति (H) ये च · · · · · · · · · ·
7 सति से सुकटं कछती ति

1 **(A)** **De[vā]n[a]mpiye Piyadasi lāja**[1] [hevaṁ ā] . . **(B)** dh[aṁ]me s[ā]dh[u] k[iya]ṁ . . . . [m]e ti
2 **(C)** a[pā]sinave bahu kayāne dayā dāne sache sochaye **(D)** [chakhu-dā]nā[2] [pi me]
3 bahuvidhe diṁne **(E)** du[pa]da-ch[a]tu[pa]desu pakhi-vālichale[su viv]i[dhe me anu]-
4 gahe kaṭe ā pāna-dākhināye **(F)** a[ṁ]nāni pi cha me bah[ūni kayānāni]
5 kaṭāni **(G)** etāye me aṭhāye iyaṁ dhaṁma-lipi li[khāpitā] . . . .
6 anupaṭipajaṁtū chil[aṁ-th]itikā cha hot[ū] ti **(H)** ye [cha] . . . .
7 [sa]ti se sukaṭaṁ ka[chha]tī ti

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आहा (B) कयानंमेव दे · · · · · · · · · ·
2 कयाने कटे ती (C) नो मिना पापं देखति इयं मे पापे कटे ति इयं व
3 आसिनवे नामा ति (D) दुपटिवेखे चु खो एसा (E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये
4 (F) इमानि आसिनवगामीनि नाम अथ चंडिये निठूलिये कोधे
5 माने इस्या कालनेन व हकं मा पलिभसयिसं (G) · · · · बाढं
6 देखिये (H) इयं मे हिदतिकाये इयं मे पालतिकाये

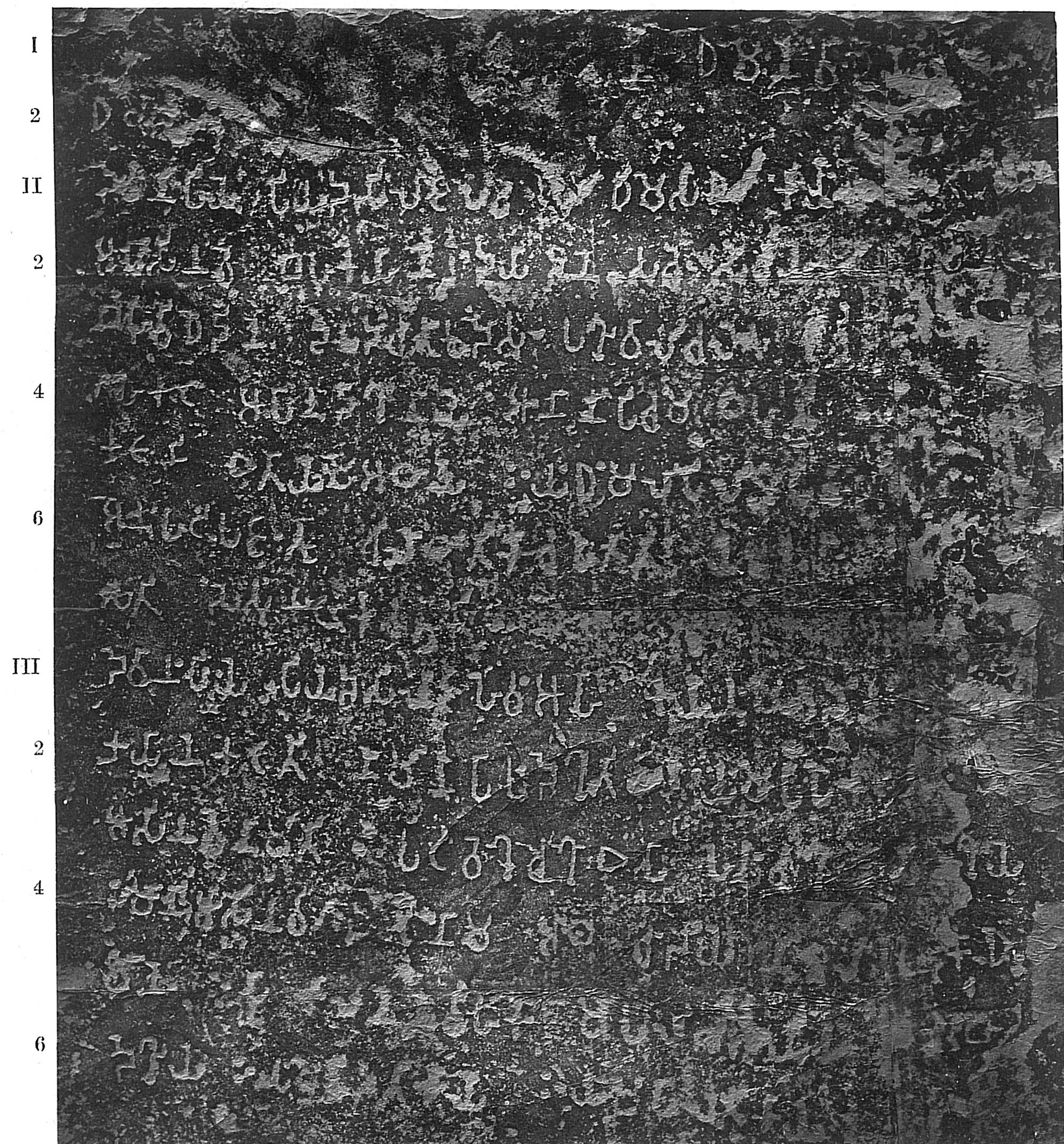
1 **(A)** **Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja**[3] hevaṁ āhā **(B)** kayānaṁm[eva de] . . . .
2 kayāne kaṭe tī[4] **(C)** no min[ā] pāpaṁ dekhati iyaṁ me pāp[e[5] kaṭe ti iyaṁ va]
3 āsinave nāmā ti **(D)** [du]paṭivekhe chu kho esā **(E)** hevaṁ chu kho [esa[6] de]khiye
4 **(F)** imāni āsinav[a-gāmīni] nāma atha chaṁḍ[i]ye ni[ṭhū]li[y]e k[o]dhe . . . . . .
5 māne isyā kālanena [va] hakaṁ mā palibha[sa]yi[sa]ṁ **(G)** . . . . bā[ḍhaṁ]
6 dekhiye **(H)** iyaṁ me [hi]dat[i]kāye iyaṁ me pālatikāye

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

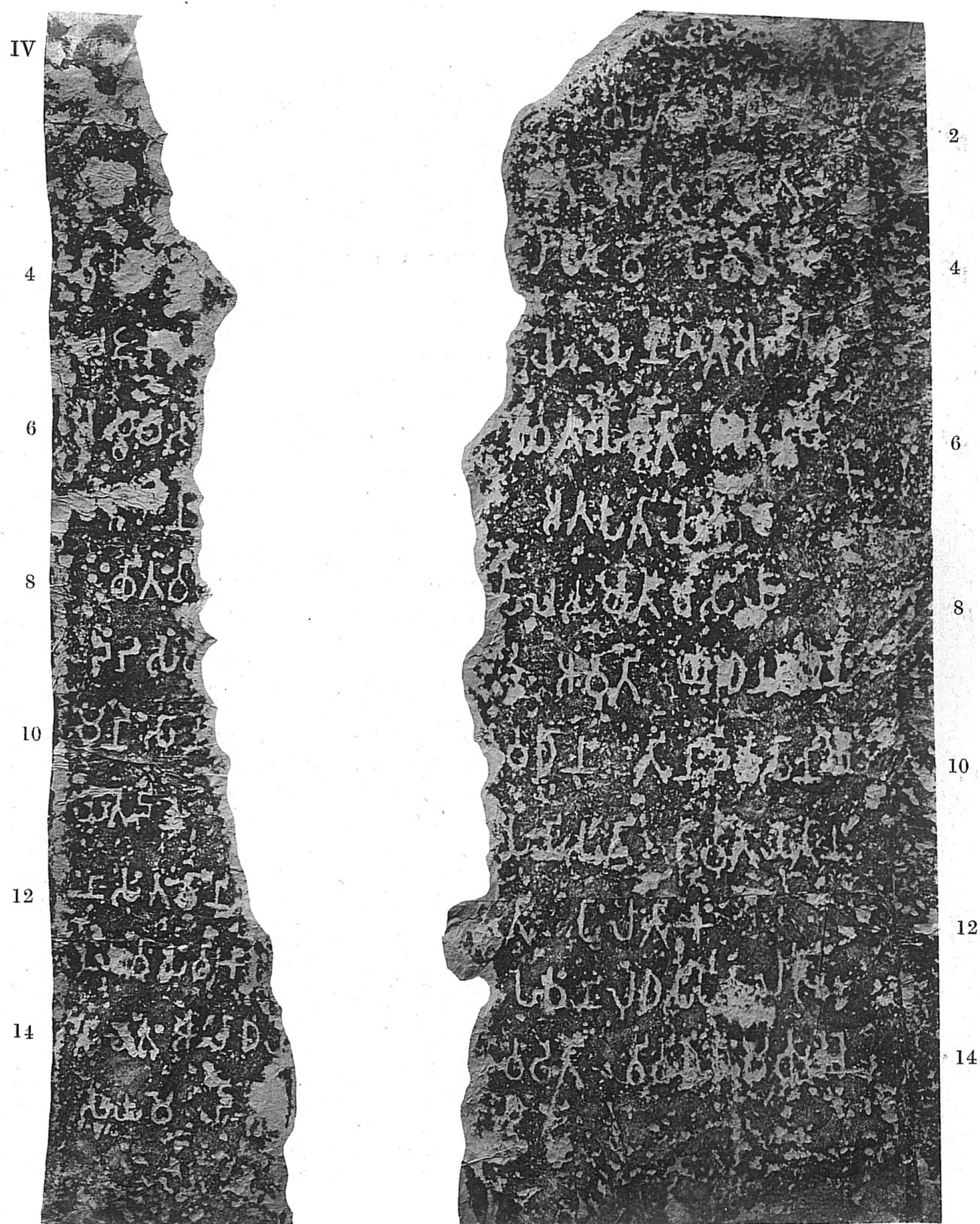
1 · · · · · · · · · ·
2 · · · · · · · · · · क चघंति आलाधयितवे
3 · · · · · · · · · · तु अस्वथे होति
4 विय · · · · · · · · · · लिहटवे हेवं ममा
5 लजूक · · · · · · · · · · ये (J) येन एते अभीता

---

[1] *lājā* Bühler. [2] -[*dā*]*naṁ* Bühler.
[3] *lājā* Bühler. [4] *ti* Bühler. [5] *pāpaṁ* Bühler.
[6] . . *sā* Bühler.



SCALE ONE-FOURTH



SCALE ONE-FOURTH

6 अस्वथ सं . . . . पवतयेवू ति एतेन मे
7 लजूकानं . . . . अतपतिये कटे
8 (K) इछितवि . . . . हालसमता च सिया
9 दंडसम . . . . मे आवुति बंधनवधानं
10 मुनिसानं . . . . वधानं तिंनि दिवसानि मे
11 योते दिंने (M) . . . . पयिसंति जीविताये तानं
12 नासंतं वा नि . . . . ति पालतिकं
13 उपवासं वा क . . . . हेवं निलुधसि पि कालसि
14 पालतं आलाधये . . . . वढति विविधे धंमचलने
15 संयमे दान . . . .

1 . . . .
2 . . . . [ka][1] chaghaṁti [ā]lādha[y][i][tave]
3 . . . . tu asvathe[2] [ho]ti
4 vi[ya] . . . . [l][i][ha]ṭave hev[aṁ mam]ā
5 [la]jūk[a][3] . . . . ye (J) yen[a] ete a[bh][ī]tā
6 asvatha saṁ . . . . [pa]vataye[v]ū ti [e]te[na] me
7 [laj]ū[kā]n[aṁ] . . . . ata-patiye kaṭ[e]
8 (K) ichhitavi . . . . [h]āla-samatā ch[a] siyā
9 daṁḍa-sa[ma] . . . . [me] āvuti [ba]ṁdhana-[badh]ānaṁ
10 munisā[naṁ] . . . . vadhānaṁ tiṁni di[va]sāni [m]e
11 y[o]te diṁne (M) . . . . payisa[ṁ]ti j[ī]v[i]tāye tāna[ṁ]
12 nāsaṁtaṁ [v]ā ni . . . . ti pālatikaṁ
13 u[pa]vāsaṁ vā k[a] . . . . hevaṁ niludhasi pi [k]ālasi
14 pā[la]taṁ ālādha[ye] . . . . vaḍhati vividhe dhaṁma-chal[a]ne
15 saṁyame dā[na] . . . .

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

1 . . . . पोतके पि च कानि
2 . . . . के (D) वधिकुकुटे नो कटविये (E) तुसे सजीवे
3 . . . . . . तविये (F) दावे अनठाये वा विहिसाये वा नो
4 झापेतविये (G) जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितविये (H) तीसु चातंमासीसु
5 तिसायं पुंनमासियं तिंनि दिवसानि चावुदसं पंनडसं
6 पटिपदा ध्रुवाये च अनुपोसथं मछे अवधिये नो पि
7 विकेतविये (I) एतानि येव दिवसानि नागवनसि केवटभोगसि
8 यानि अंनानि पि जीवनिकायानि नो हंतवियानी

[1] *[lajūkā]* Bühler. [2] *asva[the]* Bühler. [3] *lajūk[ā]* Bühler.

9 (J) अठमिपखाये चावुदसाये पंनडसाये तिसाये
10 पुनावसुने तीसु चातुंमासीसु सुदिवसाये गोने
11 नो नीलखितविये अजके एळके सूकले ए वा पि
12 अंने नीलखियति नो नीलखितविये (K) तिसाये पुनावसुने
13 चातुंमासिये चातुंमासिपखाये अस्वसा गोनसा लखने
14 नो · · · · विये (L) यावसडुवीसतिवसअभिसितेन मे एताये
15 अंतलिकाये पंनवीसति बंधनमोखानि कटानि

1 . . . . [potake[1] pi cha] k[ā]n[i]
2 . . . . ke (D) [vadh]i-kukuṭe no kaṭaviye (E) tuse sajī[ve]
3 . . . . . . ta[v]iye (F) dāve [a]naṭhāye vā vihisāye vā no
4 [jhāpe]ta[vi]ye (G) jī[v]ena j[īv]e no pusi[ta]viye (H) tīsu chātaṁmāsīsu[2]
5 [t]isāya[ṁ] pu[ṁna]mā[si]ya[ṁ] tiṁni divasāni chāvudasaṁ paṁnaḍasaṁ
6 p[a]ṭipadā dh[r]uvāye[3] cha anuposathaṁ machhe avadhiye no pi
7 viketav[i]ye (I) etān[i] yeva divasāni n[ā]ga-van[a]si kevaṭa-bhogasi
8 y[āni aṁnāni] pi jīva-nikāyān[i] no [ha]ṁtaviyānī[4]
9 (J) aṭham[i-pakhā]ye[5] [chā]vudasāye paṁ[na]ḍasāye tisāye
10 punāvasune tīsu chātuṁmāsīsu sudivasāye gone
11 no nīlakhitavi[y]e ajake eḷake[6] sūkale e vā pi
12 aṁ[n]e nī[la]khi[ya]ti [no] nīlakhitaviye (K) tisāye punāvasun[e]
13 chātuṁmāsiye chātu[ṁ]māsi-pakhāye asvasā gonasā lakhane
14 no . . . . [v]iye (L) yā[va]-saḍuvīsati-[va]sa-abhisitena me etāye
15 a[ṁ]talikāye paṁnavīsati baṁdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

. . . .

1 · · ूपगमने से मे मोख्यमते (G) सडु · · · · · · · · · ·
2 · · िसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लि · · · · · ·

1 . . . ūpagamane se me mokhya-mate (G) saḍu . . . .
2 . . . isitena me iyaṁ dhaṁma-li[pi] li . . . . . .

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[1] On Fleet's plate (IA, 19. 124), portions of the preceding word *avadhiyā* are also visible.
[2] Read *chātuṁ°*.
[3] *dhuvāye* Bühler. Cf. above, p. 2, n. 1.
[4] *°yāni* Bühler.
[5] *aṭham[ī]-* Bühler.
[6] *eḍake* Bühler; but see Lüders, JRAS, 1911. 1088.



SCALE ONE-FOURTH

III. THE LAURIYA ARARAJ-PILLAR

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

A.—East Face of Pillar.

1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि
2 लिखापित (C) हिदतपालते दुसंपटिपादये अंनत अगाय धंमकामताय अगाय पलीखाय
3 अगाय सुसूसाय अगेन भयेन अगेन उसाहेन (D) एस चु खो मम अनुसथिय धंमापेख
4 धंमकामता च सुवे सुवे वढित वढिसति चेव (E) पुलिसा पि मे उकसा च गेवया च मझिमा च अनुविधीयंति
5 संपटिपादयंति च अलं चपलं समादपयितवे (F) हेमेव अंतमहामाता पि (G) एसा हि विधि या इयं धंमेन पालन
6 धंमेन विधाने धंमेन सुखीयन धंमेन गोती ति

1 (A) **Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja** hevaṁ āha (B) **saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena** me iyaṁ dhaṁma-li[p]i
2 likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusaṁpaṭipādaye aṁnata agāya dhaṁma-kāmatāya agāya palīkhāy[a]
3 agāya susūsāya agena bhayena agena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya dhaṁmāpekha [1]
4 dhaṁma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍhita [2] vaḍhisati cheva (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha anuvidhīyaṁti
5 saṁpaṭipādayaṁti cha alaṁ chapalaṁ samādapayitave (F) hemeva aṁta-mahāmātā pi (G) esā hi vidhi yā iyaṁ dhaṁmena pālana
6 dhaṁmena vidhāne dhaṁmena sukh[ī]yana dhaṁmena gotī ti

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) धंमे साधु कियं चु धंमे ति (C) अपासिनवे बहु कयाने दय दाने सचे
2 सोचेये ति (D) चखुदाने पि मे बहुविधे दिंने (E) दुपदचतुपदेसु पखिवालिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहे कटे

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[1] *dhaṁmapekha* Bühler.   [2] *vaḍhitā* Bühler.

3 आ पानदखिनाये (F) अंनानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि कटानि (G) एताये मे अठाये इयं धमलिपि लिखापित हेवं
4 अनुपटिपजंतु चिलंथितीका च होतू ति (H) ये च हेवं संपटिपजिसति से सुकटं कछति ति

1 (A) **Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja** hevaṁ āha (B) dhaṁme sādhu kiyaṁ chu dhaṁme ti (C) apāsinave bahu kayāne daya dāne sache
2 socheye ti (D) chakhu-dāne pi me bahuvidhe diṁne (E) dupada-chatupadesu pakhi-vālichalesu vividhe me anugahe kaṭe
3 ā pāna-dakhināye (F) a[ṁ]nāni pi cha me bahūni kayānāni kaṭāni (G) etāye me aṭhāye iyaṁ dhama-lipi likhāpita hevaṁ
4 anupaṭipajaṁtu chilaṁ-thitīkā cha hotū ti (H) ye cha hevaṁ saṁpaṭipajisati se sukataṁ kachhati ti

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) कयानंमेव देखंति इयं मे कयाने कटे ति (C) नो मिन पापं देखंति इयं मे पापे कटे ति
2 इयं व आसिनवे नामा ति (D) दुपटिवेखे चु खो एस (E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये (F) इमानि आसिनवगामीनि नामा ति अथ चंडिये
3 निठूलिये कोधे माने इस्य कालनेन व हकं मा पलिभसयिसं ति (G) एस बाढं देखिये (H) इयं मे हिदतिकाये इयंमन मे पालतिकाये ति

1 (A) **Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja** hevaṁ āha (B) kayānaṁmeva dekhaṁti iyaṁ me kayāne kaṭe ti (C) no mina pāpaṁ dekhaṁti iyaṁ me pāpe kaṭe ti
2 iyaṁ va āsinave nāmā ti (D) dupaṭivekhe chu kho esa (E) hevaṁ chu kho esa dekhiye (F) imāni āsinava-gāmīni nāmā ti atha chaṁḍiye
3 niṭhūliye kodhe māne isya kālanena va hakaṁ mā palibhasayisaṁ ti (G) esa bāḍhaṁ dekhiye (H) iyaṁ me hidatikāye iyaṁmana me pālatikāye ti

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित (C) लजूका मे बहूसु पानसतसहसेसु
2 जनसि आयत (D) तेसं ये अभिहाले व दंडे व अतपतिये मे कटे किंति लजूक अस्वथ अभीत कंमानि पवतयेवू ति जनस जानपदस
3 हितसुखं उपदहेवु अनुगहिनेवु च (E) सुखीयनदुखीयनं जानिसंति धंमयुतेन च वियोवदिसंति जनं जानपदं किंति हिदतं च
4 पालतं च आलाधयेवु (F) लजूका पि लघंति पटिचलितवे मं (G) पुलिसानि पि मे छंदंनानि पटिचलिसंति (H) ते पि च कानि वियोवदिसंति येन मं

5 लजूक चघंति आलाधयितवे (I) अथा हि पजं वियताये धातिये निसिजितु
अस्वथे होति वियत धाति चघति मे पंजं सुखं पलिहटवे ति
6 हेवं मम लजूक कट जानपदस हितसुखाये (J) येन एते अभीत अस्वथा संतं
अछिमन कंमानि पवतयेवू ति एतेन मे लजूकानं अभिहाले व
7 दंडे व अतपतिये कटे (K) इछितविये हि एस किंति वियोहालसमता च सिय
दंडसमता च (L) आवा इते पि च मे आवुति बंधनबधानं
8 मुनिसानं तीलितदंडानं पतवधानं तिंनि दिवसानि मे योते दिंने (M) नातिका
व कानि निझपयिसंति जीविताये तानं नासंतं व
9 निझपयितवे दानं दाहंति पालतिकं उपवासं व कछंति (N) इछा हि मे हेवं
निलुधसि पि कालसि पालतं आलाधयेवू ति
10 (O) जनस च वढति विविधे धंमचलने सयमे दानसंविभागे ति

1 (A) **Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja** hevaṁ āha (B) **saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena** me
iyaṁ dhaṁma-lipi likhāpita (C) lajūkā me bahūsu pāna-sata-sahasesu
2 janasi āyata (D) tesaṁ ye abhihāle va d[a]ṁḍe va ata-patiye me kaṭe kiṁti lajūka
asvatha abhīta kaṁmāni pavatayevū ti janasa jānapadasa
3 hita-sukhaṁ upadahevu anugahinevu cha (E) sukhīyana-dukhīyanaṁ jānisaṁti
dhaṁma-yutena cha viyovadisaṁti janaṁ jānapadaṁ kiṁti hidataṁ cha
4 pālataṁ cha ālādhayevu (F) lajūkā pi laghaṁti paṭichalitave maṁ (G) pulisāni pi
me chhaṁdaṁnāni paṭichalisaṁti (H) te pi cha kāni viyovadisaṁti yena maṁ
5 lajūka chaghaṁti ālādhayitave (I) athā hi pajaṁ viyatāye dhātiye nisijitu asvathe
hoti viyata dhāti chaghati me paṁjaṁ[1] sukhaṁ palihaṭave ti
6 hevaṁ mama lajūka kaṭa jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (J) yena ete abhīta asvathā
saṁtaṁ achhimana[2] kaṁmāni pavatayevū ti etena me lajūkānaṁ abhihāle va
7 daṁḍe va ata-patiye kaṭe (K) ichhitaviye hi esa kiṁti viyohāla-samatā cha siya
daṁḍa-samatā cha (L) āvā ite pi cha me āvuti baṁdhana-badhānaṁ
8 munisā[na]ṁ tīlita-daṁḍānaṁ pata-vadhānaṁ tiṁni divasāni me yote diṁne (M)
nātikā va kāni nijhapayisaṁti jīvitāye tānaṁ nāsaṁtaṁ va
9 nijhapayi[ta]ve dānaṁ dāhaṁti pālatikaṁ upavāsaṁ va kachhaṁti (N) ichhā hi me
hevaṁ niludhasi pi kālasi pālataṁ ālādhayevū ti
10 (O) janasa cha va[ḍha]ti vividhe dha[ṁ]ma-chalane sayame dāna-saṁvibhāge ti

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

B.—West Face of Pillar.

1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितस मे इमानि
पि जातानि अवध्यानि
2 कटानि सेयथ सुके सालिक अलुने चकवाके हंसे नंदीमुखे गेलाटे जतूक
3 अंबाकपिलिक दुळि अनठिकमछे वेदवेयके गंगापुपुटके संकुजमछे कफटसेयके

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[1] Read *pajaṁ*. [2] Read *avimana*.

4 पंनससे सिमले संडके ओकपिंडे पलसते सेतकपोते गामकपोते सवे चतुपदे

5 ये पटिपोगं नो एति नो च खादियति (C) अजका नानि एडका च सूकली च गभिनी व पायमीना व

6 अवध्य पोतके च कानि आसंमासिके (D) वधिकुकुटे नो कटविये (E) तुसे सजीवे नो झापयितविये (F) दावे

7 अनठाये व विहिसाये व नो झापयितविये (G) जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितविये (H) तीसु चातुंमासीसु तिस्यं

8 पुंनमासियं तिंनि दिवसानि चावुदसं पंनळसं पटिपदं धुवाये च अनुपोसथं मछे अवध्ये नो पि

9 विकेतविये (I) एतानि येव दिवसानि नागवनसि केवटभोगसि यानि अंनानि पि जीवनिकायानि

10 नो हंतवियानि (J) अठमिपखाये चावुदसाये पंनडसाये तिसाये पुनावसुने तीसु चातुंमासीसु

11 सुदिवसाये गोने नो नीलखितविये अजके एळके सूकले ए वा पि अंने नीलखियति नो नीलखितविये

12 (K) तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुंमासिये चातुंमासिपखाये अस्वस गोनस लखने नो कटविये

13 (L) यावसडुवीसतिवसाभिसितस मे एताये अंतलिकाये पंनवीसति बंधन-मोखानि कटानि

1 **(A) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja** hevaṁ āha **(B) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitasa** me imāni pi jātāni avadhyāni

2 kaṭāni seyatha suke sālika alune chakavāke haṁse naṁdīmukhe gelāṭe jatūka

3 aṁbā-kapilika duḷi[1] anaṭhika-machhe vedaveyake Gaṁgā-pupuṭake saṁkuja-machhe kaphaṭa-seyake

4 paṁna-sase simale saṁḍake okapiṁḍe palasate seta-kapote gāma-kapote save chatupade

5 ye paṭipogaṁ[2] no eti no cha khādiy[a]ti **(C)** ajakā nāni eḍakā cha sūkalī cha gabhinī va pāyamīnā va

6 avadhya potake cha kāni āsaṁmāsike **(D)** vadhi-kukuṭe no kaṭaviye **(E)** tuse sajīve no jhāpayitaviye **(F)** dāve

7 anaṭhāye va vihisāye va no jhāpayitaviye **(G)** jīvena jīve no pusitaviye **(H)** tīsu chātuṁmāsīsu tisyaṁ

8 puṁnamāsiyaṁ tiṁni divasāni chāvudasaṁ paṁnaḷasaṁ[3] paṭipadaṁ dhuvāye cha anuposathaṁ machhe avadhye no pi

9 viketaviye **(I)** etāni yeva divasāni nāga-vanasi kevaṭa-bhogasi yāni aṁnāni pi jīva-nik[ā]yāni

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[1] *duḍi* Bühler; but see his *Ind. Pal.*, § 16, C, 41, and Lüders in JRAS, 1911. 1087.

[2] Read *paṭibhogaṁ*.

[3] *paṁnaḍasaṁ* Bühler.

V

2

4

6

8

10

12

VI

2

4

SCALE ONE-SIXTH

10 no haṁtaviyāni (J) aṭhami-pakhāye chāvudasāye paṁnaḍasāye tisāye punāvasune tīsu chātuṁmāsīsu
11 sudivasāye gone no nīlakhitaviye ajake eḷake [1] sūkale e vā pi aṁne nīlakhiyati no nīlakhitaviye
12 (K) tisāye punāvasune chātuṁmāsiye chātuṁmāsi-pakhāye asvasa gonasa lakhane no kaṭaviye
13 (L) **yāva-saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitasa** me etāye aṁtalikāye paṁnavīsati baṁdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) दुवाडसवसाभिसितेन मे धंमलिपि लिखापित लोकस
2 हितसुखाये से तं अपहट तं तं धंमवढि पापोव (C) हेवं लोकस हितसुखे ति पटिवेखामि
3 अथा इयं नातिसु हेवं पत्यासंनेसु हेव अपकठेसु किंमं कानि सुखं आवहामी ति तथा च विदहामि
4 (D) हेमेव सवनिकायेसु पटिवेखामि (E) संवपासंडा पि मे पूजित विविधाय पूजाय (F) ए चु इयं अतन पचूपगमने
5 से मे मुख्यमुते (G) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित

1 (A) **Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi** **lāja** hevaṁ āha (B) **duvā[ḍa]sa-vasābhisitena** me dhaṁma-lipi likhāpita lokasa
2 hita-sukhāye se taṁ apahaṭa taṁ taṁ dhaṁma-vaḍhi pāpova (C) hevaṁ lokasa hita-sukhe ti paṭivekhāmi
3 athā iyaṁ nātisu hevaṁ patyāsaṁnesu hevaṁ apakaṭhesu kiṁmaṁ kāni sukhaṁ āvahāmī ti tathā cha vidahāmi
4 (D) hemeva sava-nikāyesu paṭivekhāmi (E) sava-pāsaṁḍā pi me pūjita vividhāya pūjāya (F) e chu iyaṁ atana pachūpagamane
5 se me mukhya-mute [2] (G) **saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena** me iyaṁ dhaṁma-lipi likhāpita

IV. THE LAURIYA-NANDANGARH PILLAR

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

A.—East Face of Pillar.

1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं
2 धंमलिपि लिखापित (C) हिदतपालते दुसंपटिपादये अंनत अगाय धंमकामताय
3 अगाय पलीखाय अगाय सुसूसाय अगेन भयेन अगेन उसाहेन (D) एस चु खो मम

[1] *eḍake* Bühler.
[2] See above, p. 35, n. 10.

4 अनुसथिय धंमापेख धंमकामता च सुवे सुवे वढित वढिसति चेव (E) पुलिसा पि मे

5 उकसा च गेवया च मझिमा च अनुविधीयंति संपटिपादयंति च अलं चपलं समादपयितवे

6 (F) हेमेव अंतमहामाता पि (G) एसा हि विधि या इयं धंमेन पालन धंमेन विधाने धंमेन सुखीयन

7 धंमेन गोती ति

1 (A) **Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja** hevaṁ ā[ha] (B) **saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena** me iyaṁ

2 dhaṁma-lipi likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusaṁpaṭipādaye aṁnata agāya dhaṁma-kāmatāya

3 agāya palīkhāya agāya susūsāya agena bhayena agena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama

4 anusathiya dhaṁmāpekha dhaṁma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍhita vaḍhisati cheva (E) pulisā pi me

5 ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha anuvidhīyaṁti saṁpaṭipādayaṁti cha alaṁ chapalaṁ samādapayitave

6 (F) hemeva aṁta-mahāmātā pi (G) esā hi vidhi yā iyaṁ dhaṁmena pālana dhaṁmena vidhāne dhaṁmena sukhīyana

7 dhaṁmena gotī ti

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) धंमे साधु किय चु धंमे ति (C) अपासिनवे बहु कयाने

2 दय दाने सचे सोचेये ति (D) चखुदाने पि मे बहुविधे दिंने (E) दुपदचतुपदेसु पखि-

3 वालिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहे कटे आ पानदखिनाये (F) अंनानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि

4 कटानि (G) एताये मे अठाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित हेवं अनुपटिपजंतु चिलंथितीका च होतू ति

5 (H) ये च हेवं संपटिपजिसति से सुकटं कछति

1 (A) **Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja** hevaṁ āha (B) dhaṁme sādhu kiya[1] chu dhaṁme ti (C) apāsinave bahu kayāne

2 daya dāne sache socheye ti (D) chakhu-dāne pi me bahuvidhe diṁne (E) dupada-chatupadesu pakhi-

3 vālichaḷesu vividhe me anugahe kaṭe ā pāna-dakhināye (F) aṁṇāni pi cha me bahūni kayānāni

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[1] *kiyaṁ* Bühler.

4 katāni **(G)** etāye me aṭhāye iyaṁ dhaṁma-lipi likhāpita hevaṁ anupaṭipajaṁtu chilaṁ-thitīkā cha hotū ti

5 **(H)** ye cha hevaṁ saṁpaṭipajisati se sukataṁ kachhati

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) कयानंमेव देखंति इयं मे कयाने कटे ति (C) नो मिन पापं

2 देखंति इयं मे पापे कटे ति इयं व आसिनवे नामा ति (D) दुपटिवेखे चु खो एस (E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये

3 (F) इमानि आसिनवगामीनि नामा ति अथ चंडिये निठूलिये कोधे माने इस्य कालनेन व हकं

4 मा पलिभसयिसं ति (G) एस बाढं देखिये (H) इयं मे हिदतिकाये इयंमन मे पालतिकाये ति

1 **(A) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja** hevaṁ āha **(B)** kayānaṁmeva dekhaṁti iyaṁ me kayāne kaṭe ti **(C)** no mina pāpaṁ

2 dekhaṁti iyaṁ me pāpe kaṭe ti iyaṁ va āsinave nāmā ti **(D)** dupaṭivekhe chu kho esa **(E)** hevaṁ chu kho esa dekhiye

3 **(F)** imāni āsinava-gāmīni[1] nāmā ti atha chaṁḍiye niṭhūliye kodhe māne isya kālanena va hakaṁ

4 mā palibhasayisaṁ ti **(G)** esa bāḍhaṁ dekhiye **(H)** iyaṁ me hidatikāye iyaṁmana me pālatikāye ti

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित (C) लजूका मे

2 बहूसु पानसतसहसेसु जनसि आयत (D) तेसं ये अभिहाले व दंडे व अतपतिये मे कटे किंति लजूक अस्वथ

3 अभीत कंमानि पवतयेवू ति जनस जानपदस हितसुखं उपदहेवू अनुगहिनेवु च (E) सुखीयनदुखीयनं

4 जानिसंति धंमयुतेन च वियोवदिसंति जनं जानपदं किंति हिदतं च पालतं च आलाधयेवू ति (F) लजूका पि लघंति

5 पटिचलितवे मं (G) पुलिसानि पि मे छंदंनानि पटिचलिसंति (H) ते पि च कानि वियोवदिसंति येन मं लजूक चघंति आलाधयितवे

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[1] *āsinave* Bühler.

6 (I) अथा हि पजं वियताये धातिये निसिजितु अस्वथे होति वियत धाति चघति मे पजं सुखं पलिहटवे ति

7 हेवं मम लजूक कट जानपदस हितसुखाये (J) येन एते अभीत अस्वथा संतं अविमन कंमानि पवतयेवू ति

8 एतेन मे लजूकानं अभिहाले व दंडे व अतपतिये कटे (K) इछितविये हि एस किंति वियोहालसमता च सिय दंडसमता च

9 (L) आवा इते पि च मे आवुति बंधनबधानं मुनिसानं तीलितदंडानं पतवधानं तिंनि दिवसानि मे योते दिंने (M) नातिका व कानि

10 निझपयिसंति जीविताये तानं नासंतं व निझपयितवे दानं दाहंति पालतिकं उपवासं व कछंति (N) इछा हि मे हेवं

11 निलुधसि पि कालसि पालतं आलाधयेवू ति (O) जनस च वढति विविधे धंमचलने सयमे दानसविभागे ति

1 (A) **Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja** hevaṁ āha (B) **saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena** me iyaṁ dhaṁma-lipi likhāpita (C) lajūkā me

2 bahūsu pāna-sata-sahasesu janasi āyata (D) tesaṁ ye abhihāle va daṁḍe va ata-patiye me kaṭe kiṁti lajūka asvatha

3 abhīta kaṁmāni pavatayevū ti janasa jānapadasa hita-sukhaṁ upadahevū anugahinevu cha (E) sukhīyana-dukhīyanaṁ

4 jānisaṁti dhaṁma-yutena cha viyovadisaṁti janaṁ jānapadaṁ kiṁti hidataṁ cha pālataṁ cha ālādhayevū ti (F) lajūkā pi laghaṁti

5 paṭichalitave maṁ (G) pulis[ā]ni pi me chhaṁdaṁnāni paṭichalisaṁti (H) te pi cha kāni viyovadisaṁti yena maṁ lajūka chaghaṁti ālādhayitave

6 (I) athā hi pajaṁ viyatāye dhātiye nisijitu asvathe hoti viyata dhāti chaghati me pajaṁ sukhaṁ palihaṭave ti

7 hevaṁ mama lajūka kaṭa jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (J) yena ete abhīta asvathā saṁtaṁ avimana kaṁmāni pavatayevū ti

8 etena me lajūkānaṁ [a]bhihāle va daṁḍe va ata-patiye kaṭe (K) ichhitaviye hi esa kiṁti viyohāla-samatā cha siya daṁḍa-samatā cha

9 (L) āvā ite pi cha me āvuti baṁdhana-badhānaṁ munisānaṁ tīlita-daṁḍānaṁ pata-vadhānaṁ tiṁni divasāni me [yo]te diṁne (M) nātikā va kāni

10 nijhapayisaṁti jīvitāye tānaṁ nāsaṁtaṁ va nijhapayi[tav]e dānaṁ dāhaṁti pālatikaṁ upavāsaṁ va kachhaṁti (N) ichhā hi me hevaṁ

11 niludhasi pi [kālas]i pālataṁ ālādhayevū t[i] (O) janasa cha vaḍhati vividhe dhaṁma-chalane sayame dāna-savibhāge ti

SCALE ONE-SIXTH

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

B.—West Face of Pillar.

1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितस मे इमानि पि
2 जातानि अवध्यानि कटानि सेयथा सुके सालिक अलुने चकवाके हंसे
3 नंदीमुखे गेलाटे जतूक अंबाकपिलिक दुळि अनठिकमछे वेदवेयके
4 गंगापुपुटके संकुजमछे कफटसेयके पंनससे सिमले संडके ओकपिंडे
5 पलसते सेतकपोते गामकपोते सवे चतुपदे ये पटिभोगं नो एति न च खादियति
6 (C) अजका नानि एडका च सूकली च गभिनी व पायमीना व अवध्य पोतके च कानि
7 आसंमासिके (D) वधिकुकुटे नो कटविये (E) तुसे सजीवे नो झापयितविये (F) दावे अनठाये व
8 विहिसाये व नो झापयितविये (G) जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितविये (H) तीसु चातुंमासीसु तिसियं
9 पुंनमासियं तिंनि दिवसानि चावुदसं पंनडसं पटिपदं धुवाये च अनुपोसथं मछे अवध्ये
10 नो पि विकेतविये (I) एतानि येव दिवसानि नागवनसि केवटभोगसि यानि अंनानि पि
11 जीवनिकायानि नो हंतवियानि (J) अठमिपखाये चावुदसाये पंनडसाये तिसाये पुनावसुने
12 तीसु चातुंमासीसु सुदिवसाये गोने नो नीलखितविये अजके एडके सूकले ए वा पि अंने
13 नीलखियति नो नीलखितविये (K) तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुंमासिये चातुंमासि-पखाये अस्वस गोनस
14 लखने नो कटविये (L) यावसडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे एताये अंतलिकाये पंनवीसति
15 बंधनमोखानि कटानि

1 **(A) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja** hevaṁ āha **(B) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitasa** me imāni pi
2 jātāni avadhyāni kaṭāni seyath[ā] suke sālika alune chakavāke haṁse
3 naṁdīmukhe gelāṭe jatūka aṁbā-kapilika duḷi[1] anaṭhika-machhe vedaveyake
4 Gaṁgā-pupuṭake saṁkuja-machhe kaphaṭa-seyake paṁna-sase simale saṁḍake okapiṁḍe

[1] *duḍi* Bühler; but see his *Ind. Pal.*, § 16, C, 41, and Lüders in JRAS, 1911. 1087.

5 palasate seta-kapote gāma-kapote save chatupade ye paṭibhogaṁ no eti na cha khādiyati
6 (C) ajakā nāni eḍakā cha sūkalī cha gabhinī va pāyamīnā va avadhya potake cha kāni
7 āsaṁmāsike (D) vadhi-kukuṭe no kaṭaviye (E) tuse sajīve no jhāpayitaviye (F) dāve anaṭhāye va
8 vihisāye va no jhāpayitaviye (G) jīvena jīve no pusitaviye (H) tīsu chātuṁmāsīsu tisiyaṁ
9 puṁnamāsiyaṁ tiṁni divasāni chāvudasaṁ paṁnaḷasaṁ[1] paṭipadaṁ dhuvāye cha anuposathaṁ machhe avadhye
10 no pi viketaviye (I) etāni yeva divasāni nāga-vanasi kevaṭa-bhogasi yāni aṁnāni pi
11 jīva-nikāyāni no haṁtaviyāni (J) aṭhami-pakhāye chāvudasāye paṁnaḷasāye[2] tisāye punāvasune
12 tīsu chātuṁmāsīsu sudivasāye gone no nīlakhitaviye ajake eḷake[3] sūkale e vā pi aṁne
13 nīlakhiyati no nīlakhitaviye (K) tisāye punāvasune chātuṁmāsiye chātuṁmāsi-pakhāye asvasa gonasa
14 lakhane no kaṭaviye (L) **yāva-saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena** me etāye aṁtalikāye paṁnavīsati
15 baṁdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

1 (A) **देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह** (B) **दुवाळसवसाभिसितेन मे धंमलिपि लिखापित**
2 **लोकस हितसुखाये से तं अपहट तं तं धंमवढि पापोव** (C) **हेवं लोकस**
3 **हितसुखे ति पटिवेखामि अथा इयं नातिसु हेवं पत्यासंनेसु हेवं अपकठेसु**
4 **किंमं कानि सुखं आवहामी ति तथा च विदहामि** (D) **हेमेव सवनिकायेसु पटिवेखामि**
5 (E) **सवपासंडा पि मे पूजित विविधाय पूजाय** (F) **ए चु इयं अतन पचूपगमने**
6 **से मे मोख्यमुते** (G) **सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित**

1 (A) **Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja** hevaṁ āha (B) **duvā[ḷa]s[a-va]sābhisitena**[4] me dhaṁma-lipi likhāpita
2 lokasa hita-sukhāye se taṁ apahaṭa taṁ taṁ dhaṁma-vaḍhi pāpova (C) hevaṁ lokasa
3 hita-sukhe ti paṭivekhāmi athā iyaṁ nātisu hevaṁ patyāsaṁnesu hevaṁ apakaṭhesu
4 kiṁmaṁ kāni sukhaṁ āvahāmī ti tathā cha vidahāmi (D) hemeva sava-nikāyesu paṭivekhāmi
5 (E) sava-pāsaṁḍā pi me pūjita vividhāya pūjāya (F) e chu iyaṁ atana pachūpa-gamane
6 se me mokhya-mute (G) **saḍuvīsati-va[s]ābhisitena** me iyaṁ dhaṁma-lipi likhāpita

[1] *paṁnadasaṁ* Bühler. [2] *paṁnadasāye* Bühler. [3] *eḍake* Bühler.
[4] *duvāḍasa-* Bühler.

V 2 4 6 8 10 12 14 VI 2 4 6

SCALE ONE-SIXTH

V. THE RAMPURVA PILLAR

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

A.—North Face of Pillar.

1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेव आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित (C) हिदतपालते

2 दुसंपटिपादये अंनत अगाय धंमकामताय अगाय पलीखाय अगाय सुसूसाय अगेन भयेन अगेन उसाहेन

3 (D) एस चु खो मम अनुसथिय धंमापेख धंमकामता च सुवे सुवे वढित वढिसति चेव (E) पुलिसा पि मे उकसा च

4 गेवया च मझिमा च अनुविधीयंति संपटिपादयंति च अलं चपलं समादपयितवे (F) हेमेव अंतमहामाता पिं (G) एसा हि विधि

5 या इयं धंमेन पालन धंमेन विधाने धंमेन सुखीयन धंमेन गोती ति

1 **(A) Devānaṁpiye P[i]yadasi lāja** heva[1] āha **(B) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena** me iyaṁ dhaṁma-lipi likhāpita **(C)** hidata-pālate

2 dusaṁpaṭipādaye aṁnata agāya dhaṁma-kāmatāya agāya palīkhāya agāya susūsāya agena bhayena agena usāhena

3 **(D)** esa chu kho mama anusathiya dhaṁmāpekha dhaṁma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍhita vaḍhisati cheva **(E)** pulisā pi me ukasā cha

4 gevayā cha majhimā cha anuvidhīyaṁti saṁpaṭipādayaṁti cha alaṁ chapalaṁ samādapayitave **(F)** hemeva aṁta-mahāmātā pi **(G)** esā hi vidhi

5 yā iyaṁ dhaṁmena pālana dhaṁmena vidhāne dha[ṁ]m[e]na sukhīyana dhaṁmena gotī ti

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) धंमे साधु कियं चु धंमे ति (C) अपासिनवे बहु कयाने दय दाने सचे सोचेये ति (D) चखुदाने पि मे

2 बहुविधे दिंने (E) दुपदचतुपदेसु पखिवालिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहे कटे आ पानदखिनाये (F) अंनानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि कटानि

3 (G) एताये मे अठाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित हेवं अनुपटिपजंतु चिलंथितीका च होतू ति (H) ये च हेवं संपटिपजिसति से सुकटं कछती ति

1 **(A) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja** hevaṁ āha **(B)** dhaṁme sādhu kiyaṁ chu dhaṁme ti **(C)** apāsinave bahu kayāne daya dāne sache socheye ti **(D)** chakhu-dāne pi me

[1] *hevaṁ* Bühler.

2 bahuvidhe diṁne (E) dupada-chatupadesu pakhi-vālichalesu vividhe me anugahe kaṭe ā pāna-dakhināye (F) aṁnāni pi cha me bahūni kayānāni kaṭāni

3 (G) etāye me aṭhāye iyaṁ dhaṁma-lipi likhāpita hevaṁ anupaṭipajaṁtu chilaṁ-thitīkā cha hotū ti (H) ye cha hevaṁ saṁpaṭipajisati se sukaṭaṁ kachhatī ti

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) कयानंमेव देखंति इयं मे कयाने कटे ति (C) नो मिन पापं देखंति इयं मे पापे कटे ति

2 इयं व आसिनवे नामा ति (D) दुपटिवेखे चु खो एस (E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये (F) इमानि आसिनवगामीनि नामा ति अथ चंडिये निठूलिये

3 कोधे माने इस्य कालनेन व हकं मा पलिभसयिसं (G) एस बाढं देखिये (H) इयं मे हिदतिकाये इयंमन मे पालतिकाये ति

1 (A) **Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja** hevaṁ aha (B) kayānaṁmeva dekhaṁti iyaṁ me kayāne kaṭe ti (C) no mina pāpaṁ dekhaṁti iyaṁ me pāpe kaṭe ti

2 iyaṁ va āsinave nāmā ti (D) dupaṭivekhe chu kho esa (E) hevaṁ chu kho esa dekhiye (F) imāni āsinava-gāmīni nāmā ti atha chaṁḍiye niṭhūliye

3 kodhe māne isya kālanena va hakaṁ mā palibhasayisaṁ (G) esa bāḍhaṁ dekhiye (H) iyaṁ me hidatikāye iyaṁmana me pālatikāye ti

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित (C) लजूका मे बहूसु पानसतसहसेसु

2 जनसि आयत (D) तेसं ये अभिहले व दंडे व अतपतिये मे कटे किंति लजूक अस्वथ अभीत कंमानि पवतयेवू ति जनस जानपदस

3 हितसुखं उपदहेवु अनुगहिनेवु च (E) सुखीयनदुखीयनं जानिसंति धंमयुतेन च वियोवदिसंति जनं जानपदं किंति हिदतं च पालतं च

4 आलाधयेवू ति (F) लजूका पि लघंति पटिचलितवे मं (G) पुलिसानि पि मे छंदंनानि पटिचलिसंति (H) ते पि च कानि वियोवदिसंति येन मं लजूक

5 चघंति आलाधयितवे (I) अथा हि पजं वियताये धातिये निसिजितु अस्वथे होति वियत धाति चघति मे पजं सुखं पलिहटवे ति हेवं मम लजूक कट

6 जानपदस हितसुखाये (J) येन एते अभीत अस्वथा संतं अविमन कंमानि पवतयेवू ति एतेन मे लजूकानं अभिहाले व दंडे व अतपतिये कटे

7 (K) इछितविये हि एस किंति वियोहालसमता च सिय दंडसमता च (L) आवा इते पि च मे आवुति बंधनबधानं मुनिसानं तीलितदंडानं पतवधानं

I
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4
II
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III
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IV
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4
6
8

SCALE ONE-SIXTH

8 तिंनि दिवसानि मे योते दिंने (M) नातिका व कानि निझपयिसंति जीविताये तानं नासंतं व निझपयितवे दानं दाहंति पालतिकं उपवासं व कछंति

9 (N) इछा हि मे हेवं निलुधसि पि कालसि पालतं आलाधयेवू ति (O) जनस च वढति विविधे धंमचलने सयमे दानसविभागे ति

1 (A) **Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja** hevaṁ āha (B) **saduvīsati-vasābhisitena** me iyaṁ dhaṁma-lipi likhāpita (C) lajūkā me bahūsu pāna-sata-sahasesu

2 janasi āyata (D) tesaṁ ye abhihale[1] va daṁḍe va ata-patiye me kaṭe kiṁti lajūka asvatha abhīta kaṁmāni pavatayevū ti janasa jānapadasa

3 hita-sukhaṁ upadahevu anugahinevu cha (E) sukhīyana-dukhīyanaṁ jānisaṁti dhaṁma-yutena cha viyovadisaṁti janaṁ jānapadaṁ kiṁti hidataṁ cha pālataṁ cha

4 āladhayevū ti (F) lajūkā pi laghaṁti paṭichalitave maṁ (G) pulisāni pi me chhaṁdaṁnāni paṭichalisaṁti (H) te pi cha kāni viyovadisaṁti yena maṁ lajūka

5 chaghaṁti āladhayitave (I) athā hi pajaṁ viyatāye dhātiye nisijitu asvathe hoti viyata dhāti chaghati me pajaṁ sukhaṁ palihaṭave ti hevaṁ mama lajūka kaṭa

6 jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (J) yena ete abhīta asvathā saṁtaṁ avimana kaṁmāni pavatayevū ti etena me lajūkānaṁ abhihāle va daṁḍe va ata-patiye kaṭe

7 (K) ichhitaviye hi esa ki[ṁ]ti[2] viyohāla-samatā cha siya daṁḍa-samatā cha (L) āvā ite pi cha me āvuti baṁdhana-badhānaṁ munisānaṁ tīlita-daṁḍānaṁ pata-vadhānaṁ

8 tiṁni divasāni me [y]ote diṁne (M) nātikā va kāni nijhapayisaṁti jīvitāye tānaṁ nāsaṁtaṁ va nijhapayitave dānaṁ dāhaṁti pālatikaṁ upavāsaṁ va kachhaṁti

9 (N) ichhā hi me hevaṁ niludhasi pi kālasi pālataṁ āladhayevū ti (O) janasa cha vaḍhati vividhe dhaṁma-chalane sayame dāna-savibhāge ti

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

B.—South Face of Pillar.

1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इमानि पि जातानि अवध्यानि कटानि सेयथ

2 सुके सालिक अलुने चकवाके हंसे नंदीमुखे गेलाटे जतूक अंबाकपिलिक दुळि अनठिकमछे वेदवेयके

3 गंगापुपुटके संकुजमछे कफटसेयके पंनससे सिमले संडके ओकपिंडे पलसते सेतकपोते

4 गामकपोते सवे चतुपदे ये पटिभोगं नो एति न च खादियति (C) अजका नानि एळका च सूकली च गभिनी व

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[1] Read *abhihāle*.

[2] *kīti* Bühler.

5 पायमीना व अवध्य पोतके च कानि आसंमासिके (D) वधिकुकुटे नो कटविये (E) तुसे सजीवे नो झापयितविये

6 (F) दावे अनठाये व विहिसाये व नो झापयितविये (G) जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितविये (H) तीसु चातुंमासीसु तिस्यं पुंनमासियं

7 तिंनि दिवसानि चावुदसं पंनडसं पटिपदं धुवाये च अनुपोसथं मछे अवध्ये नो पि विकेतविये (I) एतानि येव

8 दिवसानि नागवनसि केवटभोगसि यानि अंनानि पि जीवनिकायानि नो हंतवियानि (J) अठमिपखाये चावुदसाये

9 पंनडसाये तिसाये पुनावसुने तीसु चातुंमासीसु सुदिवसाये गोने नो निलखितविये अजके एळके सूकले

10 ए वा पि अंने नीलखियति नो नीलखितविये (K) तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुंमासिये चातुंमासिपखाये अस्वस गोनस

11 लखने नो कटविये (L) यावसडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे एताये अंतलिकाये पंनवीसति बंधनमोखानि कटानि

1 (A) **Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja** hevaṁ āha (B) **saḍuvīsati-[va]sābhisitena** me imāni pi jātāni avadhyāni kaṭāni seyatha

2 suke sālika alune chakavāke haṁse naṁdīmukhe gelāṭe jatūka aṁbā-kapilika duḷi anaṭhika-machhe vedaveyake

3 Gaṁgā-pupuṭake saṁkuja-machhe kaphaṭa-seyake paṁna-sase simale saṁḍake okapiṁḍe palasate seta-kapote

4 gāma-kapote save chatupade ye paṭibhogaṁ no eti na cha khādiyati (C) ajakā nāni eḷakā cha sūkalī cha gabhinī va

5 pāyamīnā va avadhya potake cha kāni āsaṁmāsike (D) vadhi-kukuṭe no kaṭaviye (E) tuse sajīve no jhāpayitaviye

6 (F) dāve anaṭhāye va vihisāye va no jhāpayitaviye (G) jīvena jīve no pusitaviye (H) tīsu chātuṁmā[s]īsu tisyaṁ puṁnamāsiyaṁ

7 tiṁni divasāni chāvudasaṁ paṁnaḍasaṁ paṭipadaṁ dhuvāye cha anuposathaṁ machhe avadhye no pi viketaviye (I) etāni yeva

8 divasāni nāga-vanasi kevaṭa-bhogasi yāni aṁnāni pi jīva-nikāyāni no haṁtaviyāni (J) aṭhami-pakhāye chāvudasāye

9 paṁnaḍasāye tisāye punāvasune tīsu chātuṁmāsīsu sudivasāye gone no nilakhitaviye ajake eḷake sūkale

10 e vā pi aṁne nīlakhiyati no nīlakhitaviye (K) tisāye punāvasune chātuṁmāsiye chātuṁmāsi-pakhāye asvasa gonasa

11 lakhane no kaṭaviye (L) **yāva-saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena** me etāye aṁtalikāye paṁnavīsati baṁdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) दुवाडसवसाभिसितेन मे धंमलिपि लिखापित लोकस हितसुखाये से तं अपहट
2 तं तं धंमवढि पापोव (C) हेवं लोकस हितसुखे ति पटिवेखामि अथ इयं नातिसु हेवं पत्यासंनेसु हेवं अपकठेसु किंमं कानि
3 सुखं आवहामी ति तथा च विदहामि (D) हेमेव सवनिकायेसु पटिवेखामि (E) सवपासंडा पि मे पूजित विविधाय पूजाय (F) ए चु इयं
4 अतन पचूपगमने से मे मोख्यमुते (G) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित

1 (A) **Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja** hevaṁ āha (B) duvāḍasa-vasābhisitena me dhaṁma-lipi likhāpita lokasa hita-sukhāye se taṁ apahaṭa
2 taṁ taṁ dhaṁma-vaḍhi pāpova (C) hevaṁ lok[a]sa hita-sukhe ti paṭivekhāmi atha iyaṁ nātisu hevaṁ patyāsaṁnesu hevaṁ apakaṭhesu kiṁmaṁ kāni
3 sukhaṁ āvahāmī ti tathā cha vidahāmi (D) hemeva sava-n[i]kāyesu paṭivekhāmi (E) sava-pāsaṁḍā pi me pūjita vividhāya pūjāya (F) e chu iyaṁ
4 atana pachūpagamane se me mokhya-mute (G) **saḍuvīsat[i]-vasābhisitena** me iyaṁ dhaṁma-lipi likhāpita

VI. THE ALLAHABAD-KOSAM PILLAR

A. THE SIX FIRST PILLAR-EDICTS

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापिता (C) हिदतपालते दुसंपटिपादये
2 अंनत अगाय धंमकामताय अगाय पलीखाय अगाय सुसूसाया अगेन भयेन अगेन उसाहेन (D) एस चु खो मम अनुसथिया
3 धंमापेखा धंमकामता च सुवे सुवे वढिता वढिसति चेवा (E) पुलिसा पि मे उकसा च गेवया च मझिमा च अनुविधीयंति संपटिपादयंति च
4 अलं चपलं समादपयितवे (F) हेंमेव अंतमहामाता पि (G) एसा हि विधि या इयं धंमेन पालना धंमेन विधाने धंमेन सुखीयना धंमेन गुति ति च

1 (A) **Devānampiye Piyadasī lājā** hevaṁ āhā (B) **saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena** me iyaṁ dhaṁma-lipi likhāpitā (C) hidata-pālate dusaṁpaṭipāda[y]e
2 aṁnata agāya dhaṁma-kāmatāya agāya palīkhāya agāya susūsāyā agena bhayena a[g]ena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathi[y]ā

3 dhaṁmāpekhā dhaṁma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍhitā vaḍhisati ch[e]vā (**E**) pulisā pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha anuvidhīyaṁti saṁpaṭipādayaṁti cha
4 alaṁ chapalaṁ samādapayitave (**F**) heṁmeva[1] aṁta-mahāmātā pi (**G**) esā hi vidhi yā [i]yaṁ dhaṁmena pālanā dhaṁmena vidhāne dhaṁmena sukhīyanā dhaṁmena [gut]i [ti[2] cha][3]

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) धंमे साधु कियं चु धंमे ति (C) अपासिनवे बहु कयाने दया दाने सचे सोचये (D) चखुदाने पि मे
2 बहुविधे दिंने (E) दुपदचतुपदेसु पखिवालिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहें कटे आ पानदखिनाये (F) अंनानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि कटानि
3 (G) एताये मे अठाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखापिता हेवं अनुपटिपजंतु चिलठितीका च होतू ति (H) ये च हेवं संपटिपजिसति से सुकटं कछती ति

1 (**A**) **Devānaṁpiye Piyadasī lājā** hevaṁ āhā (**B**) dhaṁme sādhu kiyaṁ chu dhaṁme ti (**C**) apāsinave bahu kayāne dayā dāne sache sochaye (**D**) chakhu-dāne pi me
2 bahuvidhe diṁne (**E**) dupada-chatupadesu[4] pakhi-vālichalesu vividhe me anugahe kaṭe ā pāna-dakhināye (**F**) aṁnāni pi cha me bahūni[5] kayānāni kaṭāni
3 (**G**) etāye me aṭhāye iyaṁ dhaṁma-lipi likhāpitā hevaṁ anupaṭipajaṁtu chila-ṭhitīkā cha hotū ti (**H**) ye cha hevaṁ saṁpaṭipajisati se sukaṭaṁ kachhatī ti

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) कयानमेव देखति इयं मे कयाने कटे ति (C) नो मिन पापकं देखति इयं मे पापके कटे ति इयं वा आसिनवे नामा ति

. . . .

1 (**A**) **Devānaṁpiye Piyadasī lājā** hevaṁ āhā (**B**) kayānameva dekhati iyaṁ me kayāne kaṭe ti (**C**) no mina pāpakaṁ dekhati iyaṁ me pāpake kaṭe ti iyaṁ vā āsinave nāmā ti

. . . .

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[1] *hemeva* Bühler.
[2] As remarked by Fleet (IA, 13. 310, note), the vowel *i* is attached before, not after the *t*.
[3] *chu* Bühler.
[4] The apparent Anusvāra after *da* of *dupada-* is probably accidental.
[5] *bahuni* Bühler.



SCALE ONE-FIFTH

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

1 .... कानं अभिहाले वा दंडे वा अतपतिये कटे (K) इछितविये हि एस किंति

2 ...... लसमता च सिया दंडसमता च (L) आव इते पि च मे आवुति बंधनबधानं मुनिसानं तीलीतदंडानं पतवधानं तिंनि दिवसानि योते दिंने

3 (M) .... का व कानि निझपयिसंति जीविताये तानं नासंतं वा निझपयिता दानं दाहंति पालतिकं उपवासं वा कछंति

4 (N) .... हि मे हेवं निलुधसि पि कालसि पालतं आलाधयेवु (O) जनस च वढति विविधे धंमचलने सयमे दानसविभागे

1 .... [kānaṁ abhihāle vā daṁḍe vā ata-pa]t[i]y[e kaṭe] (K) [i]chh[i]t[a]v[i]y[e] h[i e]s[a] k[iṁ]t[i][1]

2 ...... la-sama[t]ā cha[2] siyā da[ṁ]ḍa-samatā cha (L) āva[3] ite pi cha me āvuti baṁdhana-badhānaṁ munisānaṁ tīlīta-daṁḍānaṁ pata-vadhānaṁ tiṁni divasāni yote diṁne

3 (M) .... [k]ā va kāni nijhapayisaṁti jīvitāye tānaṁ nāsaṁtaṁ vā nijhapayitā dānaṁ dāhaṁti pālatikaṁ upavāsaṁ vā [ka]chha[ṁ]ti

4 (N) .... [h]i me hevaṁ niludhasi pi kālasi pālataṁ ālādhayev[u] (O) janasa cha vaḍhati vividhe dhaṁma-chalane sayame dāna-savibhāge

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

1 (A) ...... पिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इमानि जातानि अवधियानि कटानि सेयथ सुके सालिका अलुने चकवाके

2 .... नंदीमुखे गेलाटे जतूका अंबाकिपिलिका दुडी अनठिकमछे वेदवेयके गंगापुपुटके संकुजमछे कफट .... के पंनससे सिमले संड ..

3 .... तकपोते गामकपोते सवे चतुपदे ये पटिभोगं नो .... ना .... पायमी ..

4 .... सजीवे नो झाप ....

5 .... नि चावुदसं पंचद ....

6 .... नि ....

7 ....

8 लखने नो कटविये (L) या ....

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[1] Bühler omitted this line. [2] *chā* Bühler. [3] *ava* Bühler.

1 (A) . . . . . . [p]iye **Piyadasī lājā** hevaṁ āhā (B) **saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena** me imāni jātāni avadhiyāni kaṭāni seyatha suke sālikā alune chaka[v]āke

2 . . . . [naṁdī]m[u]khe gelāṭe jatūk[ā][1] aṁbā-kipilikā duḍī[2] anaṭhika-machhe[3] vedaveyake Gaṁgā-p[u]p[u]ṭake saṁkuja-machhe kaphaṭa . . . . k[e] p[a]ṁna-sase simale saṁḍa . .

3 . . . . [ta]-kapote gāma-kapote sa[v]e chatu[pa]de ye paṭ[i]bhogaṁ [no] . . . . nā . . . . [p]ā[ya]mī . .

4 . . . . sajīve no jhā[pa] . . . .

5 . . . . [n]i chā[v]u[da]saṁ [pa]ṁcha[da] . . . .

6 . . . . [n]i . . . .

7 . . . .

8 [lakha]n[e no kaṭaviye] (L) [y]ā . . . .

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

1 (A) · · · · · · पिये पियदसी ला · · · · · · · · · · · तं · · · · · · · · · ढि पा · · · · (C) हेवं लोकस

2 हितसुखे ति पटिवेखामि अथ इयं · · · · · · · · · वं पत्यासंनेसु हेवं अपकठेसु किमं कानि · · · · · · · · · · · विदहामि (D) हेवंमेव सव · · कायेसु पटिवेखामि

3 (E) सवपासंडा पि मे पूजिता विविधाय पूजाया (F) ए चु इयं अतना पचुपगमने से मे मुख्यमुते (G) · · · · · · · · · · · लिपी लिखापिता ति

1 (A) . . . . . . [p]iye [P]iyada[s]ī l[ā] . . . . t[aṁ] . . . . [ḍh]i [pā] . . . . (C) heva[ṁ lokasa]

2 hita-sukhe ti paṭivekhāmi atha [iya]ṁ . . . . [va]ṁ [paty]āsa[ṁ]ne[su heva]ṁ apaka[ṭh]e[su] kimaṁ [k]ā[ni] . . . . [v]i[dah]āmi (D) hevaṁmeva [sa]va . . [k]āyesu paṭivekhāmi

3 (E) [sa]va-pāsaṁḍā pi me pūjitā vividhāya [pū]jāyā (F) e chu iy[a]ṁ atanā pachupagamane se me mukhya-mute (G) . . . . lipī[4] likhāpitā ti

B. QUEEN'S PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

1 (A) देवानंपियषा वचनेना सवत महमता

2 वतविया (B) ए हेता दुतियाये देवीये दाने

3 अंबावडिका वा आलमे व दानगहे व ए वा पि अंने

4 कीछि गनीयति ताये देविये षे नानि (C) हेवं · · न · ·

5 दुतीयाये देविये ति तीवलमातु कालुवाकिये

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[1] *jatūke* Bühler. [2] *daḍī* Bühler. [3] *anathika-* Bühler. [4] *lipi* Bühler.



SCALE ONE-FIFTH

1 **(A) Devānaṁpiyashā** v[a]chanenā savata mahamatā[1]
2 vataviyā **(B)** e hetā[2] dutiyāye devīye dāne
3 aṁbā-vaḍikā vā ālame va dāna-[gah]e [va[3] e vā pi a]ṁne
4 kīchhi ganīyati tāye deviye she nāni **(C)** [he]vaṁ . . [na] . .[4]
5 dutīyāye deviye ti **Tīvala**-mātu **Kāluvākiye**

TRANSLATION

(A) At the word of **Dēvānāṁpriya,** the *Mahāmātras* everywhere have to be told (this).

(B) What gifts (have been made) here by the second queen, (viz.) either mango-groves,[5] or gardens, or alms-houses, or whatever else, these[6] (shall) be registered[7] (in the name) of that queen.

(C) This (is) [the request] of the second queen, the mother of **Tīvala,**[8] the **Kāluvākī.**[9]

C. KAUSAMBI PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

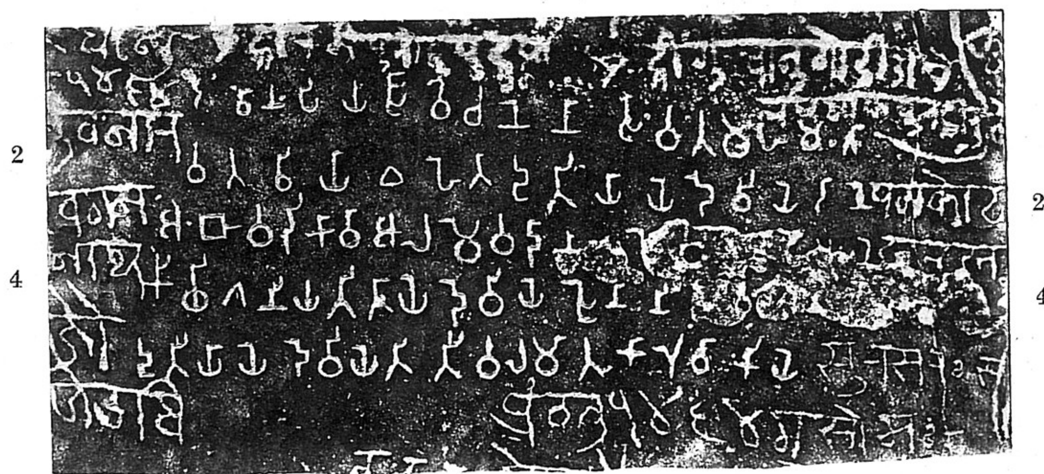
1 (A) देवानंपिये आनपयति (B) कोसंबियं महामात
2 . . . . समगे कटे (D) संघसि नो लहिये
3 . . . . संघं भाखति भिखु वा भिखुनि वा से पि चा
4 ओदातानि दुसानि सनंधापयितु अनावाससि आवासयिये

1 **(A) [Devānaṁ*][p]iye** ānapayati **(B) Kosaṁbiyaṁ**[10] mahām[ā]ta[11]
2 . . . . [sa]ma[ge ka]ṭ[e] **(D)** sa[ṁ]gh[a]si no[12] l[a]hiye[13]
3 . . . . [saṁghaṁ bhā]khati[14] bhikh[u] v[ā][15] bhikh[u]ni[16] vā [se pi] chā[17]
4 [o*]dāt[ā]ni[18] dusāni [sa]naṁdhāpayitu a[nāvā]sas[i[19] ā]v[ā]sayiy[e][20]

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[1] *mahāmatā* Senart and Bühler. [2] *heta* Senart and Bühler.
[3] *vā* Bühler.
[4] Restore perhaps *vinati* (= Skt. *vijñapti*); see JRAS, 1911. 1113.
[5] Cf. above, p. 134, n. 13.
[6] For the pronoun *nāni* see above, p. 127, n. 10.
[7] With *ganīyati* cf. *gaṇana* or *gaṇanā* in the rock-edict III, E.
[8] Bühler (IA, 19. 124) noted that Tīvara occurs (a thousand years after Aśōka) as the name of a king of Kōsala; see Fleet's *Gupta Inscrs.*, p. 293, and EI, 7. 103.
[9] As stated by Bühler (IA, 19. 123), this is probably the name of the queen's family, and it may be connected with the Vēdic *gōtra* of the Kārus.
[10] °*biya* Bühler and Boyer. [11] *mahamāta* Bühler and Boyer.
[12] *na* Bühler and Boyer. [13] *chi ye* Bühler. [14] *bhokhati* Bühler and Boyer.
[15] *va* Bühler. [16] *bhi[khu]nī* Bühler.
[17] [*pa*]*chā* Boyer; Bühler and Boyer add *o* at the end of the line.
[18] The syllable *dā* is missing in my materials, but is visible on the plate in IA, 19. 125.
[19] *āna*[*pe*]*sa* Bühler, *ānāvasasi* Boyer. [20] *avā*° Boyer.

QUEEN'S EDICT



2 4 2 4

KAUSAMBI EDICT



2 4 2 4

SCALE ONE-FIFTH

TRANSLATION

(A) [**Dēvānāṁ**]**priya** commands (thus).

(B) The *Mahāmātras* at **Kōsambī**[1] . . . .

(C) . . . . is made united.[2]

(D) . . . . should not be received[3] into the *Saṁgha.*

(E) And also that monk or nun [who] shall break up the *Saṁgha,*[4] should be caused to put on white robes[5] and to reside[6] in a non-residence.[7]

THIRD PART: MINOR PILLAR-INSCRIPTIONS

I. THE SAMCHI PILLAR

1 . . . .
2 . . या भेत . . (C) . . घे . . . . मगे कटे
3 भिखूनं च भिखुनीनं चा ति पुतप-
4 पोतिके चंदमसूरियिके (D) ये संघं
5 भाखति भिखु वा भिखुनि वा ओदाता-
6 नि दुसानि सनंधापयितु अनावा-
7 ससि वासापेतविये (E) इछा हि मे किं-
8 ति संघे समगे चिलथितीके सिया ति

1 . . . .
2 . . [y]ā[8] bhe[ta] . .[9] (C) . . [gh]e[10] . . . . mage[11] kaṭe
3 [bhi*]khūna[ṁ] cha[12] bhi[khun]īnaṁ ch[ā][13] ti [p]uta-pa-

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[1] This ancient city (*Kauśāmbī* in Sanskrit) corresponds to the modern Kōsam; see Fleet's *Gupta Inscrs.*, p. 2, and EI, 11. 141.

[2] Cf. the Sāṁchī pillar, C.

[3] *lahiye* may be derived from the root *labh*; cf. the gerundive *āvāsayiye* in l. 4 of this inscription, and in l. 5 of the Sārnāth pillar. Boyer (JA (10), 10. 121) connects *lahiye* with the root *rah.*

[4] Venis (JPASB, 3. 3) has identified *bhākhati* with Skt. *bhaṅkshyati.*

[5] Boyer (p. 130) quotes a passage from Buddhaghōsha's *Samantapāsādikā*, in which Aśōka is stated to have given white robes (*setakāni vatthāni*) to the heretical monks whom he expelled; see *Vinaya-piṭaka*, ed. by Oldenberg, vol. III, p. 312, with which Bigandet's *Life or Legend of Gaudama* (4th ed., 2. 139) agrees, and cf. *Dīpavaṁsa*, VII, 53, and *Mahāvaṁsa*, V, 270. The proper colour of the robes of a Buddhist monk is yellow.

[6] *āvāsayiye* is a gerundive formed from the causative *āvāsayati*, and corresponds to Skt. *āvāsya.* Senart (CR, 1907. 28) appears to consider it an optative passive.

[7] i.e. a residence unfit for members of the *Saṁgha.* Venis (JPASB, 3. 3) quoted Buddhaghōsha's explanation of the term *anāvāsa*; see SBE, 17. 388, n. 1.

[8] *y*[*aṁ*] Bühler.

[9] *bhe*[*da*] Boyer. Restore perhaps *bhetave*, as on the Sārnāth pillar, l. 3.

[10] The syllable *ghe* is almost certain; restore *saṁghe.*

[11] Restore *samage*, as in l. 8. [12] [*vā*] Bühler. [13] [*vā*] Bühler, *cha* Boyer.

SAMCHI PILLAR-INSCRIPTION



SCALE ONE-THIRD

4 [po*]tike cham̐[da]m[a-sū]ri[yi]ke[1] (D) ye saṁghaṁ
5 bh[ā]khati[2] bhikhu[3] vā bhikhuni vā odātā-
6 ni dus[ān]i sanaṁ[dhāpay]itu anā[vā]-
7 sasi vā[sā]petaviy[e] (E) ichhā hi me kiṁ-
8 ti saṁghe samage[4] chila-thitīke siyā ti

TRANSLATION

(A) . . . .

(B) . . . . [cannot] be divided.[5]

(C) The *Saṁgha* both of monks and of nuns is made united as long as (my) sons and great-grandsons (shall reign, and) as long as the moon and the sun (shall shine).[6]

(D) The monk or nun who shall break up the *Saṁgha*, must be caused to put on white robes and to reside in a non-residence.[7]

(E) For my desire is that the *Saṁgha* may be united[8] (and) of long duration.

II. THE SARNATH PILLAR

1 (A) देवा . . . .
2 ए ल . . . .
3 पाट . . . . ये केनपि संघे भेतवे (D) ए चुं खो
4 भिखू वा भिखुनि वा संघं भाखति से ओदातानि दुसानि संनंधापयिया आनावाससि
5 आवासयिये (E) हेवं इयं सासने भिखुसंघसि च भिखुनिसंघसि च विंन-पयितविये
6 (F) हेवं देवानंपिये आहा (G) हेदिसा च इका लिपी तुफाकंतिकं हुवाति संसलनसि निखिता
7 इकं च लिपिं हेदिसमेव उपासकानंतिकं निखिपाथ (H) ते पि च उपासका अनुपोसथं यावु
8 एतमेव सासनं विस्वंसयितवे अनुपोसथं च धुवाये इकिके महामाते पोसथाये

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[1] See JRAS, 1911. 167 f.

[2] *bhokhati* Bühler and Boyer.

[3] *bhikhū* Boyer.

[4] *saṁghasa mage* Bühler and Boyer; see JRAS, 1911. 168.

[5] Cf. the Sārnāth pillar, C.

[6] Cf. *putā-papotike chaṁdama-suliyike hotu ti* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, l. 31. Other instances of the Prākṛit affix *-ika* are *vadhanike* and *vejayike* in two Pallava inscriptions and in the Koṇḍamudi plates. See EI, 1. 6, text l. 9; 6. 87, text l. 5 f.; 6. 317, text, l. 8 f.

[7] With this section cf. above, p. 160, n. 4, 5, 7.

[8] Cf. *samaggo hi saṁgho . . . . phāsu viharati* in the *Pātimokkha*, JRAS, 1876. 75, § 10; *sukhā saṁghassa sāmaggī samaggānaṁ tapo sukho* in the *Dhammapada*, verse 194; *saṁgho samaggo hutvāna taddkāsi uposathaṁ* in the *Mahāvaṁsa*, V, 274.

9 याति एतमेव सासनं विस्वंसयितवे आजानितवे च (I) आवते च तुफाकं आहाले
10 सवत विवासयाथ तुफे एतेन वियंजनेन (J) हेमेव सवेसु कोटविषवेसु एतेन
11 वियंजनेन विवासापयाथा

1 (A) **Devā**[1] . . . .
2 e l . . . .
3 **Pāṭa**[2] . . . . ye[3] kenapi saṁghe bhetave (D) e chuṁ kho
4 [bhikh]ū [vā bhikh]uni vā saṁghaṁ bh[ākha]t[i][4] s[e] odātāni dus[ān]i [sa]ṁnaṁdhāpayiyā ānāvāsasi[5]
5 āvāsayiye (E) hevaṁ iyaṁ sāsane bhikhu-saṁghasi cha bhikhuni-saṁghasi cha viṁnapayitaviye
6 (F) hevaṁ **Devānaṁpiye** āhā (G) hedisā cha ikā lipī tuphākaṁtikaṁ huvāti saṁsalanasi nikhitā
7 ikaṁ cha lipiṁ hedisameva upāsakānaṁtikaṁ nikhipātha (H) te pi cha upāsakā anuposathaṁ yāvu
8 etameva sāsanaṁ visvaṁsayitave anuposathaṁ cha dhuvāye ikike mahāmāte posathāye
9 yāti etameva sāsanaṁ visvaṁsayitave ājānitave cha (I) āvate cha tuphākaṁ āhāle
10 savata vivāsayātha tuphe etena viyaṁjanena (J) hemeva savesu koṭa-vishavesu[6] etena
11 viyaṁjanena vivāsāpayāthā

TRANSLATION

(A) **Dēvā[nāṁpriya]** . . . .

(B) . . . . **Pāṭa[liputra]**[7] . . . .

(C) . . . . . the *Saṁgha* [cannot] be divided by any one.[8]

(D) But indeed that monk or nun who shall break up the *Saṁgha*, should be caused to put on[9] white robes and to reside[10] in a non-residence.[11]

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[1] These are the two first syllables of the title *Devānaṁpiya*.

[2] These are probably the two first syllables of the name *Pāṭaliputa*.

[3] Boyer ingeniously restores *na sakiye*.

[4] The correct reading of this word is due to Venis. Vogel and Senart read *bhikhati*, and Boyer *bhokhati*.

[5] The Sāṁchī and Kauśāmbī edicts read *anāvāsasi*.

[6] Venis justly remarked that the second syllable of this word differs from *sa*, and is probably meant for *sha*.

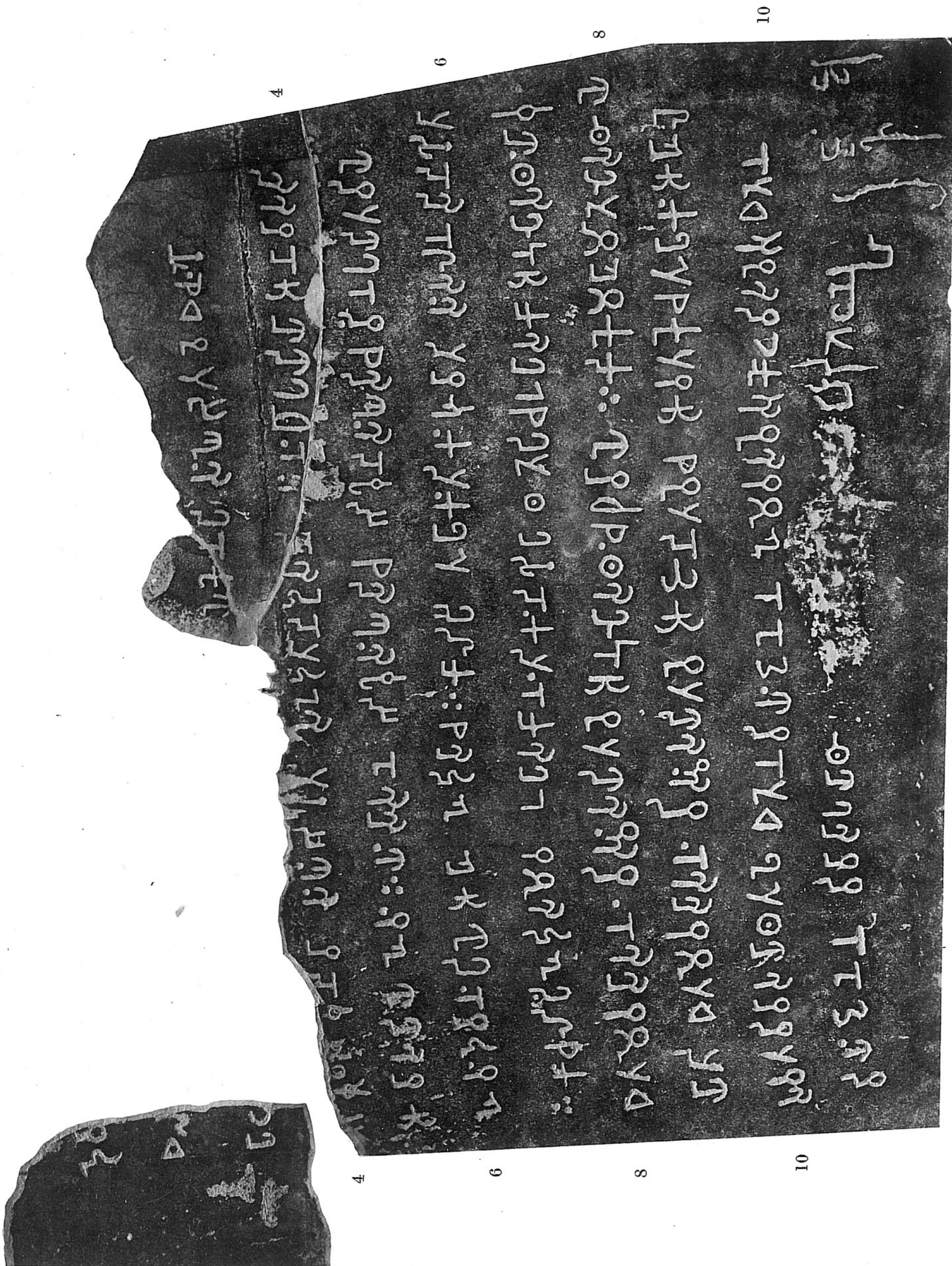
[7] This is the ancient name of the city of Paṭnā, the capital of Chandragupta and Aśōka. It is mentioned also in the Girnār edict V, M. The Sārnāth edict was probably addressed by the king to the *Mahāmātras* at Pāṭaliputra, as the Kauśāmbī edict to the *Mahāmātras* at Kauśāmbī.

[8] With *saṁghe bhetave* cf. *saṁghaṁ bhindati*, 'to cause divisions among the priesthood', in Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *bhindati*; *saṁghaṁ bhinditvā* in the *Jātaka*, vol. IV, p. 200, l. 6; *samaggassa saṁghassa bhedāya* in the *Pātimokkha*, JRAS, 1876. 75, § 10; *Buddha-vachanaṁ bhindiṁsu* in the *Dīpavaṁsa*, VII, 54.

[9] *[sa]ṁnaṁdhāpayiyā*, instead of which the Sāṁchī and Kauśāmbī edicts read *sanaṁdhāpayitu*, corresponds to Skt. *saṁnāhya*; cf. Senart, CR, 1907. 28.

[10] For *āvāsayiye* see above, p. 160, n. 6.

[11] See above, p. 160, n. 7.



SCALE ONE-THIRD

(E) Thus this edict must be submitted both to the *Saṁgha* of monks and to the *Saṁgha* of nuns.

(F) Thus speaks **Dēvānāṁpriya:**

(G) Let one copy of this (edict)[1] remain[2] with you[3] deposited[4] in (your) office;[5] and[6] deposit ye another copy of this very (edict) with the lay-worshippers.

(H) These lay-worshippers may come on every fast-day (*posatha*)[7] in order to be inspired with confidence in this very edict;[8] and invariably on every fast-day,[9] every *Mahāmātra* (will) come to the fast-day (service) in order to be inspired with confidence in this very edict and to understand (it).[10]

(I) And as far as your district[11] (extends), dispatch ye (an officer)[12] everywhere according to the letter of this (edict).[13]

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[1] Literally: 'one writing of this description.'

[2] Senart (CR, 1907. 30) explains *huvāti* as a subjunctive.

[3] As remarked by Vogel (EI, 8. 170), *tuphākaṁtikaṁ* stands for *tuphākaṁ aṁtikaṁ*, and *upāsakānaṁtikaṁ* in l. 7 for *upāsakānaṁ aṁtikaṁ*. Cf. E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 64, and Geiger's *Pāli*, § 71.

[4] Venis (JPASB, 3. 2) translated *ni-kship* by 'inscribing'. Cf. the *Raghuvaṁśa*, VII, 65, where Mallinātha explains *nikshēpita* by *lēkhita*, and *ṇikkhitta-vaṇṇaṁ* in the *Śākuntala*, ed. by Cappeller, p. 32, l. 16. But as the word *nikhitā* is placed after *saṁsalanasi*, and *nikhipātha* in the next sentence after *upāsakānaṁtikaṁ*, it is more natural to take *ni-kship* in the sense of 'depositing'.

[5] Senart (CR, 1907. 30 ff.) is probably right in considering *saṁsalana* (= Skt. *saṁsaraṇa*) the designation of some locality. Venis (JPASB, 3. 4) translated it by 'place of assembly'.

[6] As remarked by Senart (CR, 1907. 30), the double *cha* in *hedisā cha ikā lipī* and *ikaṁ cha lipiṁ hedisameva* co-ordinates the two sentences. The same is the case in the next section, where the *cha* after *te pi* corresponds to the *cha* after *anuposathaṁ* in l. 8. Cf. also above, p. 47, n. 9.

[7] In the form *posatha*, which occurs also in the *Jātaka* (ZDMG, 48. 63), the initial *u* of Skt. *upavasatha* has been dropped. Cf. *posaha* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 141, and the artificial form *pōshadha* (Böhtlingk's two dictionaries, s. v.) in the language of the Northern Buddhists.

[8] With *visvaṁsayitave* cf. *asvāsa[n]iyā* in the Jaugaḍa separate edict II, section J.

[9] Cf. above, p. 128, n. 3.

[10] Sections E to H do not add anything new to the king's order, of which two other specimens are preserved at Sāṁchī and Allahabad, but provide merely for the proper circulation of the edict among all the parties concerned. This the king tries to ensure (1) by communicating his edict to the monks and nuns, whom it chiefly concerns, and (2) by ordering that one copy of it should be retained by the *Mahāmātras* and another by the lay-worshippers, to be studied by both of them respectively at the fast-day services. The two last sections of the inscription contain further provisions for ensuring a still wider circulation to the king's edict. The preceding paragraphs had arranged for its publicity among the citizens of Pāṭaliputra. In sections I and J the king orders the *Mahāmātras* of Pāṭaliputra to make it known in the district surrounding Pāṭaliputra and in the jungle tracts beyond this district.

[11] Kern pointed out that *āhāla* (spelt *ahāla* at Rūpnāth) corresponds to the well-known territorial term *āhāra*, 'a district'; see EI, 8. 170. The meaning 'food' is excluded here, because the words *tuphākaṁ āhāle* are contrasted with *savesu koṭa-vishavesu* in the next section. For other ancient inscriptions in which the word *āhāra*, 'a district', occurs, see Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* (EI, 10. Appendix), p. 214, s. v.

[12] As Thomas states (JA (10), 15. 517), the usual Pāli equivalent of *vivasati* is *vippavasati*; see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. The verb *vivāsayati* (*vivaseti* in the Rūpnāth edict, l. 5) is the causative, and *vivāsāpayati* in section J a double causative, of *vivasati*. Venis (JPASB, 3. 2) translated *vivāsayati* by 'making known'; but this meaning is not supported by other instances. Thomas (JRAS, 1915. 112) renders it by 'expelling'. But it would be hazardous to assign to it a different meaning from *vivasetaviye* at Rūpnāth. I supply the missing object of the verb from the first separate rock-edict (Dhauli, Z–CC; Jaugaḍa, AA–DD), viz. *mahāmātram*.

[13] Literally: 'by this letter'. The word *vyañjana* is used in Buddhist literature in the sense of

(J) In the same way cause (your subordinates) to dispatch (an officer) according to the letter of this (edict) in all the territories (surrounding) forts.[1]

III. THE RUMMINDEI PILLAR

1 (A) देवानपियेन पियदसिन लाजिन वीसतिवसाभिसितेन
2 अतन आगाच महीयिते हिद बुधे जाते सक्यमुनी ति
3 (B) सिला विगडभी चा कालापित सिलाथभे च उसपापिते
4 हिद भगवं जाते ति (C) लुंमिनिगामे उबलिके कटे
5 अठभागिये च

1 (A) **Devāna[pi]yena Piyadasina lājina vīsati-vasābhisitena**
2 atana āgācha mahīyite hida **Budhe** jāte **Sakyamunī** ti
3 (B) silā vigaḍabhī chā kālāpita silā-thabhe cha usapāpite
4 hida **Bhagavaṁ** jāte ti (C) **Lummini-gāme** ubalike kaṭe
5 aṭha-bhāgiye cha

TRANSLATION

(A) When **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** had been **anointed twenty years,** he came himself and worshipped (this spot), because **the Buddha Śākyamuni** was born here.[2]

(B) (He) both caused to be made a stone bearing a horse (?)[3] and caused a stone pillar to be set up, (in order to show) that **the Blessed one** was born here.[4]

'letter' as opposed to 'sense' (*attha*); see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *vyañjanaṁ*. In the rock-edict III, E, it is coupled with *hetu*, 'reason'. A number of Pāli sentences in which it occurs, were collected by the late Dr. Neumann (ZDMG, 67. 345 f.), who rendered it by 'specification'. Senart (CR, 1907. 36) translates: 'with the text of my instructions', i. e. he takes the instrumentals *etena viyaṁjanena* in the sense of the sociative; cf. Speyer's *Sanskrit Syntax* (Leyden, 1886), § 59.

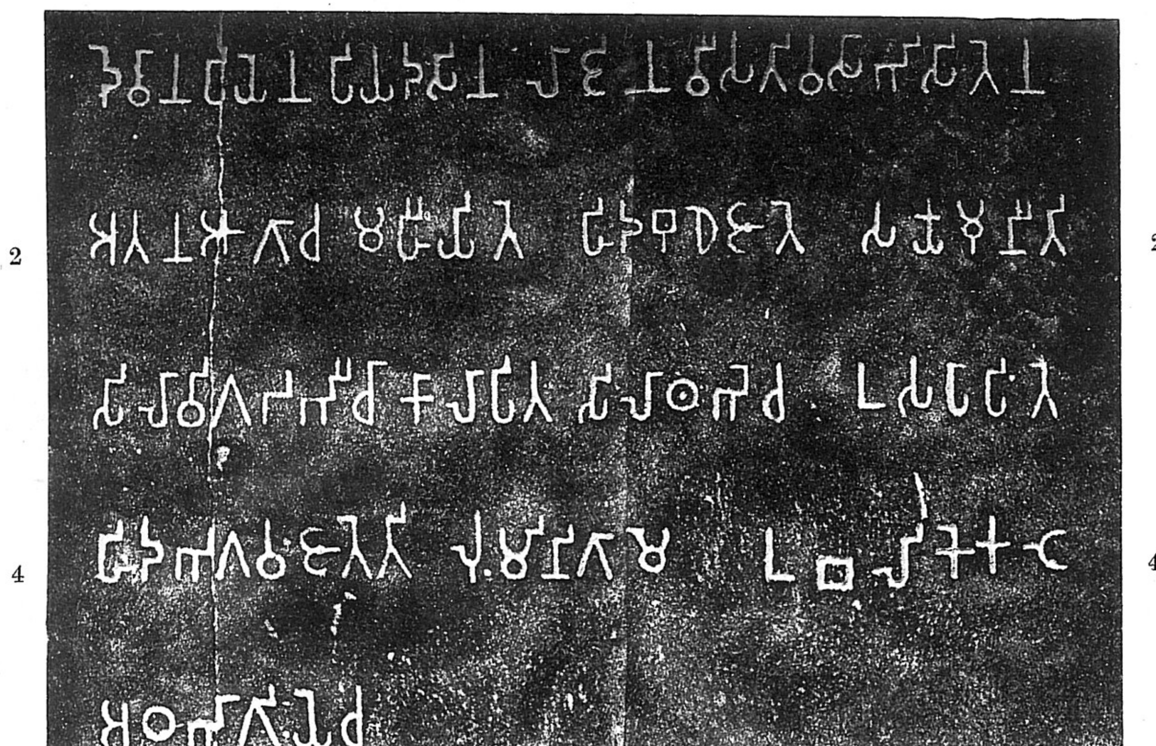
[1] This seems to refer to outlying jungle tracts (perhaps in the Nepalese Tarāī) which were not fully pacified, but were held by means of military posts, such as the 'forests' mentioned in the Shāhbāzgaṛhī edict XIII, M.

[2] In the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* (JRAS, 1876. 241), the Buddha himself is reported to have said: '*āgamissanti kho Ānanda saddhā bhikkhu-bhikkhuniyo upāsaka-upāsikāyo idha Tathāgato jāto ti.*' In accordance with this quotation I connect the words from *hida* to *ti* with section A, while Fleet (JRAS, 1908. 486) joined them to B.

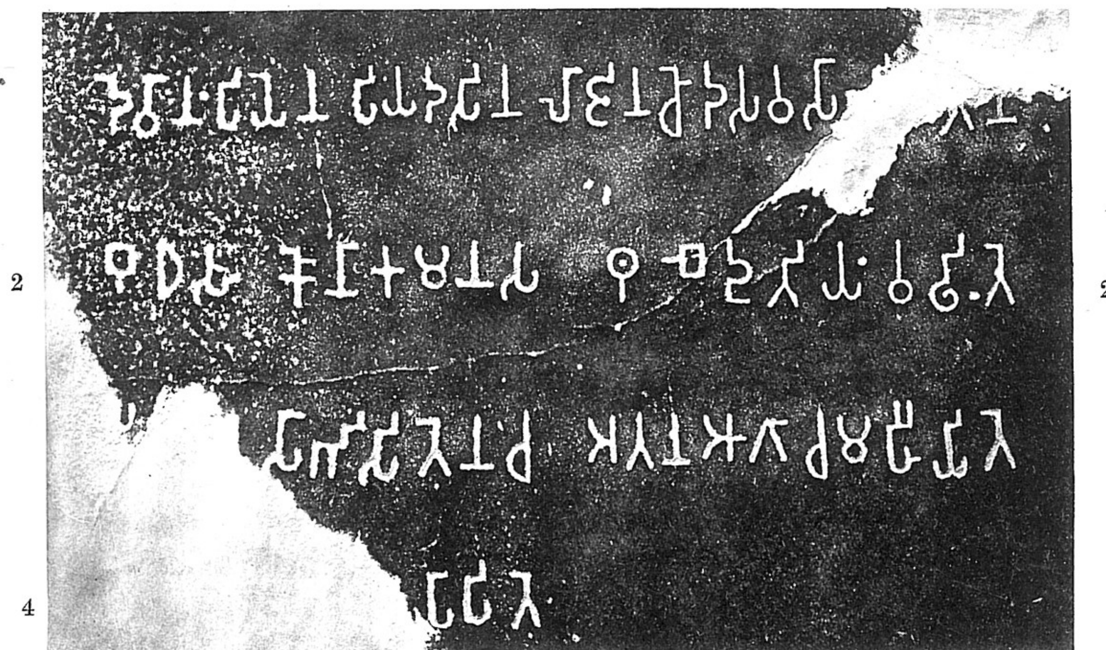
[3] This is Charpentier's explanation of the obscure and much-discussed word *vigaḍabhī*; see IA, 43. 19 f. The syllable *-bhī* might certainly represent Skt. *-bhṛit*; but, that *vigaḍa* means 'a horse', remains to be proved by more substantial evidence. Sir R. Bhandarkar (JBBRAS, 20. 366, n. 14) and Fleet (JRAS, 1908. 477, 823) joined *bhīchā* into one word, and explained it by Skt. **bhittikā*, 'a wall'. As, according to Pischel's *Grammatik*, §§ 49, 219, *vigaḍa* is an Ardhamāgadhī form of Skt. *vikṛita*, *silā-vigaḍa bhīchā* might mean 'a (brick) wall decorated with stone'. But, as Charpentier (IA, 43. 17) remarks, the change of **bhittikā* to *bhīchā* 'is wholly improbable from a linguistic point of view, as consonants were not dropped to such an extent at that early stage of Prākṛit dialects.'

[4] With the words *hida Bhagavaṁ jāte* cf. *Divyāvadāna*, p. 389: '*asmin mahārāja pradēśē Bhagavāñ jātaḥ.*'

RUMMINDEI PILLAR-INSCRIPTION



NIGALI SAGAR PILLAR-INSCRIPTION



SCALE ONE-FOURTH

(C) (He) made **the village of Lummini**[1] free of taxes,[2] and paying (only) an eighth share (of the produce).[3]

IV. THE NIGALI SAGAR PILLAR

1 (A) देवानंपियेन पियदसिन लाजिन चोदसवसाभिसितेन
2 बुधस कोनाकमनस थुबे दुतियं वढिते
3 (B) ········ साभिसितेन च अतन आगाच महीयिते
4 ·········· पापिते

1 **(A) Devānaṁpiyena Piyadasina lājina chodasa-vasā[bh]i[si]t[e]n[a]**
2 **Budhasa Konākamanasa** thube dutiyaṁ vaḍhite
3 **(B)** .... **sābhisitena**[4] cha atana āgācha mahīyite
4 .... pāpite[5]

TRANSLATION

(A) When **king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** had been **anointed fourteen years,** he enlarged the *Stūpa* of **the Buddha Kōnākamana**[6] to the double (of its original size).[7]

(B) And when he had been **anointed [twenty] years,** he came himself and worshipped (this spot) [and] caused [a stone pillar to be set up].

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[1] In the *Nidānakathā* (*Jātaka*, vol. I, pp. 52 and 54), the site of the Buddha's birth is called Lumbini-vana. For other forms of the name see Charpentier in IA, 43. 18. The word Lummini survives in the modern designation Rummindēī; see V. A. Smith in IA, 34. 1.

[2] For *ubalika* = Skt. **udbalika* see Barth, *Journal des Savants*, 1897, p. 73, n. 2; Bühler, EI, 5. 5; Fleet, JRAS, 1908. 478 f.; Sir Charles Lyall, id. 850 f.; and Thomas (id. 1909. 466 f.), who quotes the similar term *uchchhulka* from the *Kauṭilīya.*

[3] The *Divyāvadāna* (p. 390) reports that Aśōka spent at Lumbinī-vana 100,000 (gold pieces). In accordance with this legend, Barth (loc. cit.), Bühler (EI, 5. 5), and Neumann (ZDMG, 68. 721 f.) took *aṭha* = Skt. *artha* and translated *aṭha-bhāgiya* by 'partaking of riches'. Fleet (JRAS, 1908. 479 f.) explained *aṭha-bhāga* by Skt. *ashṭa-bhāga*, 'an eighth share', which the king is permitted by Manu (VII, 130) to levy on grains. In the *Kauṭilīya* (p. 116, l. 2 from bottom) *chaturtha-pañcha-bhāgika* is actually used with the meaning 'paying a fourth or a fifth share (of the produce)'. I therefore agree with Thomas (JRAS, 1914. 391 f.) in believing that *-bhāgiya* must mean 'paying a share', and not, as Fleet thought, 'entitled to a share'. In the case of the village of Lummini, bureaucracy prevailed against charity. For the affix *-iya* (= Skt. *-ika*) see above, p. 124, n. 4.

[4] Bühler restored *vīsati-vasābhisitena*, as on the Rummindēī pillar, l. 1.

[5] Bühler restored *silā-thabhe cha usapāpite* on the strength of l. 3 of the same inscription.

[6] This mythical Buddha is called Kōṇāgamana by the Southern Buddhists (*Konāgamena* at Bharaut; IA, 21. 229, No. 30), and Kanakamuni or Kōnākamuni by the Northern ones; see Kern's *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 64.

[7] With *dutiyaṁ vaḍhite* cf. *diyaḍhiyaṁ vaḍhisati* (or *vaḍhisiti*) at Sahasrām, section I, and in the corresponding sections of the other minor rock-edicts. Previous translators rendered *dutiyaṁ* by 'for the second time'.

FOURTH PART: MINOR ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS

I. THE RUPNATH ROCK-INSCRIPTION

1 (A) देवानंपिये हेवं आहा (B) सातिरकेकानि अढतियानि व य सुमि प्रकास सके (C) नो चु बाढि पकते (D) सातिलेके चु छवछरे य सुमि हकं सघ उपेते

2 बाढि च पकते (E) या इमाय कालाय जंबुदिपसि अमिसा देवा हुसु ते दानि मिसा कटा (F) पकमसि हि एस फले (G) नो च एसा महतता पापोतवे खुदकेन

3 पि पकममिनेना सकिये पिपुले पा स्वगे आरोधेवे (H) एतिय अठाय च सावने कटे खुदका च उडाला च पकमतु ति अता पि च जानंतु इय पकरा व

4 किति चिरठितिके सिया (I) इय हि अठे वढि वढिसिति विपुल च वढिसिति अपलधियेना दियढिय वढिसत (J) इय च अठे पवतिसु लेखापेत वालत (K) हध च अथि

5 सालाठभे सिलाठंभसि लाखापेतवय त (L) एतिना च वयजनेना यावतक तुपक अहाले सवर विवसेतवाय ति (M) व्युठेना सावने कटे (N) २०० ५० ६ स-

6 त विवासा त

1 (A) **Devānaṁpiye** heva[ṁ] āhā (B) **sāti[ra]kekāni**[1] **aḍhati[y]āni va**[2] ya sumi prakāsa [Sa]k[e][3] (C) no chu bāḍhi pakate (D) **sātileke** chu **chhavachhare**[4] ya sumi haka[ṁ] sagh[a] up[e]te

2 bāḍhi ch[a][5] pakate (E) yā[6] [i]māya kāḷāya **Jaṁbudipasi** amisā devā husu te dāni m[i]s[ā] kaṭā (F) pakamasi[7] hi [e]sa phale (G) no cha esā mahatatā p[ā]potave khudakena[8]

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[1] *sāti[le]kāni* Senart and Bühler; read *sātirekāni*.

[2] This seems to be an abbreviation for *vasāni*, which is the reading of the Bairāṭ, Brahmagiri, and Śiddāpura rock-inscriptions.

[3] The first *akshara* of *prakāsa* looks like *pā*; but cf. above, p. 9, l. 10. There is a vacant space after this word. Bühler read *pākā* (which he considered a mistake for *hakā*, i. e. *hakaṁ*) *[sava]ke*. The reading *[Sa]k[e]* was suggested to me by the new Maski rock-inscription, which reads *Bu[dha]-Śake*.

[4] As the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura versions prove, this is a clerical mistake for *savachhare*; see IA, 37. 23, and JRAS, 1910. 145 f.

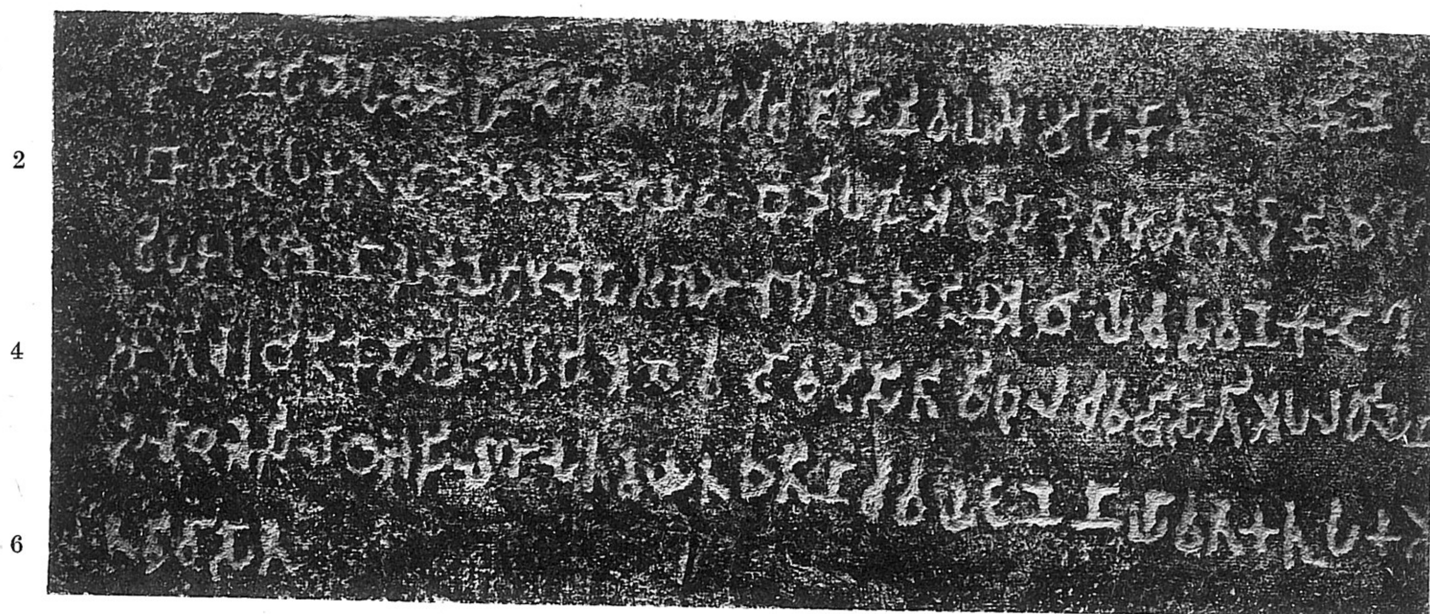
[5] *chu* Bühler.

[6] *y[i]* Bühler.

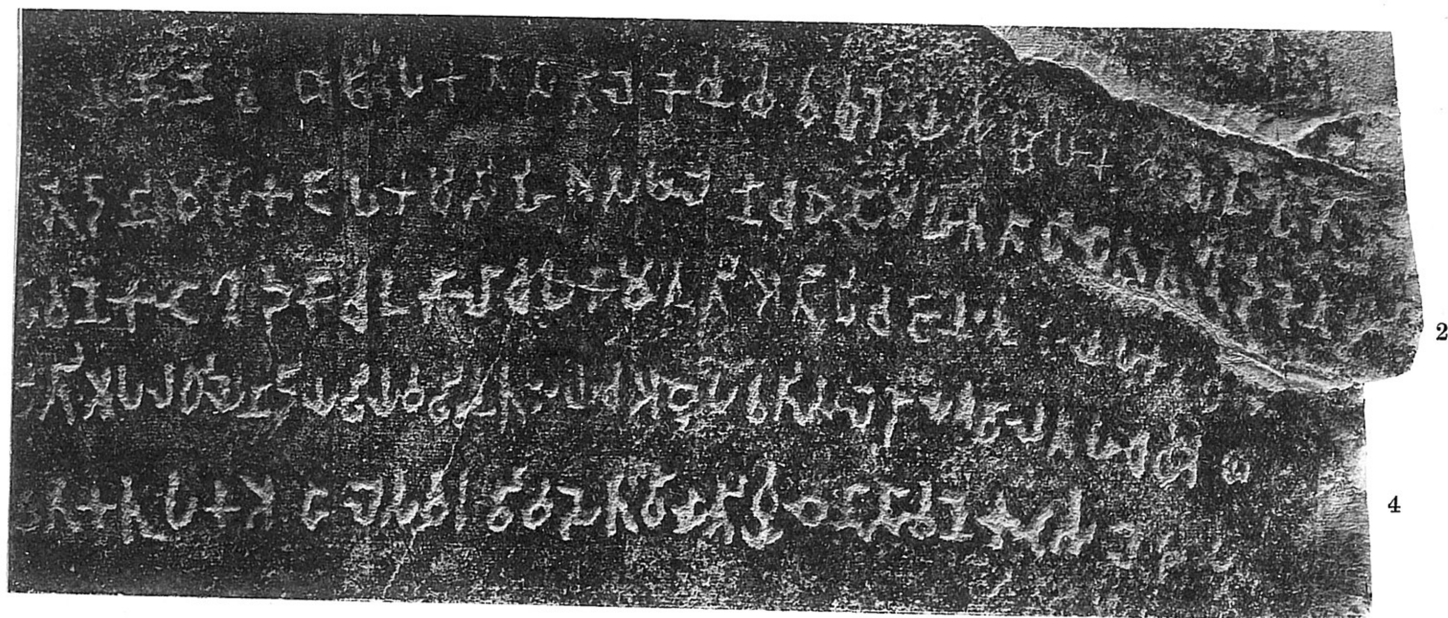
[7] Three other versions of this edict read *pakamasa*.

[8] Senart and Bühler add the two syllables *hi ka*. I believe these are in reality meaningless scratches, beyond the proper area of the inscription.

LEFT HALF



RIGHT HALF



SCALE ONE-FOURTH

3 pi pa[ka]mam[i]nenā[1] sakiye pipule[2] pā[3] svage ārodheve[4] **(H)** etiya aṭhāya cha sāvane kaṭe kh[u]dakā cha uḍālā cha pakamatu[5] ti atā pi cha jānaṁtu iya[6] paka[rā[7] va]

4 kiti chira-ṭhitike siyā **(I)** iya hi aṭhe vaḍhi vaḍhisiti vipula cha vaḍhisiti apalaḍhiyenā diyaḍhiya vaḍhisata[8] **(J)** iya cha aṭhe pavatis[u] lekhāpeta vālata **(K)** hadha[9] cha athi

5 sālā-ṭh[abh]e[10] silā-ṭha[ṁ]bhasi lākhāpetavaya[11] ta[12] **(L)** etinā cha vayajanenā yāvataka tupaka[13] ahāle savara[14] vivasetavā[ya][15] ti **(M)** vy[u]ṭhenā sāvane kaṭe **(N) 200 50 6 sa-**

6 **ta vivāsā ta**[16]

TRANSLATION

(A) **Dēvānāṁpriya** speaks thus.

(B) **Two and a half years**[17] **and somewhat more** (have passed) since I am openly a *Śākya.*[18]

(C) But (I had)[19] not been very zealous.[20]

(D) But a **year and somewhat more** (has passed) since I have visited[21] the *Saṁgha*[22] and have been very zealous.

---

[1] *parumaminena* Bühler.

[2] Read *vipule.*

[3] Read *pi*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

[4] *ārodhave* Bühler; read *ārādhe[ta*]ve.*

[5] *pakamaṁtu* Senart and Bühler.

[6] *iyaṁ* Senart and Bühler.

[7] Senart proposes to read *pakame*; cf. the Śiddāpura and Sahasrām rock-inscriptions.

[8] Read *vaḍhisiti.*

[9] Bühler and Senart correct *hidha.* Instead of it, the context seems to require *yata* (= Skt. *yatra*); but this change would be so violent that it cannot be seriously entertained.

[10] Read *silā-*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler; *-ṭhubhe* Bühler.

[11] Read *likhā°.*

[12] Read *ti.*

[13] Read perhaps *tuphākaṁ*, as on the Sārnāth pillar, l. 9.

[14] Read *savata*, as on the Sārnāth pillar, l. 10.

[15] *°viya* Senart, *°vā[yu]* Bühler; read *vivāsetaviye* and cf. *vivāsayātha* at Sārnāth, l. 10.

[16] Read *ti.*

[17] As was first remarked by Oldenberg (*Vinaya-piṭaka*, Introduction, p. xxxviii, note, and ZDMG, 35. 474, note), *aḍhatiya* is the Pāli *aḍḍhatiya*, 'two and a half'.

[18] Instead of this, the Sahasrām, Bairāṭ, and Śiddāpura versions read *upāsake*, 'a lay-worshipper', but the Maski version reads *Bu[dha]-Śake.* On the Rummindēī pillar the Buddha himself receives his well-known epithet *Śākyamuni.* Varāhamihira uses the tribal name *Śākya* in the sense of 'a Buddhist'; see Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary, s. v. In the *Kauṭilīya* the word *Śākya* has the same meaning; see Shama Sastri's Translation, p. 251, n. 2. As Professor Jolly kindly informs me, the Munich MS. reads शक्याजीवकादीन्, which is meant for शाक्याजीवकादीन्; the *editio princeps* (p. 199, l. 3 f.) has शत्याः । जीवकादीन्.

[19] The word *husaṁ* is inserted in the Mysore versions.

[20] The Mysore versions add 'for one year'. Thomas (JA (10), 15. 515 f.) and Sylvain Lévi (id. 17. 121 f.) take *pakamati* in the sense of 'travelling about'. But the various readings of the Sahasrām and Bairāṭ edicts suggest that *pakamati* has to be understood as a synonym of *palakamati*, 'to exert one's self, to be zealous'; see Fleet's remarks in JRAS, 1909. 993, and cf. the rock-edict VI, L and N, and X, C and E. In section G the participle *pa[ka]mam[i]nenā* (Rūpnāth) or *palakamamīnenā* (Sahasrām) corresponds to *dhama-yute[na]*, 'devoted to morality', at Maski, E.

[21] Bühler translated *up[e]te* by 'entered'; see IA, 6. 156, and EI, 3. 140. I adopt Senart's very cautious rendering, which is more natural and supported by Buddhist tradition; see IA, 20. 234.

[22] i. e. the Buddhist clergy.

(E) Those gods who during that time had been unmingled (with men)[1] in Jambudvīpa,[2] have now been made (by me) mingled (with them).[3]

(F) For this is the fruit of zeal.

(G) And this cannot be reached by (persons of) high rank[4] (alone), (but) even a lowly (person) is able to attain even the great heaven if he is zealous.[5]

(H) And for the following purpose has (this) proclamation been issued,[6] (that) both the lowly and the exalted may be zealous, and (that) even (my) borderers[7] may know (it), (and) that this same zeal may be of long duration.

(I) For, this matter[8] will (be made by me to) progress,[9] and will (be made to) progress considerably; it will (be made to) progress to at least one and a half.[10]

---

[1] Sylvain Lévi (JA (10), 17. 124 f.) first showed that *misā* represents Skt. *miśrāḥ*; but his translation of *devā* by 'kings' is inadmissible. The word *deva* is not used anywhere else in the Aśōka edicts except in the title *Devānaṁpriya*, where it certainly does not mean 'a king', for which the word *rājā* is regularly employed; see JRAS, 1911. 1114. Senart (JA (11), 7. 438 ff.) still upholds Bühler's view that *misā* stands for Skt. *mṛishā*, which is represented by *musā* in Pāli, in Ardhamāgadhī (Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 78), and in the Calcutta-Bairāṭ rock-inscription, l. 6. Granted that this explanation might account for the curious compounds *misaṁ-deva* and *aṁmisaṁ-deva* at Sahasrām,—the nasalized final occurring also in the Ardhamāgadhī form *musaṁ*,—it would create two serious difficulties: (1) the compound *misibhūtā* at Maski would offend against the *Vārttika* on Pāṇini, VII, 4, 32, which prohibits the change of the final *ā* of indeclinables to *ī* (cf. *Mahābhāshya* on I, 1, 41), and (2) it forces Senart (loc. cit., p. 441) to render the words *misā devehi*, 'mingled with the gods', in the Mysore edicts, by '*ont été* (*réduits à apparaître comme*) *faussement* (*mis au nombre*) *des dieux*', and to consider the instrumental *devehi* an ablative partitive (?).

[2] i. e. in India.

[3] As I have shown in JRAS, 1913. 652 f., this enigmatical sentence can be explained by comparing a similar, but more explicit statement in the fourth rock-edict. It refers to certain religious shows at which Aśōka had exhibited to his subjects *in effigie* the gods whose abodes they would be able to reach by the zealous practice of *Dharma*. The word *devā* corresponds to *divyāni rūpāni* in the Girnār edict IV, B.

[4] As the Brahmagiri version suggests, *mahatatā* corresponds to Skt. *mahātmatvāt*.

[5] Cf. the parallel passage in the rock-edict X, E.

[6] Fleet (JRAS, 1909. 1014) and Thomas (JA (10), 15. 510) were of opinion that the few following words: 'let both the lowly and the exalted be zealous' represent the text of an address delivered by Aśōka himself on a previous occasion, and quoted succinctly by him here. But a glance at the parallel passages collected by Thomas himself on the next page (511) will suffice to show that Senart was right in believing that the following words are rather referred to by *etiya aṭhāya*, and that here, as well as in section M, the word 'proclamation' refers to the whole of the Rūpnāth edict itself.

[7] According to the Kālsī and Shāhbāzgaṛhī rock-edict XIII, Q, these borderers were Antiochus II of Syria and four other Greek kings (in the west), and the Chōḍas and Pāṇḍyas in the south. Cf. also the rock-edict II, A, and V, J.

[8] i. e. apparently the subject-matter or contents of Aśōka's proclamation, viz. the Buddhist propaganda; see section J.

[9] With *vaḍhi*[*ṁ**] *vaḍhisiti* cf. *dhaṁma-vaḍhi vaḍhitā* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, JJ and NN.

[10] Cf. above, p. 165, n. 7.

(J) And cause ye this matter[1] to be engraved on rocks where an occasion presents itself.[2]

(K) And (wherever) there are stone pillars here,[3] it must be caused to be engraved on stone pillars.[4]

(L) And according to the letter of this (proclamation)[5] (you) must dispatch (an officer)[6] everywhere, as far as your district[7] (extends).

(M) (This) proclamation was issued by (me) on tour.[8]

(N) 256 (nights)[9] (had then been) spent on tour.[10]

II. THE SAHASRAM ROCK-INSCRIPTION

1 (A) देवानांपिये हेवं आ ··········· -यानि सवछलानिं । अं उपासके सुमि । (C) न चु बाढं पलकंते

2 (D) सवछले साधिके । अं ········ ते (E) एतेन च अंतलेन । जंबुदीपसि । अंमिसंदेवा । संत

---

[1] Instead of the nominative *iya cha aṭhe* we should have expected the accusative *ima cha aṭhaṁ*, as at Sahasrām, l. 7. The nominative would be in its proper place if we adopt Senart's conjecture *lekhāpetaviye ti* for *lekhāpeta vālata*; but this change is so extensive that it must be pronounced doubtful.

[2] Literally: 'in consequence of an occasion' (*vārataḥ*); see JRAS, 1911. 1116.

[3] viz. 'in my territory'. Cf. above, p. 2, n. 3.

[4] Cf. the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, SS.

[5] See above, p. 163, n. 13.

[6] See above, p. 163, n. 12. Fleet (JRAS, 1911. 1106) translated *vivaseti* by 'spending a night in worship'. I have shown that this meaning is rendered improbable by the context of the corresponding passage of the Sārnāth edict; see JRAS, 1912. 1053 ff.

[7] Cf. above, p. 163, n. 11.

[8] Cf. the rock-edict VIII. For the two terms *vyuṭha* and *vivāsa*, which have greatly exercised all earlier interpreters, see now Thomas, JA (10), 15. 512 ff. The instrumental *vy*[*u*]*ṭhenā*, which depends on *sāvane kaṭe*, must refer to Aśōka himself, because the preceding text of the proclamation shows the latter to have been the edict of a king to his officers, who are addressed in the second person plural (*tupaka*, l. 5); see JRAS, 1909. 729. I therefore follow Thomas (IA, 37. 22) in supplying *mayā*.

[9] The three figures '256' were explained by Bühler as a date after the *Nirvāṇa* of the Buddha. Other scholars interpreted them in different ways (see Fleet, JRAS, 1908. 817), until in 1910 (JA (10), 15. 507 ff.) Thomas showed that the Sahasrām version of the Rūpnāth edict combines with them the word *lāti* = Skt. *rātri*, 'a night'. On the (redundant) word *sata*, 'a hundred', see Thomas, ibid., p. 521, and Fleet, JRAS, 1911. 1104, n. 2. Since the publication of Thomas' discovery of the word *lāti* at Sahasrām, the '256 nights' have been discussed by Fleet (JRAS, 1910. 1301 ff., 1911. 1091 ff., and 1913. 655 ff.), Sylvain Lévi (JA (10), 17. 119 ff.), D. R. Bhandarkar (IA, 41. 170 ff.), Neumann (translation of the *Dīgha-nikāya*, 2. 225 f., and *R. Accademia dei Lincei, Rendiconti*, 22. 695 ff.), Thomas himself (JRAS, 1916. 113 ff.), and Senart (JA (11), 7. 434 f.), who takes *lāti* = Skt. *rati*, as at Kālsī, VIII, F.

[10] In JRAS, 1910. 1309, I interpreted the word *vivāsā*, which corresponds to *vivuthā* at Sahasrām, as an ablative singular. But it seems more natural to follow Thomas, who considers it a nominative plural.

3 मुनिसा मिसंदेव कटा । (F) पल · · · · · · · · इयं फले (G) नो · · · · यं महतता व चकिये पावततवे । खुदकेन पि पल-

4 कममीनेना विपुले पि सुअग · · किये आला · · · · · · वे । (H) से एताये अठाये इयं सावाने । खुदका च उडाला चा प-

5 लकमंतु अंता पि च जानंतु । चिलठितीके च पलाकमे होतु । (I) इयं च अठे वढिसति । विपुलं पि च वढिसति

6 दियाढियं अवलधियेना दियढियं वढिसति । (J) इयं च सवने विवुथेन (K) दुवे सपंना लाति-

7 सता विवुथा ति २०० ५० ६ (L) इम च अठं पवतेसु लिखापयाथा (M) य · · वा अ-

8 थि हेता सिलाथंभा तत पि लिखापयथ ति

1 (A) **Devānāṁpiye** he[vaṁ] [[ā]][1] .... [[**iyāni savachhalā**]][[**ni** ı a]ṁ upāsake sumi ı (C) na chu bāḍhaṁ [palaka]ṁ[t]e

2 (D) **sav[a]chhale**[2] **sādhi[ke]** [[ı aṁ]] .... [[te]] (E) [ete][[na cha aṁta]]lena ı **Jaṁbudīpasi** ı aṁmisaṁ-[de]vā[3] ı saṁta[4]

3 munisā [m]isaṁ-deva [[kaṭā ı (F) pala]] .... [[iyaṁ phale (G) [n]o]] .... [[yaṁ]] mahatatā va chakiye pāv[a]t[a]ve ı khudakena pi pala-

4 kamamīnenā vipule pi s[u]ag ... [k]iye[5] [ā][[lā]] ...... [[ve]] [ı] (H) se etāye aṭh[ā]ye iyaṁ sāvāne[6] ı khudakā cha uḍālā chā pa-

5 [la]kamaṁtu aṁtā pi ch[a] jānaṁtu ı chila-ṭhit[īke][7] cha p[a]l[ā]kame[8] hotu ı (I) iya[ṁ] cha [aṭhe] vaḍhisati ı vipulaṁ pi cha vaḍhisati

6 diyāḍhiyaṁ aval[a]dhiyenā diy[a]ḍhiyaṁ vaḍhisati ı (J) iyaṁ [[cha savane]] [v]ivuthena (K) **duve sapaṁnā lāti-**

7 **satā vivuthā ti 200 50 6** (L) ima cha aṭhaṁ pavatesu [l][[ikhā]][[pa]]yāthā (M) ya . .[9] [vā] a-

8 th[i] hetā silā-thaṁ[bh]ā tata pi[10] [likhāpayatha t]i

---

[1] The letters enclosed in double brackets are now broken away, but are still visible on an old photograph of the rock which I owe to the kindness of Sir John Marshall.

[2] The top of *va* is damaged by a slanting cross-line, and there happens to be a faint vertical stroke behind it which gave rise to the imaginary syllable *viṁ* in Cunningham's copy. A later idea of Bühler's (IA, 22. 299), the group *ḍva*, is equally non-existent; as stated by Fleet (JRAS, 1910. 147), it is already impossible because the *ḍa* would then have to stand on the level of the line, but not above it, and the *va* would have to be entered below, but not on the level of the line. These tedious details have to be noted here because the fanciful reading *saḍvachhale*, combined with the actual blunder *chhavachhare* at Rūpnāth, is the starting-point of a (now exploded) theory which has obscured the chronology of Aśōka's inscriptions for a long time.

[3] Read *amisaṁ-*.

[4] *saṁ[tā]* Bühler.

[5] Restore *suage chakiye*.

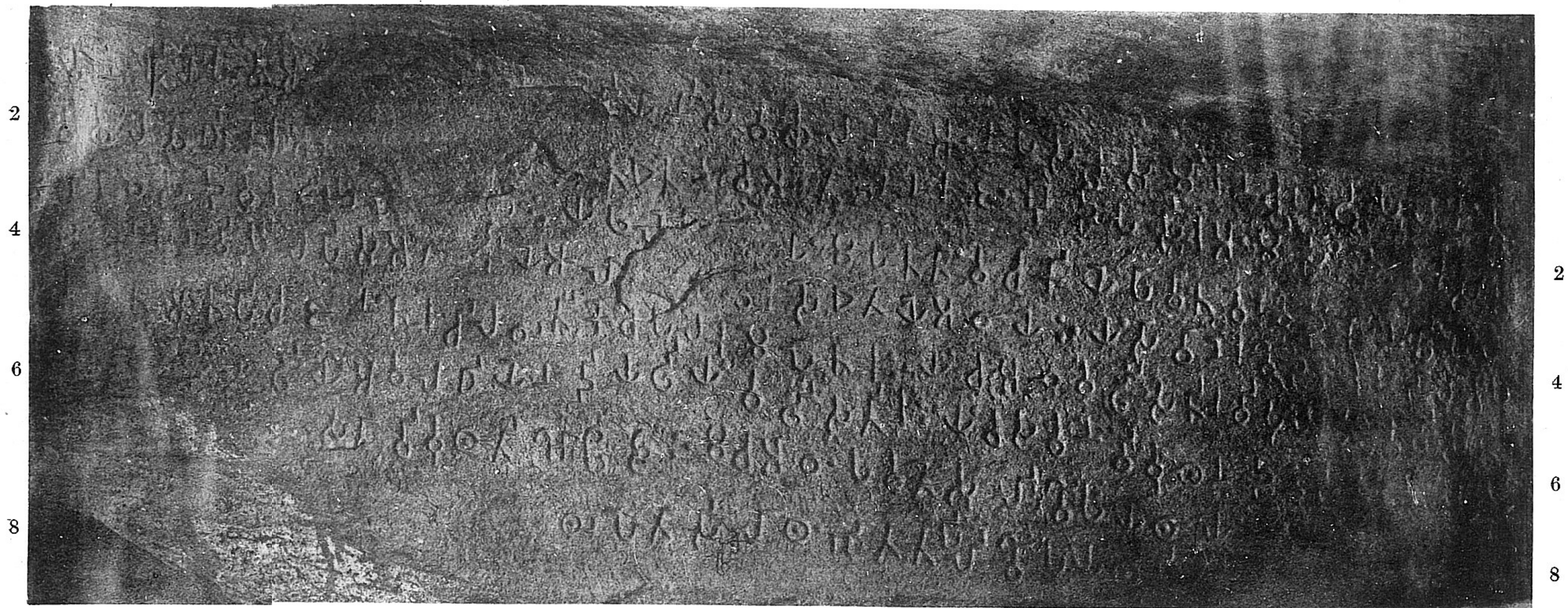
[6] Read *sāvane*.

[7] -[*th*]*itik*. Bühler.

[8] *palakame* Senart and Bühler.

[9] Restore *yata*.

[10] The syllable *pi* was entered above the line.



FROM MR. BEGLAR'S PHOTOGRAPH



FROM AN INKED ESTAMPAGE

SCALE ONE-FOURTH

TRANSLATION

(A) **Dēvānāṁpriya** [speaks] thus.

(B) .... **years** since I am a lay-worshipper (*upāsaka*).

(C) But (I had) not been very zealous.

(D) **A year and somewhat more** (has passed) since ....

(E) And men in **Jambudvīpa,** being during that time unmingled with the gods, have (now) been made (by me) mingled with the gods.

(F) [For] this is the fruit [of zeal].

(G) ..... cannot[1] be reached by (persons of) high rank alone, (but) even a lowly (person) is able to attain even the great heaven if he is zealous.

(H) Now, for the following purpose (has) this proclamation (been issued), (that) both the lowly and the exalted may be zealous, and (that) even (my) borderers may know (it), and (that this) zeal may be of long duration.

(I) And this matter will (be made by me to) progress, and will (be made to) progress even considerably; it will (be made to) progress to one and a half, to at least one and a half.

(J) And this proclamation (was issued by me) on tour.

(K) **Two hundred and fifty-six nights** (had then been) **spent on tour,**[2]—(in figures) **256.**[3]

(L) And cause ye this matter to be engraved on rocks.

(M) And where there are stone pillars here (in my dominions), there also cause (it) to be engraved.

III. THE BAIRAT ROCK-INSCRIPTION

1 (A) देवानांपिये आहा (B) साति ....

2 वसानि य हकं उपासके (C) नो चु बाढं ....

3 अं ममया सघे उपयाते बाढ च ....

4 जंबुदिपसि अमिसा न देवेहि ...... मि .... कमस एस .. ले

5 (G) नो हि एसे महतनेव चकिये .... कममिनेना

6 विपुले पि स्वगे चक्ये आलाधेतवे (H) .... का च उडाला चा
पलकमतु ति

[1] For *chak*, a variant of the root *śak*, see above, p. 97, n. 4.

[2] Thomas (JA (10), 15. 520, note) compares the word *vivuthā* (corresponding to *vivāsā* at Rūpnāth) with *vyushṭam*, a division of time which is mentioned in the *Kauṭilīya*, p. 60, l. 3 from bottom. His suggestion that the latter may have the sense of *νυχθήμερον*, 'a night and a day', is perhaps correct. At any rate, in Aśōka's time both *vivutha* and *vivāsa* apparently meant 'a civil day spent in travelling, an absence of twenty-four hours from headquarters'.

[3] The actual purport of this important passage was cleared up by Thomas (JA (10), 15. 520), who discovered in it the word *lāti*, 'a night', which had escaped the attention of his predecessors for thirty-three years. He pointed out, at the same time, that *pannā* is a recognized Prākṛit form of *pañchāśat*, and that expressions like *dvē shaṭpañchāśe rātri-śatē* are used in archaic Sanskrit as well. Cf. *ekaṁ rattiṁ vippavasati*, 'to spend a night away from home', in Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*, p. 581.

7 अंता पि च जानंतु ति चिलठित .... लं पि वढिसति ....
8 दियढियं वढिसति ....

1 (A) **Devānāṁpiye** āh[ā] (B) s[ā]ti ....
2 **vasān**[i] ya hakaṁ[1] upāsake (C) [no chu] bāḍhaṁ ....
3 aṁ mamayā saghe[2] [u]payāte [bā]ḍha cha ....
4 **Jaṁbudipasi**[3] amisā[4] na devehi ...... [m]i .... [ka]masa esa . . l[e]
5 (G) [no] hi e[s]e ma[ha]taneva chakiye .... kamaminenā
6 vipule pi śvage [cha]kye [ā]lādheta[v]e (H) .... kā cha [u]ḍ[ā]lā chā[5] [pala]kamatu [t]i
7 [aṁ]tā pi cha jānaṁtu ti [ch]ila-ṭhit .... laṁ pi vaḍhisati ....
8 diyaḍhiyaṁ vaḍhi[sa]ti ....

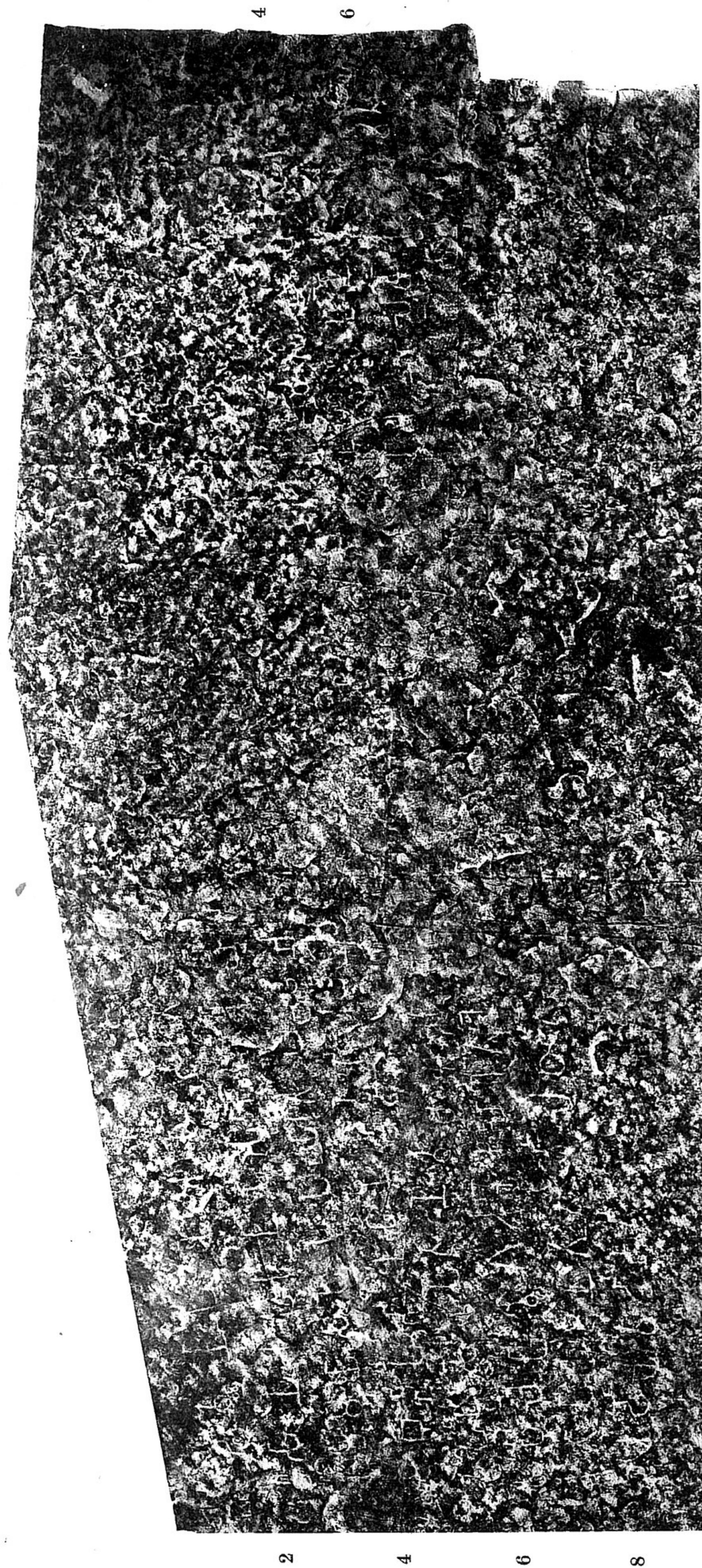
IV. THE CALCUTTA-BAIRAT ROCK-INSCRIPTION

1 (A) प्रियदसि लाजा मागधे संघं अभिवादेतूनं आहा अपाबाधतं च फासु-विहालतं चा
2 (B) विदिते वे भंते आवतके हमा बुधसि धंमसि संघसी ति गालवे चं प्रसादे च (C) ए केचि भंते
3 भगवता बुधेन भासिते सर्वे से सुभासिते वा (D) ए चु खो भंते हमियाये दिसेया हेवं सधंमे
4 चिलठितीके होसती ति अलहामि हकं तं वातवे (E) इमानि भंते धंम-पलियायानि विनयसमुकसे
5 अलियवसाणि अनागतभयानि मुनिगाथा मोनेयसूते उपतिसपसिने ए चा लाघुलो-
6 वादे मुसावादं अधिगिच्य भगवता बुधेन भासिते एतानि भंते धंमपलियायानि इछामि
7 किंति बहुके भिखुपाये चा भिखुनिये चा अभिखिनं सुनेयु चा उपधालयेयू चा
8 (F) हेवंमेवा उपासका चा उपासिका चा (G) एतेनि भंते इमं लिखापयामि अभिप्रेतं मे जानंतू ति

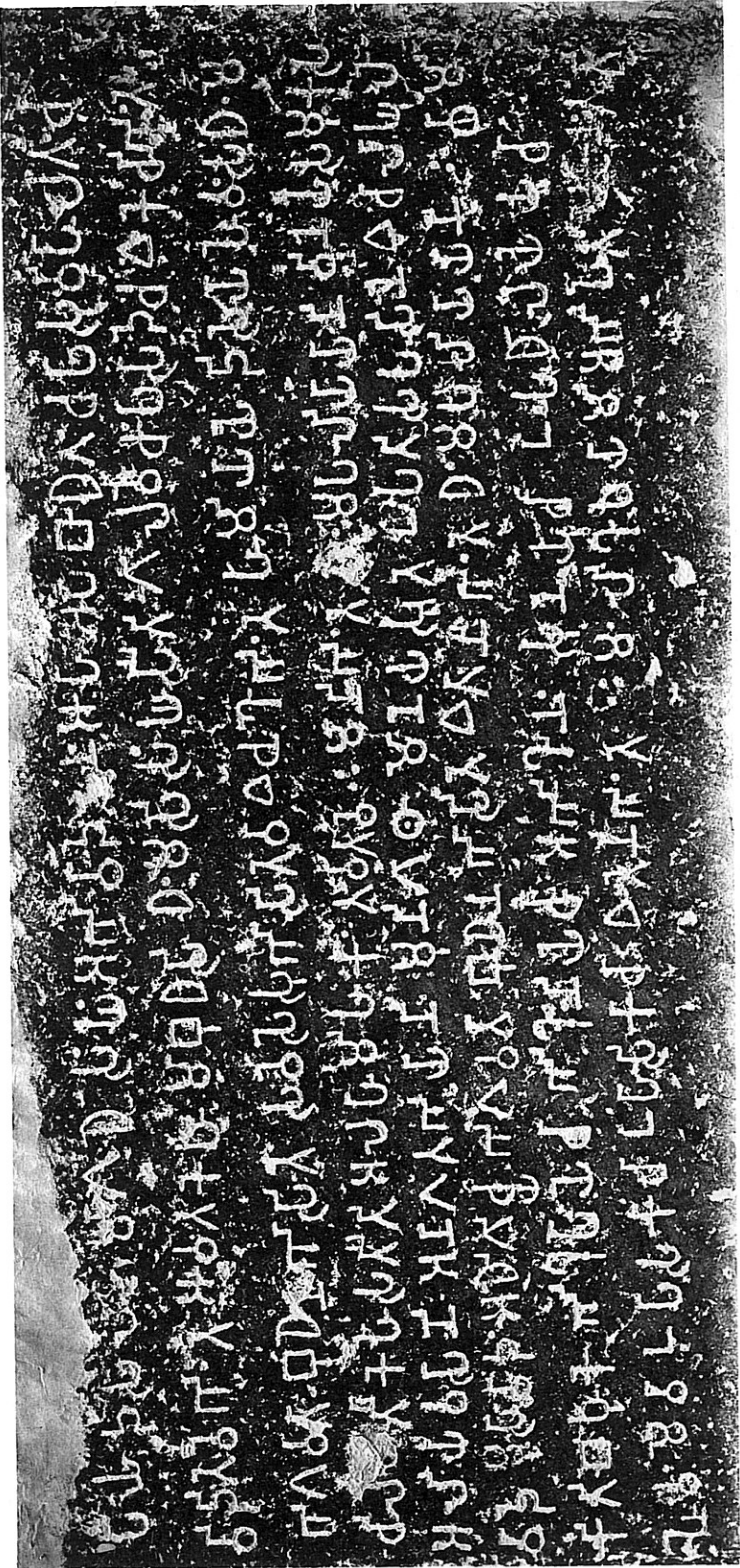
1 (A) **Pr**[i]**yadas**[i][6] l[ā]jā **Māgadhe**[7] saṁghaṁ abhivāde[tū]naṁ[8] āhā ap[ā]bādhataṁ cha phāsu-vihālataṁ chā
2 (B) vidite v[e] bhaṁte āvatake h[a]mā **Budhasi** dhaṁmasi saṁghasī ti gālave[9] chaṁ prasāde[10] cha (C) e kechi[11] bhaṁte

---

[1] *haka* Bühler. [2] *sa*[*ṁ*]*ghe* Bühler. [3] °*dīpasi* Bühler.
[4] The syllable *mi* was entered above the line. [5] *cha* Bühler.
[6] *Piya*° Senart.
[7] *Māgadhaṁ* Senart; but the *e* of *dhe* is quite distinct, and what has been taken for an Anusvāra is in reality a horizontal dash.
[8] *abhivādanaṁ* Senart; but see JRAS, 1909. 727.
[9] *galave* Senart. [10] *pasāde* Senart. [11] *keṁchi* Senart.



SCALE ONE-NINTH



SCALE ONE-FOURTH

3 bhagavatā **Budhe[na]** bhāsite sarve[1] se subhāsite vā **(D)** e chu kho bhaṁte hamiyāye diseyā hevaṁ sadhaṁme

4 chil[a-ṭhi]tīke hosatī ti alahāmi hakaṁ ta[ṁ] v[ā]tave[2] **(E)** imāni bhaṁt[e dha]ṁma-paliyāyāni Vinaya-samukase

5 Aliya-vasāṇi[3] Anāgata-bhayāni Muni-gāthā Moneya-sūte Upatisa-pasine e chā Lāghulo-

6 vāde musā-vādaṁ adhigichya[4] bhagavatā **Budhena** bhāsite etāni[5] bhaṁte dhaṁma-paliyāyāni ichhāmi

7 kiṁti bahuke bhikhu-[p]āye chā bhikhuniye[6] ch[ā] abhikhinaṁ sun[e]yu[7] chā upadhāl[a]yeyū[8] chā

8 **(F)** hevaṁmevā upāsakā chā upāsikā chā **(G)** eteni[9] bhaṁte imaṁ likhā[pa]yāmi abhipretaṁ[10] me jānaṁtū[11] ti

TRANSLATION

(A) The **Māgadha king Priyadarśin,**[12] having saluted the *Saṁgha*,[13] hopes they are both well and comfortable.[14]

(B) It is known to you, Sirs, how great is my reverence and faith in the **Buddha,** the *Dharma*,[15] (and) the *Saṁgha*.[16]

(C) Whatsoever, Sirs, has been spoken by the blessed **Buddha,** all that is quite well spoken.

(D) But, Sirs, what would indeed appear to me[17] (to be referred to by the words of the scripture): 'thus the true *Dharma* will be of long duration',[18] that I feel bound to declare.

(E) The following expositions of the *Dharma*, Sirs, (viz.) (1) the *Vinaya-samukasa*, (2) the *Aliya-vasas*,[19] (3) the *Anāgata-bhayas*, (4) the *Muni-gāthās*, (5) the *Moneya-sūta*,

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1 *save* Senart. 2 *vatave* Senart. 3 *-vasāni* Senart.

4 This word is quite distinct, and the reading *adhigidhya* proposed by Michelson (IF, 27. 194 f.) is impossible.

5 *etāna* Senart. 6 *bhakhuniye* Senart. 7 *sunayu* Senart.

8 *upādhāleyeyu* Senart. 9 Read *etenā*.

10 *abhihetaṁ* Senart; but the horizontal stroke attached to *pa* is probably intended for *r*. Cf. *aprakaraṇamhi* in the Girnār edict XII, l. 3.

11 *ma jānaṁta* Senart.

12 Cf. e.g. *rājā Māgadho Seniyo Bimbisāro* in the *Vinaya-piṭaka* (passim); *rājā Māgadho Ajātasattu* at the beginning of the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* (JRAS, 1875. 49); and *rājā Pasenaji Kosalo* in a Bharaut inscription (IA, 21. 232, No. 58).

13 i.e. the Buddhist clergy.

14 Literally: 'pronounces both (their) being in good health and (their) being (in the enjoyment) of pleasant life'. Cf. at the beginning of the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*: '*appābādhaṁ appātaṅkaṁ lahuṭṭhānaṁ balaṁ phāsu-vihāraṁ puchchha*', and see Neumann's translations of the *Majjhima-nikāya* (2. 617, note) and *Dīgha-nikāya* (2. 216, n. 3).

15 i.e. the Buddhist doctrine.

16 These are the so-called 'three jewels'; see Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v. *ratanaṁ*.

17 Kern (IA, 5. 257) explained *diseyā* as the optative of the Pāli *dissati* = Skt. *dṛiśyatē*; cf. JRAS, 1909. 728.

18 As suggested by the late Professor Hardy (JRAS, 1901. 314), these words seem to contain a quotation from the Buddhist scriptures.

19 *vasa* is a defective spelling for *vaṁsa*; see IA, 41. 39.

(6) the *Upatisa-pasina*, and (7) the *Lāghulovāda* which was spoken by the blessed **Buddha** concerning falsehood,[1]—I desire, Sirs, that many groups of monks and (many) nuns may repeatedly listen to these expositions of the *Dharma*, and may reflect (on them).

(F) In the same way both laymen and laywomen (should act).

(G) For the following (purpose), Sirs, am I causing this to be written, (viz.) in order that they may know my intention.

V. THE MASKI ROCK-INSCRIPTION

1 (A) देवानंपियस असोकस ·········· अढति-
2 ·· नि वषानि । अं सुमि बुधशके (C) ·········· तिरे ····
3 ·· मि संघं उपगते उठ ······· मि उपगते (D) पुरे जंबु-
4 ···· सि ये अमिसा देवा हुसु ते दानि मिसिभूता (E) इय अठे खुद-
5 केन पि धमयुतेन सके अधिगतवे (F) न हेवं दखितविये उडा-
6 लके व इम अधिगछेया ति (G) खुदके च उडालके च वत-
7 विया हेवं वे कलंतं भदके से अ ········· तिके च वढि-
8 सिति चा दियढियं हेवं ति

1 (A) **Dev[ā]na[ṁ]piyasa Asok[a]sa** . . . .[2] [a]ḍh[a]t[i]-
2 . . **ni**[3] **vashā[ni]** । aṁ[4] sum[i] Bu[dha]-Śake[5] **(C)** . . . . [t]ire . . . .
3 . . [m]i[6] [s]aṁgha[ṁ] u[pa]gate [uṭh] . . . . m[i] u[pa]gate[7] **(D)** pure **Jaṁbu-**
4 . . . . s[i[8] ye amisā devā husu] te [dā]n[i] misibhūtā **(E)** iya a[ṭhe khu]da-

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[1] For identifications of these texts see Oldenberg, *Vinaya-piṭaka*, Introduction, p. xl, n. 1; Sylvain Lévi, JA (9), 7. 475 ff.; Neumann, VOJ, 11. 159 f.; Rhys Davids, JRAS, 1898. 639 f.; Oldenberg, ZDMG, 52. 634 ff.; Bloch, id., 63. 325 ff. As the late lamented Mr. V. A. Smith kindly informed me, No. 1, *Vinaya-samukasa*, is identified by A. J. Edmunds (*Buddhist Bibliography*, San Francisco, 1904) with Buddha's First Sermon. According to Dharmananda Kosambi (IA, 41. 40), Nos. 2 and 3 occur in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, Nos. 4–6 in the *Sutta-nipāta*, and No. 7 in the *Majjhima-nikāya*.

[2] Senart fills up this break by *vachanena adhikāni*. As the instrumental *vachanena* would require a verb, for which there is no room on the stone, I suggest reading *sāvane* (or *sāsane*) (*B*) *adhikāni*.

[3] Restore *aḍhatiyāni*.

[4] *vasāni* [*ya*]*ṁ aṁ* Krishna Sastri.

[5] *buṁ*[*pā*]*śake* K.S. The point after *bu* does resemble an Anusvāra, but it stands on a higher level than the other Anusvāras of this inscription. Besides, an Anusvāra would make no sense here. Krishna Sastri remarks that 'the letter *pā* appears to have been corrected from some other', and Senart (JA (11), 7. 428) suggests that the writer may have wavered between *upāsake* and *Budhupāsake*. I agree with him in believing that the writer originally wanted to write *upāsake*, which is the reading of Sahasrām, Bairāṭ, and Śiddāpura. On second thoughts he changed *upā* to *Budha* and added *Śake*, which corresponds to [*Sa*]*k*[*e*] at Rūpnāth. The abnormal shape of the *dha* of *Budha* is due to its having been corrected from *pā*.

[6] Restore *sātireke aṁ sumi* and, before these three words, perhaps *saṁvachhare*.

[7] Restore perhaps *uṭhānaṁ cha sumi upagate*, which would convey the same meaning as the corresponding passage at Brahmagiri: *bāḍhaṁ cha me pakaṁte*. Krishna Sastri and Senart restore *bāḍhaṁ cha sumi upagate*.

[8] Restore *Jaṁbudīpasi*. Of the four next words faint traces are visible.

5 ke[na pi][1] dhama-yute[na] sake adhigatave (F) na hevaṁ dakhitaviye [uḍā]-
6 lake va ima adhigachh[e]yā ti (G) [khudak]e [cha uḍ]ālake cha vata-
7 viyā hevaṁ ve kalaṁtaṁ bha[dak]e [se a][2] . . . . t[i]k[e][3] cha va[ḍhi]-
8 siti chā diya[ḍhi]yaṁ he[vaṁ] ti[4]

TRANSLATION

(A) [A proclamation] of **Dēvānāṁpriya Aśōka.**

(B) **Two and a half years** [and somewhat more] (have passed) since I am a *Buddha-Śākya.*[5]

(C) [A year and] **somewhat more** (has passed) [since] I have visited the *Saṁgha* and have shown zeal.

(D) Those gods who formerly had been unmingled (with men) in **Jambudvīpa,** have now become mingled (with them).

(E) This object can be reached even by a lowly (person) who is devoted to morality.[6]

(F) One must not think thus,—(viz.) that only an exalted (person) may reach this.

(G) Both the lowly and the exalted must be told: 'If you act thus,[7] this matter (will be) prosperous and of long duration, and will thus progress to one and a half'.

VI. THE BRAHMAGIRI ROCK-INSCRIPTION

1 (A) सुवंणगिरीते अयपुतस महामाताणं च वचनेन इसिलसि महामाता आरोगियं वतविया हेवं च वतविया (B) देवाणंपिये आणपयति
2 (C) अधिकानि अढातियानि वसानि य हकं · · · · सके (D) नो तु खो बाढं प्रकंते हुसं एकं सवछरं (E) सातिरेके तु खो संवछरं
3 यं मया संघे उपयीते बाढं च मे पकंते (F) इमिना चु कालेन अमिसा समाना मुनिसा जंबुदीपसि
4 मिसा देवेहि (G) पकमस हि इयं फले (H) नो हीयं सक्ये महात्पेनेव पापोतवे कामं तु खो खुदकेन पि
5 पकमि · · णेण विपुले स्वगे सक्ये आराधेतवे (I) एतायठाय इयं सावणे सावापिते
6 · · · · · · · · · · महात्पा च इमं पकमेयु ति अंता च मै जानेयु चिरठितीके च इयं

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[1] *h*[*i*] K. S.

[2] [*ṭhe ti*] K. S.

[3] Restore perhaps *se aṭhe chira-ṭhitike.*

[4] *diyaḍhiya h*[*e*]*sati* K. S.

[5] Cf. above, p. 167, n. 18.

[6] Instead of this, the other versions of the short edicts read 'if he is zealous'. This correspondence is valuable, because it confirms indirectly the meanings which I have assigned to *pra-kram* or *parā-kram* and to *dharma-yukta*; cf. above, p. 167, n. 20, and p. 124, n. 6.

[7] For the nominative singular absolute *kalaṁtaṁ* see above, p. 35, n. 9. Its subject, *ve* (= Skt. *vaḥ*), is originally an oblique case of the plural.

7 पक · · · · · · (J) इयं च अठे वढिसिति विपुलं पि च वढिसिति अवरधिया
दियढियं

8 वढिसिति (K) इयं च सावणे सावापिते व्यूथेन (L) २०० ५० ६ (M) से हेवं
देवाणंपिये

9 आह (N) मातापितिसु सुसूसितविये हेमेव गरुसु प्राणेसु द्रह्यितव्यं सचं

10 वतवियं से इमे धंमगुणा पवतितविया (O) हेमेव अंतेवासिना

11 आचरिये अपचायितविये ञातिकेसु च कं य · · रहं पवतितविये

12 (P) एसा पोराणा पकिती दीघावुसे च एस (Q) हेवं एस कटिविये

13 (R) चपडेन लिखिते लिपिकरेण

1 (A) **[S]uv[a]mṇagirīte**[1] ayaputasa mahāmātāṇaṁ cha vachan[e]na **Isilasi** mahāmātā ārogiyaṁ vataviyā hevaṁ cha vataviyā **(B) Devāṇaṁpiye** āṇapayati

2 (C) **adhikāni aḍhātiyāni v[a]sāni** ya hakaṁ . . . . sa[ke][2] (D) no tu kho bāḍhaṁ prakaṁte[3] husaṁ **ekaṁ savachharaṁ** (E) **sātireke** tu kho **saṁvachharеṁ**[4]

3 yaṁ mayā saṁghe upayīte bāḍhaṁ cha me pakaṁte (F) iminā chu kālena amisā samānā munisā **Jaṁbudīpasi**

4 mi[s]ā devehi (G) pakamasa hi iyaṁ phale (H) no hīyaṁ sakye mahātpeneva pāpotave kāmaṁ tu kho khudakena pi

5 paka[m]i . . ṇena[5] vipule svage sakye ārādhetave (I) e[t]āyaṭhāya iyaṁ sāvaṇe sāvāpite

6 . . . .[6] mahāt[p]ā cha imaṁ pakame[yu t]i aṁtā cha mai[7] jāneyu chira-ṭhitīke cha iyaṁ

7 [paka] . . . . . .[8] (J) iyaṁ cha aṭhe vaḍhisiti vipulaṁ pi cha vaḍhisiti avaradhiyā diyaḍhiyaṁ

8 [vaḍh]isiti (K) iyaṁ cha sāvaṇ[e] sāv[ā]p[i]te vyūthena (L) **200 50 6** (M) se hevaṁ **Devāṇaṁpiye**

9 āha (N) mātā-pitisu susūs[i]taviye hemeva garu[su][9] prāṇesu drahyitavyaṁ sachaṁ

10 vataviyaṁ se ime dhaṁma-guṇā pavatitaviyā (O) hemeva aṁtevāsinā

11 āchariye apachāyitaviye ñātikesu cha [ka]ṁ[10] ya . . rahaṁ[11] pavatitaviye

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[1] This word looks almost like *Suveṁṇa°*, but the Śiddāpura version reads *Suvaṁṇa°* distinctly.

[2] Restore *upāsake*, as at Śiddāpura. [3] *pakaṁte* Bühler.

[4] Read *saṁvachhare*; *sa[ṁ]vachhar[a]ṁ* Bühler.

[5] *paka[mami]ṇena* Bühler; read *pakamamīṇena* and cf. the Sahasrām edict, l. 3 f.

[6] The Śiddāpura version reads *yathā khu[dakā cha]*.

[7] Read *me*.

[8] The Śiddāpura version reads *pakame hoti* (*hotu* at Sahasrām).

[9] *garut[vaṁ]* Bühler. [10] *k[u?]* Bühler; see above, p. 31, n. 6.

[11] Restore *yathārahaṁ* and cf. the Śiddāpura version, l. 20, and the Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara version, l. 18.



SCALE ONE-TENTH

12 (P) esā porā[ṇ]ā pa[k]itī d[īgh]āvuse[1] cha esa (Q) hevaṁ esa kaṭiviye[2]
13 (R) **Chapaḍena** likhite[3] li[pi]kareṇa[4]

TRANSLATION

(A) From **Suvarṇagiri,**[5] at the word of the prince (*āryaputra*)[6] and of the *Mahāmātras*, the *Mahāmātras* at **Isila** must be wished good health[7] and be told this:

(B) **Dēvānāṁpriya** commands (as follows).

(C) **More than two and a half years** (have passed) since I (am)[8] a lay-worshipper (*upāsaka*).

(D) But indeed I had not been very zealous **for one year.**[9]

(E) But indeed **a year and somewhat more** (has passed) since I have visited the *Saṁgha* and have been very zealous.

(F) But men in **Jambudvīpa,** being during that time unmingled, (are now) mingled with the gods.[10]

(G) For this is the fruit of zeal.

(H) For this cannot be reached by (a person) of high rank alone, but indeed even a lowly (person) can at liberty attain the great heaven if he is zealous.

(I) For the following purpose has this proclamation been issued,[11] [that both the lowly] and those of high rank may be zealous in this manner,[12] and (that even) my borderers may know (it), and (that) this zeal may be of long duration.

(J) And this matter will (be made by me to) progress, and will (be made to) progress even considerably; it will (be made to) progress to at least one and a half.

(K) And this proclamation was issued by (me) on tour.

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[1] *d[īgh]āvuse* Bühler. [2] Read *kaṭaviye*. [3] *li[kh]it[aṁ]* Bühler.

[4] This word is written in Kharōshṭhī characters.

[5] This place seems to have been the capital of the province administrated by the *Āryaputra* and his *Mahāmātras*. Bühler (EI, 3. 137) compared the second separate edict at Dhauli, according to which a *Kumāra* and his *Mahāmātras* resided at Tōsalī. The separate edicts of Dhauli and Jaugaḍa were addressed by the king to the local authorities themselves, while in the Mysore edicts the king commands the authorities of the Suvarṇagiri province to communicate his orders to their subordinates at Isila. In Fleet's opinion the Mysore edicts were issued from Suvarṇagiri by Aśōka himself; and he identified this place with one of the hills, still known as Sōnagiri, near Rājagṛiha in Bihār; see JRAS, 1909. 998. H. Krishna Sastri connects Suvarṇagiri, i.e. 'the gold mountain', with the country around Maski, which abounds in ancient gold-workings; see his remarks on the Maski edict, p. 1. Perhaps it may be identified with its synonym Kanakagiri, south of Maski and north of the ruins of Vijayanagara; see Constable's *Hand-Atlas of India*, plate 34, C, b.

[6] Bühler (VOJ, 12. 75 f.) traced the word *ayyaputta*, 'a prince', in the *Jātaka*, vol. VI, p. 146 f.

[7] Cf. the preamble of the Calcutta-Bairāṭ rock-inscription.

[8] The word *sumi* is added in the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Maski edicts.

[9] The words 'for one year' are missing at Rūpnāth and Sahasrām. As Senart (JA (8), 19. 481 f.) has shown, they are of great importance for the chronology of the Aśōka inscriptions, because they imply that the period of 'more than two and a half years', for which, at the time of the Sahasrām, Bairāṭ, and Siddāpura edicts, Aśōka had been an *upāsaka* (or Śākya, as the Rūpnāth and Maski edicts read), must be subdivided into two shorter periods, viz. (1) one year (with, no doubt, a little more) during which he had not been very zealous, and (2) a year with the balance of the whole period, during which he displayed great zeal, and which commenced from his visit to the *Saṁgha*. Cf. chapter IV of the Introduction.

[10] For the meaning of this section see above, p. 168, n. 3.

[11] Cf. the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, K and M, and above, p. 168, n. 6.

[12] With *imaṁ* supply *pakamaṁ*; cf. *vaḍhi[ṁ*]* *vaḍhisiti* in the Rūpnāth edict, section I, and above, p. 168, n. 9.

(L) **256** (nights had then been spent on tour).[1]

(M) Moreover, **Dēvānāṁpriya** speaks thus.[2]

(N) Obedience must be rendered to mother and father, likewise to elders; firmness (of compassion) must be shown towards animals; the truth must be spoken: these same moral virtues must be practised.

(O) In the same way the pupil must show reverence to the master, and one must behave in a suitable manner towards relatives.

(P) This is an ancient rule, and this conduces to long life.

(Q) Thus one must act.[3]

(R) Written by **Chapaḍa** the writer.

VII. THE SIDDAPURA ROCK-INSCRIPTION

1 (A) सुवंणगिरीते अयपुतस महामाता-
2 णं च वचनेन इसिलसि महामाता
3 आरोगियं वतविया (B) देवानंपिये हेवं
4 आह (C) अधिकानि अढातियानि वसानि
5 य हकं उपासके (D) नो तु खो बाढ पकंते हुसं एकं सवछ · ·
6 (E) सातिरेके तु खो संवछरे यं मया संघे उपयीते बाढं
7 च मे पकंते (F) इमिना चु कालेन अमिसा समाना मु
8 · · · · जंबुद · · · · · मिसा देवेहि (G) पकमस हि इयं फले H) नो हि इ-
9 य सके म · · · · नेव पापोतवे कामं तु खो खुदकेन
10 पि प · · · · · · · · न विपुले स्वगे सके आराधेतवे
11 (I) से · · · · · · · · य इयं सावणे साविते यथा खु-
12 दका च महात्पा च इमं पकमेयु ति अता च
13 · · · · · · · · चिरठितीके च इयं पकमे होति
14 (J) · · · · · · · · · · वढिसिति विपुलं पि च वढिसिति अ
15 · · · · · · · · · · यढियं वढिसिति (K) इयं च सावणे
16 · · · · · · · · · · (L) २०० ५० ६ (M) मा · · · · · · · · · · सितविये
17 · · · · · · · · · · ह्यितव्यं शचं वत · · यं इमे धंमगु
18 · · · · · · · · · · (N) हेमेव अं · · · · · · · · आचरिये अपचायितविये सु
19 · · · · · · · · · · (O) एसा पोराणा · · किती दीघावुसे च (P) हेमेव · ·
· तेविसिने च
20 आचरिये · · · · · · · · · थारहं पवतितव · · · · · · · · · · म · ·
21 · · · · · · · · · · स तथा कटविये (R) चप · · · · · · · · · ·
22 · · · · · · · · · णा

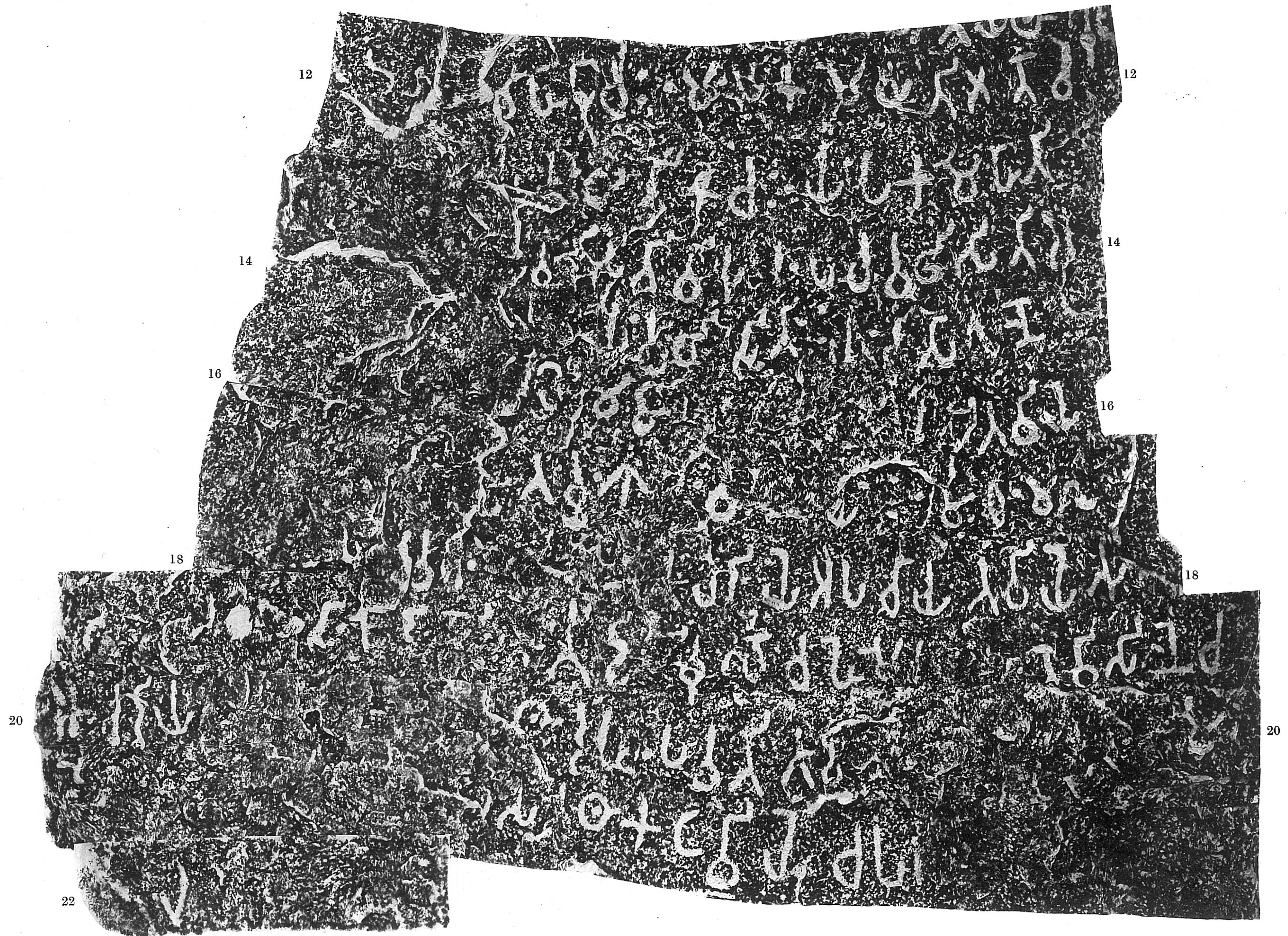
[1] Cf. section J of the Sahasrām edict.

[2] This section is omitted in the Śiddāpura and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara versions.

[3] At the beginning of this section, the Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara version inserts: 'This is the morality of Dēvānāṁpriya'.



Scale One-ninth



SCALE ONE-NINTH

1 (A) **Suvaṁṇagirīte** ayaputasa mahāmātā-
2 ṇaṁ cha vachanena **I[s]ilasi** mahāmātā
3 ārogiyaṁ vata[v]i[yā] (B) [**Dev**]**ā**[**na**]**ṁpiye** hevaṁ
4 āha (C) **adhikāni a**[**ḍhā**]**t**[**i**]**y**[**āni**] **vasāni**
5 ya ha[kaṁ u]pāsake (D) no tu kho bāḍha pakaṁte husaṁ **ek**[**aṁ**] **sa**[**vachha**] . . [1]
6 (E) [**sātire**]**ke** tu kho **saṁvachhare** [yaṁ mayā saṁ]ghe upayīte bāḍhaṁ
7 [cha me] p[akaṁ]te (F) i[m]inā chu kālena [a]misā samā[nā] mu·
8 . . . . **Jaṁbu**[**d**] . . . . . [mi]sā devehi (G) pakamasa hi iyaṁ phale (H) no [h]i i- [2]
9 ya sake [ma] . . . . [ne]va pāpo[ta]ve kāmaṁ tu kho khudakena
10 pi [pa] . . . . na [v]ipul[e] svage sak[e] ārādhetave
11 (I) [s]e . . . . ya [iya]ṁ sāvaṇe sāvite yathā khu-
12 [dakā cha ma]hātpā cha imaṁ [pa]kameyu ti atā [3] cha
13 . . . . [chira]-ṭhi[t]īk[e] [4] cha iyaṁ pakame hoti [5]
14 (J) . . . . va[ḍh]isiti vipu[la]ṁ p[i] cha vaḍhisiti [a]
15 . . . . [yaḍhiya]ṁ vaḍhisiti (K) i[ya]ṁ [cha] sā[va]ṇe
16 . . . . (L) [200] 50 6 (M) [mā] . . . . [si]taviye
17 . . . . [hyi]tavyaṁ śa[cha]ṁ va[ta] . . [ya]ṁ im[e] dhaṁma-gu
18 . . . . (N) [heme]va [a]ṁ . . . . [ācha]riye apachāyitaviye su
19 . . . . (O) [es]ā [p]o[r]ā[ṇā]. . . [ki]tī dī[ghā]vu[se] cha (P) heme[va] . . . ṁ[t]evisine [6] cha
20 āchariy[e] . . . . thārahaṁ pavatitav . . . . m . . .
21 . . . . sa [7] [ta]thā kaṭaviye (R) **Chapa** . . . .
22 . . . . [ṇa] [8]

VIII. THE JATINGA-RAMESVARA ROCK-INSCRIPTION

1 (A) · · · · · · · · · · · तान च व · · · · · · ·
2 इसि · · · · · · · · · · · विया (B) देवान · · · · · ·
3 · · · · · · · · · · · य हकं · · · · · · · · · · ·
4 खो बाढ · · · · · · · · · · · (E) · · तिरेके · · · · · · · · · · ·
5 यं · · या · · · · · · · · · · ·
6 खा · · · · · · · · · · ·
7 हि इयं · · · · · · · · · · ·
8 · · · · · · · · · · ·
9 · · · · · · · · · · ·
10 · · · · · · · · · · · च · · · · · · · ढिस · ·
11 · · पुलं पि · · · · · · · · · · · यढियं · · · · · · · · ·

[1] *saṁva* . . . . Bühler. [2] Bühler omitted *i-*. [3] *aṁtā* Bühler.
[4] *-thitīke* Bühler. [5] *hot*[*u*] Bühler.
[6] . . [*te*]*vāsine* Bühler. Read *aṁtevāsine*. [7] *esa* Bühler.
[8] This syllable is in the Kharōshṭhī alphabet.

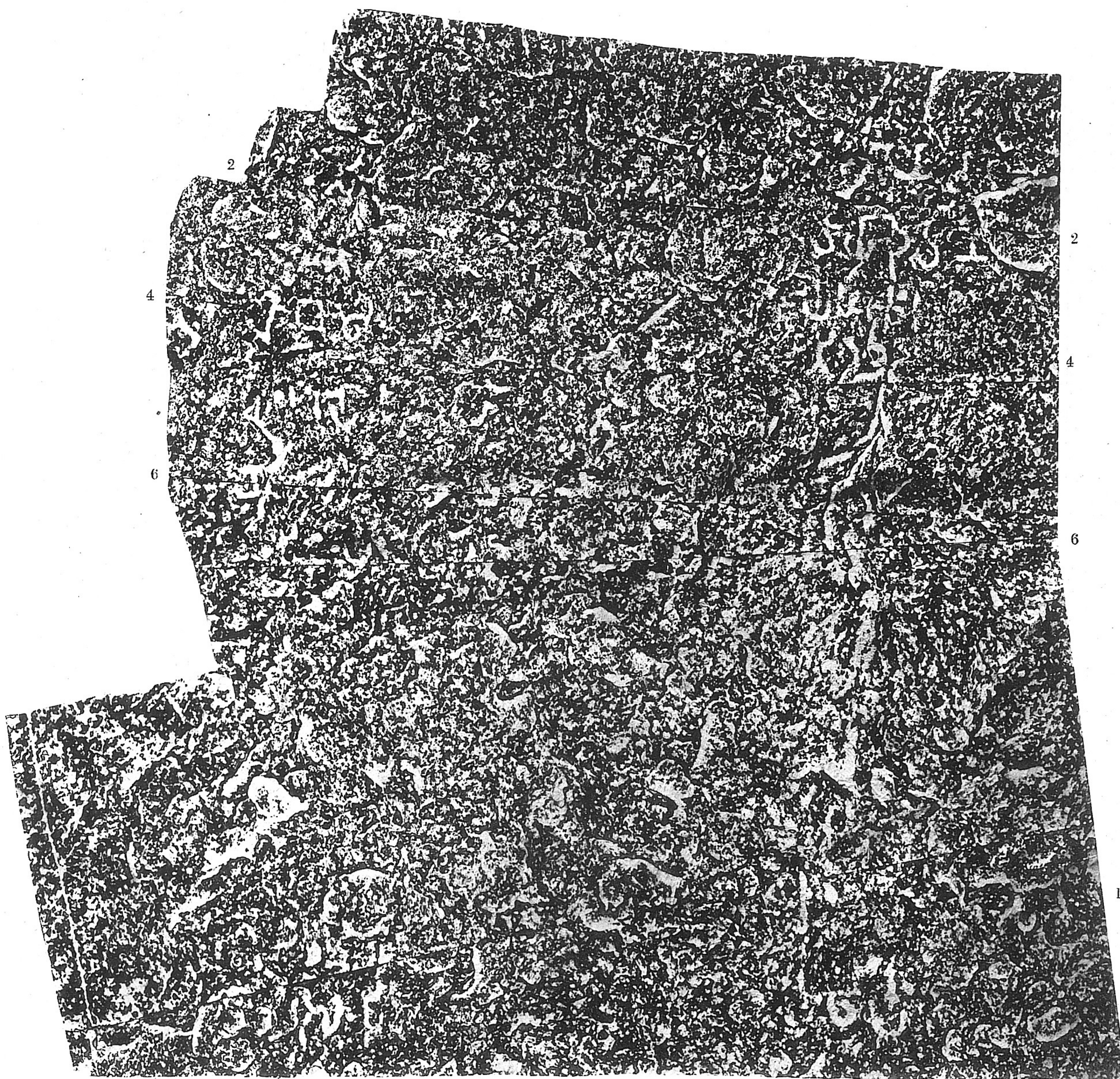
12 (K) इ · · · · सावणे · · · · · · · · · थेन (L) २०० ५० ६ (M) हेमेव
13 मातापितुसु · · · · सितविये हेमेव · · · · न ा ेसु
14 · · ह्यितव्यं सचं वतवियं से इमे · · · · · · · ·
15 हेवं पवतितविया (N) स्वअं न ते सतवस · · · · · · · · · · ·
16 तविय हेमेव आचरिये अंतेवासिना · · · · · · · · · · ·
17 · · · · · · राणा पकिती · · · · सितविया · · · · · · · · विये
18 · · चरिये अ · · · · · · आचरियश ञातिका ते · · यथारहं पव-
19 तितविये (O) एसा पोराणा पकिती दीघा · · · · च (P) हेमेव श · · े · ा · ·
20 च य · · · · · · · · वतितविये (Q) हेवं धंमे देवाणंपिय · ·
21 · · वं कटविये (R) · · · · डेन लिखितं
22 · · पिकरेण

1 (A) . . . . [t]āna [cha va] . . . . . .
2 **Isi** . . . . [vi]yā (B) **Dev[ā]n[a]** . . . . . .
3 . . . . ya hakaṁ . . . .
4 kho bāḍha . . . . (E) . . ti[**reke**] . . . .
5 [ya]ṁ . . [yā] . . . .
6 [ṇa] . . . .
7 [h]i i[yaṁ] . . . .
8 . . . .
9 . . . .
10 . . . . [cha] . . . . . . [ḍhi]s . . .
11 . . [p]ulaṁ pi . . . . [ya]ḍhiyaṁ . . . .
12 (K) i . . . . s[āvaṇe] . . . . [th]e[na] (L) **200 50 6** (M) [heme]va
13 [mā]t[ā]-pitusu . . . . [s]itav[i]y[e] he[m]e[va] . . . . [na] . ā . es[u] .
14 . . hy[ita]v[y]aṁ sachaṁ vataviyaṁ [se][1] i[me] . . . .
15 hevaṁ pa[va]titaviyā (N) [svaa]ṁ na te s . t . va[s] . . . .
16 taviya[2] hemeva āchari[ye] aṁtevāsin[ā] . . . .
17 . . . . . . [r]āṇā paki[tī] . . . . sita[v]iy[ā] . . . . [v]i[y]e[3]
18 . . chariy[e] a[4] . . . . . . [ā]char[i]yaśa ñātikā te . . ya[thāraha]ṁ [pava]-
19 titaviye (O) esā [po]rā[ṇā pa]kitī[5] d[īgh]ā . . . . cha (P) [he]me[va] śa . . . . e . ā . .
20 [cha] ya . . . . vati[tav]iye (Q) hevaṁ [dhaṁm]e[6] **Devāṇaṁpiy** . . .[7]
21 . . [va]ṁ kaṭaviye (R) . . . . **ḍena** [likhita]ṁ
22 . . [pika]reṇa[8]

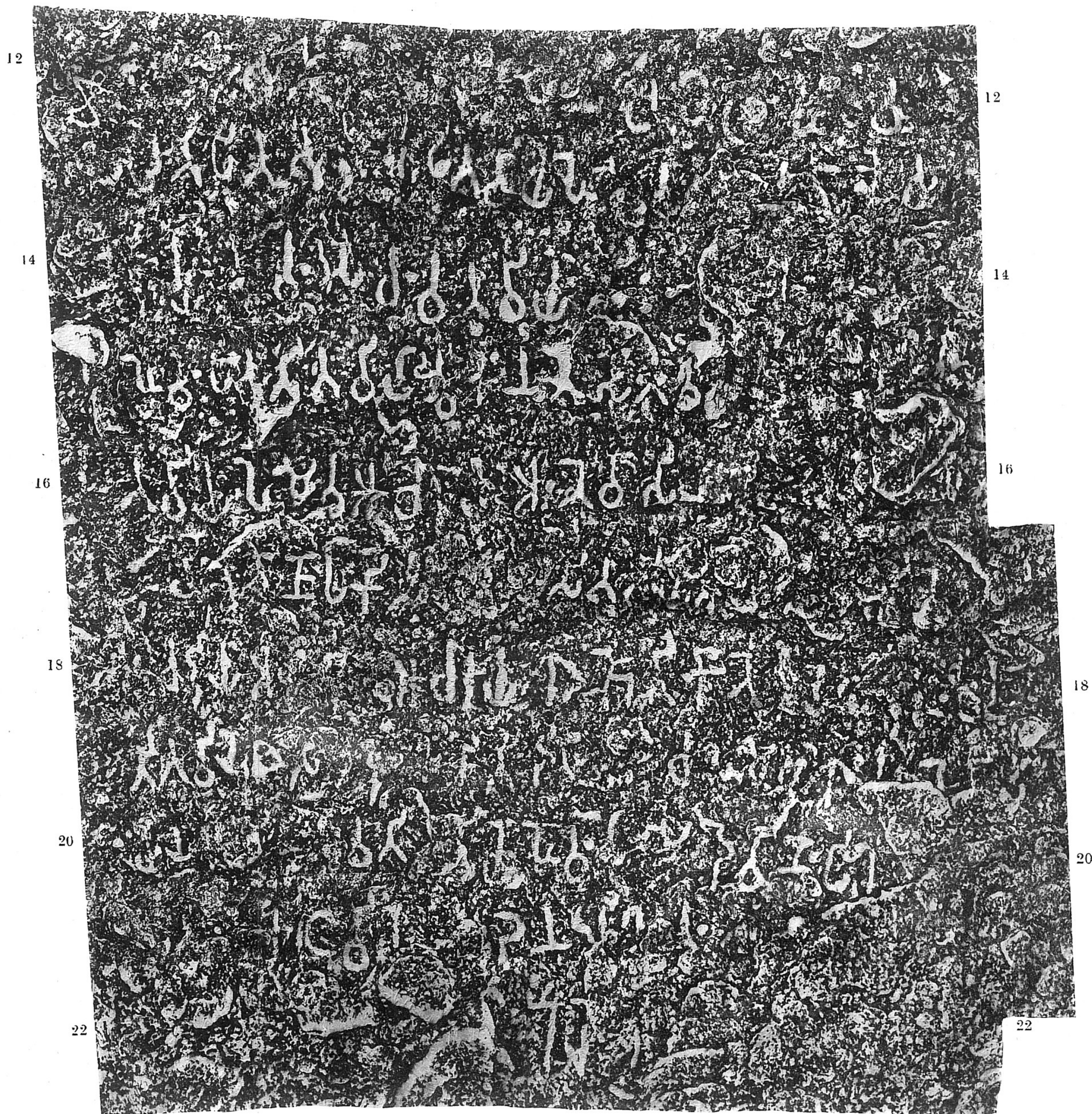
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[1] *e* Bühler. [2] I am unable to make out the meaning of the opening words of this section.
[3] . *i*[*v*]*e* Bühler. [4] *aṁ* Bühler. [5] [*pak*]*iti* Bühler. [6] *hevaṁ* [*m*]*e* Bühler.
[7] °*pi*[*y*]*e* Bühler. Restore °*piyasa*. [8] This word is written in Kharōshṭhī characters.

JATINGA-RAMESVARA ROCK-INSCRIPTION; UPPER HALF



SCALE ONE-EIGHTH



SCALE ONE-EIGHTH

IX. THE BARABAR HILL CAVE-INSCRIPTIONS

FIRST CAVE-INSCRIPTION: BARABAR HILL

1 लाजिना पियदसिना दुवाडसवसाभिसितेना
2 इयं निगोहकुभा दिना आजीविकेहि

1 **lājinā Piyadasinā duvāḍasa-[vasābhisitenā]**[1]
2 [iyaṁ Nigoha]-kubhā[1] di[nā ājīvikehi][1]

TRANSLATION

By **king Priyadarśin,** (when he had been) **anointed twelve years,** this Banyan-cave[2] was given to the Ājīvikas.[3]

SECOND CAVE-INSCRIPTION: BARABAR HILL

1 लाजिना पियदसिना दुवा-
2 डसवसाभिसितेना इयं
3 कुभा खलतिकपवतसि
4 दिना आजीविकेहि

1 **lājinā Piyadasinā duvā-**
2 **ḍasa-vasābhisitenā** iyaṁ
3 kubhā **Khalatika-pavatasi**
4 dinā [ājīvi]kehi[4]

TRANSLATION

By **king Priyadarśin,** (when he had been) **anointed twelve years,** this cave in the **Khalatika mountain** was given to the Ājīvikas.

---

[1] The bracketed letters are more or less injured. Evidently an attempt has been made to efface them.

[2] This seems to have been the name of the cave. Cf. the other names of caves at the beginning of the three cave-inscriptions of Daśaratha (IA, 20. 364 f.).

[3] The Ājīvika sect was founded by Gōśāla, a contemporary of both Gautama and Mahāvīra. Kern, with whom Bühler sided, considered the Ājīvikas to have been a Vaishṇava sect; see IA, 20. 361 f. This view was combated by D. R. Bhandarkar, JBBRAS, 21. 399 ff., and IA, 41. 90, 286 ff. Cf. Neumann's translation of the *Dīgha-nikāya*, 2. 248, n. 139, and Charpentier in JRAS, 1913. 669 ff. For full information see the late Dr. Hoernle's learned article 'Ājīvikas' in Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*.

[4] The bracketed letters are effaced; cf. above, n. 1. In the first of the three Nāgārjunī Hill cave-inscriptions of Daśaratha also an attempt has been made to chisel away the word *ājīvikehi*; see the plate in IA, 20. 365, D.

THIRD CAVE-INSCRIPTION: BARABAR HILL

1 लाज पियदसी एकुनवी-
2 सतिवसाभिसिते जलघो-
3 सागमथात मे इयं कुभा
4 सुपिये ख . . . . दि-
5 ना

1 **lāja Piyadasī ekunavī-**
2 **sati-vasā[bh]isi[t]e** ja[lagh]o-
3 [sāgama]thāta [me] i[yaṁ kubhā]
4 su[p]i[y]e **Kha** . . . .[1] [di]-
5 nā[2]

TRANSLATION

When king Priyadarśin had been anointed nineteen years, this cave in the very pleasant **Kha[latika mountain]** was given by me[3] for (shelter during) the rainy season.[4]

---

[1] Restore *Khalatika-pavatasi* in accordance with the second inscription on p. 181, above.

[2] The end of the inscription is marked by a *svastika* and a dagger, and by a fish below them.

[3] This pronoun may refer to an unnamed donor or, with a clumsy change in the construction, to the king himself. In either case the words *lāja* to *°site* are nominatives absolute.

[4] Literally: 'for the sake (*athāta* = Skt. *arthataḥ* in the sense of *arthāya*?) of the approach of the roar of waters'. Cf. *vāsha-nishidiyāye*, 'for a dwelling during the rainy season', in the three cave-inscriptions of Daśaratha (IA, 20. 364 f., and EI, 2. 274).

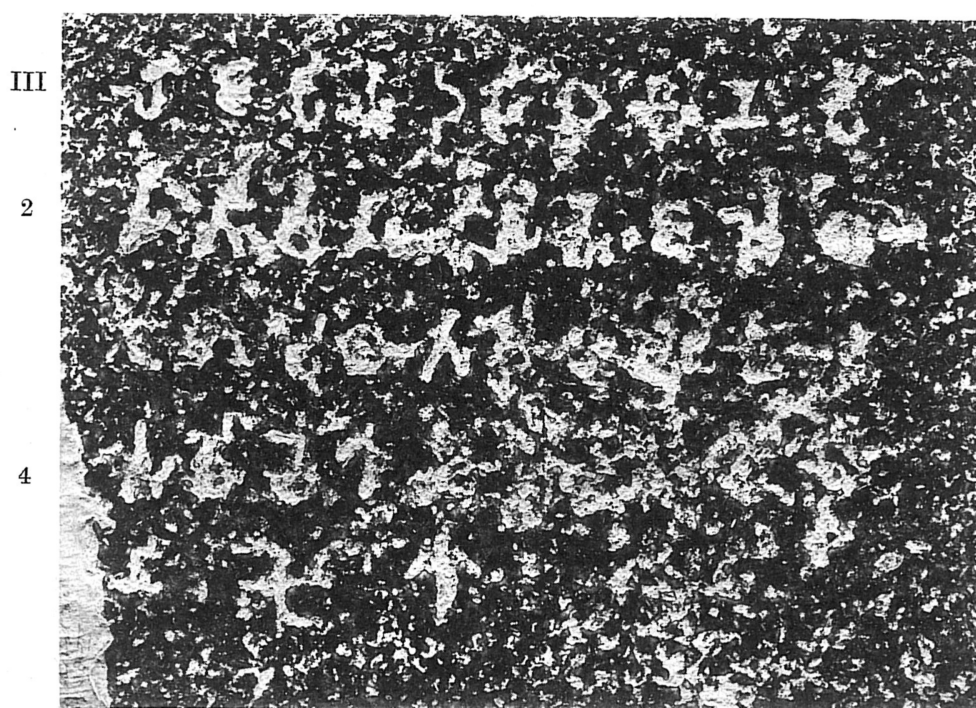
I
2



II
2
4



III
2
4



SCALE ONE-FOURTH

APPENDIX: SYNOPTICAL TEXTS

I. THE FOURTEEN ROCK-EDICTS

FIRST ROCK-EDICT

Gir.	(*A*) iy[aṁ]	dhaṁma-lipī			Devānaṁpriyena
Kāl.	(*A*) iyaṁ	dhaṁma-lipi			Devānaṁpiyenā
Shāh.	(*A*) [aya]	dhrama-dipi			Devanapriasa
Mān.	(*A*) ayi	dhra[ma]-dip[i]			Devanaṁ[priye]na
Dhau.	(*A*) . .	. . . .	[si	pava]tasi	[D]e[v]ā[na]ṁp[iy] . . .
Jau.	(*A*) iyaṁ	dhaṁma-lipī	Khepi[ṁ]galasi	pavatasi	Devānaṁpiyena

Gir.	Priyadasinā	rāñā	lekh[ā]pitā	(*B*) [i]dha	na	kiṁchi	jīvaṁ	ārabhitpā
Kāl.	Piyadas[i]nā		[lekhit]ā	(*B*) [h]idā	no	kichhi	jive	ālabhitu
Shāh.		raño	likhapitu	(*B*) hida	no	kich[i]	jive	ara[bhitu]
Mān.	Priya[draśina	rajina	li]khapita	(*B*) hi[da]	no	kichhi	ji[ve]	ara[bhitu]
Dhau.	. . . . [nā	lājinā	l]i[khā] .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. [ī]vaṁ	ālabhitu
Jau.	Piyadasinā	lājinā	likhāpitā	(*B*) hida	no	kichhi	jīvaṁ	ālabhi[t]u

Gir.	prajūhitavyaṁ	(*C*) na		cha	samājo	katavyo	(*D*) bahukaṁ	hi	dosaṁ
Kāl.	pajohitaviye	(*C*) no	pi	ch[ā]	samāje	kaṭaviye	(*D*) bahuk[ā]	hi	dosā
Shāh.	[p]rayuhotave	(*C*) no	pi	ch[a]	sama[ja]	kaṭava	(*D*) ba[hu]ka	[hi]	dosha
Mān.	pra[johi]taviye	(*C*) no	pi	[cha]	samaj[e]	kaṭaviye	(*D*) bahu[ka]	hi	[dosha]
Dhau.	pajo[h]	(*C*) [no	pi	cha	sam]ā[je] . .	. . .	. . .	. .	. .
Jau.	pajohitaviye	(*C*) no	pi	cha	samāje	kaṭaviye	(*D*) bahukaṁ	hi	dosaṁ

Gir.	samājamhi	pasati	Devānaṁpriyo	Priyadasi	rājā		(*E*) asti
Kāl.	samājasā		Devān[aṁ]piye	Pi[ya]dasī	lājā	dakhati	(*E*) athi
Shāh.	sa[maya]spi		Devaṇapriy[e]	Priadraśi	ray[a	da]khati	(*E*) [a]sti
Mān.	[samajasa		Devanaṁpriye]	Priyadraśi	raja	[da]kha[ti]	(*E*) asti
Dhau.	[samā]ja . .	[d] . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . .	. .	(*E*) . . . .
Jau.	samājasa	drakhati	Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasī	lājā		(*E*) athi

Gir.	pi	tu	ekachā	samājā	sādhu-matā	Devānaṁpriyasa
Kāl.	pi	ch[ā	e]katiyā	samājā	sādh[u]-matā	Devānaṁpiyasā
Shāh.	pi	chu	ekatia	samaye	sasu-mate	Devanapiasa
Mān.	[pi	chu	eka]tiya	samaja	sa[dhu]-mata	Devanapriyasa
Dhau.	[pi	chu]	. . . . [t]i[y]ā	[sam]ā[jā]	s[ā]dhu-matā	Dev . . . .
Jau.	pi	chu	ekatiyā	samājā	sādhu-matā	Devānaṁpiyasa

Gir.	Priyadasino	rāño	(*F*) purā	mahānas[amhi]	Devānaṁpriyasa
Kāl.	Piyadasis[ā]	lājine	(*F*) [p]ule	mahānasasi	Devānaṁpiyasā
Shāh.	Priadraśisa	raño	(*F*) pura	mahana[sas]i	[Devana]pr[i]asa
Mān.	Priyadraśi[sa]	rajine	(*F*) pura	maha[nasa]si	[Devana]pri[ya]sa
Dhau.	[Piyadasine	lā]j[ine]	(*F*)	[mah]	. . . .
Jau.	Piyadrasine	lājine	(*F*) puluvaṁ	mahā[nasa]si	Devānaṁpiyasa

Gir.	Priy[a]dasino	rāño	anudivasaṁ	bahūni	prāṇa-sata-sahasrāni
Kāl.	Piyadasisā	lājin[e]	anudivasaṁ	bahuni	pāta-sahasāni
Shāh.	Priadraśisa	raño	anudivaso	bahuni	pra[ṇa]-śata-sahasani
Mān.	Pri[yadra]śisa	rajine	anudiva[sa	ba]huni	praṇa-śa[ta]-sahas[r]ani
Dhau.	Piy[a] . .	. . . .	. . . . . .	. [n]i	[p]āna-[sa]ta . . . .
Jau.	Piyadasine	lājine	anudivasaṁ	bah[ū]ni	pāna-sata-sah[a]sāni

Gir.	ārabhisu	sūpāthāya	(*G*) se	aja	yadā	ayaṁ	dha[ṁ]ma-lip[ī]
Kāl.	alaṁbhiyisu	supaṭhāy[e]	(*G*) se	i[d]āni	ya[dā]	iyaṁ	dhaṁma-lipi
Shāh.	[arabhi]yis[u]	supaṭhay[e]	(*G*) s[o	i]dani	yada	aya	dhrama-dipi
Mān.	[arabh]isu	supa[thra]ye	(*G*) s[e]	. . . . .	. . [da]	ayi	dhrama-dipi
Dhau.	[ā]labhiyisu	sūpaṭhāy[e]	(*G*) se	a[ja]	adā	[iyaṁ	dha]ṁ[ma]-lipī
Jau.	ālabhiyisu	sūpa[ṭh]āye	(*G*) se	aja	adā	iyaṁ	dhaṁma-lipī

Gir.	likhitā		tī	eva	prāṇā	ārabhare	sūpāthāya	dvo
Kāl.	lekhitā	tadā	tiṁni	yevā	pānāni	alabhi[yaṁ]ti		duve
Shāh.	likhita	tada	trayo	vo	praṇa	haṁñaṁt[i]		majura
Mān.	likhi[ta]	ta[da]	ti[ni]	y[eva]	pra[ṇa]ni	[ara]bh[iyaṁti]		du[v]e [2]
Dhau.	likhitā		tim	. . . .	. . . .	[āla]bh[iy]		. . . . .
Jau.	likhitā		tiṁni	yeva	pānāni	āla[ṁ]bhiyaṁti		duve

Gir.	morā	eko	mago	so	pi		mago	na	dhruvo
Kāl.	majūl[ā]	eke	mige	se	pi	[chū]	mige	no	dhruve
Shāh.	duv[i] 2	mrugo	1	so	pi		mrugo	no	dhruva[ṁ]
Mān.	majura	[e]k[e]	m[r]ig[e]	s[e]	p[i	chu]	mrig[e]	no	dhruvaṁ
Dhau.	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. . .
Jau.	majūlā	eke	mige	se	pi	chu	mige	no	dhuvaṁ

Gir.	(*H*) ete	pi		trī	prāṇā	pachhā	na	ārabhisare
Kāl.	(*H*) e[t]āni	pi	ch[u]	tini	pānā[n]i		no	alābhi[y]isa[ṁ]ti
Shāh.	(*H*) eta	pi		praṇa	trayo	pacha	na	arabhiśaṁti
Mān.	(*H*) [e]tani	pi	chu	[tini]	praṇani	pacha	no	ara[bhi] . . . . .
Dhau.	. . . .	. .	. .	[t]iṁni	pānāni	pachhā	n[o]	āl[aṁ]bhiyisa[ṁ]t[i]
Jau.	(*H*) etāni	pi	chu	tiṁni	pānāni	pachhā	no	āla[bh]iyisaṁti

SECOND ROCK-EDICT

Gir.	(*A*) sarvata	vijitamhi	Devānaṁpriyasa	Piyadasino	rāño
Kāl.	(*A*) sav[a]tā	vijitasi	Devānaṁpiyas[ā]	Piyadasis[ā]	lājine
Shāh.	(*A*) sav[r]atra	vijite	[De]va[naṁ]priyasa	Priyadraśisa	
Mān.	(*A*) sa[vatra	vi]jitasi	Devanapriyasa	Priyadraśisa	rajine
Dhau.	(*A*) [sa]vata	[v]i[ji]tasi	[D]e[v]ānaṁpiyasa	Piyadasi[ne	l] . . . . .
Jau.	(*A*) savata	vijitasi	Devānaṁpiyasa	Piyadasine	lājine

Gir.	evamapi	prachaṁtesu	yathā	Choḍā	Pāḍā	Satiyaputo
Kāl.	ye cha	aṁtā	[a]thā	Choḍā	Paṁ[ḍi]yā	Sātiyaputo
Shāh.	y[e] cha	[a]ṁta	yatha	[Choḍa]	Paṁḍiya	Satiyaputro
Mān.	ye cha	ata	atha	[Choḍa]	Pa[ṁḍi]ya	Sa[ti]ya[p]u[tra]
Dhau.	. . . .		[athā]	. .	. .	. . . .
Jau.	e vā pi	aṁtā	athā	Choḍā	Paṁḍiyā	Satiyapu[t]e

Gir.	Ketalaputo	ā Taṁbapaṁṇī	Aṁtiyako		Yona-rājā	ye vā pi
Kāl.	Ke[lala]puto	Taṁba[pa]ṁni	Aṁtiyoge	[n]āma	Yona-lājā	ye chā aṁne
Shāh.	Keraḍaputro	Taṁbapaṁṇi	Aṁtiyo[k]o	nama	Yona-raja	ye cha aṁñe
Mān.	Keralaputra	[Taṁ]bapaṇi	[A]tiyoge	nama	Yona-[raja]	ye cha [a] . .
Dhau.	. . . .		. . [t]iyoke	nāma	Yo[na]-lājā	[e] vā [p]i
Jau.	. . . .	. ī	Aṁtiyoke	nāma	Yona-lājā	[e] vā pi

Gir.	tasa	Aṁtiy[a]kas[a]	sāmīp[aṁ]	rājāno	sarvatra	Devānaṁpriyasa
Kāl.	tas[ā	A]ṁtiyogasā	sā[ma]ṁtā	lā[j]āno	[sa]vatā	Devānaṁpiyasā
Shāh.	tasa	Aṁtiyokasa	samaṁta	rajano	savratra	Devanaṁpriyasa
Mān.	. . sa	. . . . . . [gasa]	samata	ra[jane	sa]vratra	. . . . . . priyasa
Dhau.	[ta]sa	Aṁtiyo[ka]sa	sāmaṁtā	lājāne	savat[a	D]evā[naṁp]i[ye]na
Jau.	tasa	Aṁtiyokasa	sāmaṁtā	lājāne	savata	Devānaṁpiyena

Gir.	Priyadasino	rāño	dve	chikīchha	katā	manusa-chikīchhā	cha
Kāl.	Piyadasisā	lājine	duve	chikisakā	kaṭā	manusa-chikisā	chā
Shāh.	Priyadraśisa	raño	du[vi] 2	chik[i]sa	[kr]i[ṭa]	manuśa-chikisa	. .
Mān.	Priyadraśisa	rajine	[duve 2]	chikisa	[ka]ṭa	manuśa-chik[isa	cha]
Dhau.	P[i]yadasi[nā]	. . . .				[s]ā	cha
Jau.	Piyadasinā	lāji	. . . .			[ch]ikisā	cha

Gir.	pasu-chikīchhā	cha	(*B*) osuḍhāni	cha	yāni	m[a]nusopagān[i]	cha
Kāl.	pasu-chikisā	chā	(*B*) osadhīn[i]			manusopagāni	chā
Shāh.	pa[śu-ch]ikisa	[cha]	(*B*) [o]sha[ḍha]ni			manuśopakani	cha
Mān.	paśu-[chi]kisa	cha	(*B*) osha[ḍha]ni			manu . . . . ka[ni	cha]
Dhau.	p[asu-ch]i[k]is[ā]	cha	(*B*) . . . . . dhāni		ān[i	m]u[nisopa]gāni	
Jau.	pasu-chikisā	cha	(*B*) osadhāni		āni	munisopagāni	

Gir.	paso[pa]gāni	cha	yata	yata	nāsti	sarvatrā	hārāpitāni	cha
Kāl.	pasopagāni	chā	a[ta]tā		n[a]th[i	sa]vatā	[h]ālāpitā	chā
Shāh.	paśopakani	cha	yat[r]a	yatra	nasti	savatra	harapita	cha
Mān.	pa . . . . [kani	cha	atra	atra	nasti	savra]tra	[ha]rapi[ta	cha]
Dhau.	pasu-opagān[i]	cha	atata		na[thi	savata	hā]lāpit[ā]	cha
Jau.	pasu-opagāni	cha	atata		nathi	sava[ta]	. . .	

Gir.	ropāpitāni	cha	(*C*)		mūlāni	cha	phalāni	cha	yata yatra
Kāl.	lo[p]āpit[ā]	chā	(*C*)	[e]vamevā	mulāni	chā	phalāni	chā	a[ta]t[ā]
Shāh.	vuta	cha							
Mān.	ropa[pita]	cha	(*C*)	e[va]meva	mulani	[cha]	phalani	[cha]	a[tra a]tra
Dhau.	[lo]pāp[i]tā	[cha]	(*C*)		mū[l]	. . . .			
Jau.	. . . .							cha	atata

Gir.	nāsti sarvata hārāpitāni cha rop[ā]pitāni cha (*D*) paṁthesū kūpā
Kāl.	nathi savatā hālāp[i]tā chā lopāpitā [ch]ā (*D*) ma[g]e[s]u [lu]khāni
Shāh.	
Mān.	[na]sti [savra]tra harapita cha ro[pa]pita cha (*D*) ma[geshu] ruchhani
Dhau.	. . . . . . v[a]t[a] hālāpitā [cha] lo[p]āpitā cha (*D*) ma[g]e[su udu]pānāni
Jau.	nathi s[a]vatra hālāpitā cha lopāpitā cha (*D*) magesu udupānāni

Gir.	cha khānāpitā vrachhā cha ropāpit[ā] paribhogāya pasu-manusānaṁ
Kāl.	lopitāni ud[u]pānā[n]i chā khānāpitāni paṭibhogāye pasu-munis[ā]naṁ
Shāh.	(*C*) kupa cha khanapita pratibh[o]gaye paśu-manuśanaṁ
Mān.	[ropa]pi[tani] . . . . [pi]tani paṭibhogaye paśu-m[uni]śanaṁ
Dhau.	khānāpitāni lukhāni cha lopā[p]itāni p[a]ṭibhogāye . . . . [na]ṁ
Jau.	khānāpitāni lukhāni cha . . . .

THIRD ROCK-EDICT

Gir.	(*A*) Devānaṁpiyo Piyadasi r[ā]jā evaṁ āha (*B*) dbādasa-
Kāl.	(*A*) De[vā]naṁpiye Piyadasi lājā h[e]vaṁ āhā (*B*) du[v]āḍasa-
Shāh.	(*A*) Devanaṁpriyo Priyadraśi raja ahati (*B*) badaya-
Mān.	(*A*) Devanapriye Priyadraśi raja eva a[ha] (*B*) duva[ḍa]śa-
Dhau.	(*A*) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasī lājā hevaṁ āhā (*B*) duvādasa-
Jau.	(*A*) Devā[na]ṁpiye Piyadasī lājā hevaṁ āhā (*B*) duvādasa-

Gir.	vāsābhisitena mayā idaṁ āñ[a]pitaṁ (*C*) sarvata vijite mama
Kāl.	v[a]sābhisitena me iyaṁ ānapayite (*C*) savatā vijitasi [mama]
Shāh.	vashabh[i]si[tena] . . . . . . [a]ṇapi[taṁ] (*C*) savatra ma[a] vijite
Mān.	vashabhisetena me iyaṁ [aṇapayit]e (*C*) savrat[r]a vijitasi . . . .
Dhau.	vasābhisitena me iy[a]ṁ ānāp[ay]i . . (*C*) . . . . [ta v]i[j]it[a]si m[e]
Jau.	vasābhisitena me iyaṁ [ā] . . . .

Gir.	yutā cha rājūke cha prādesike cha paṁchasu paṁchasu vāsesu
Kāl.	yutā laj[ū]k[e] pādesike pa[ṁ]cha[s]u paṁchasu vasesu
Shāh.	yuta rajuko pradeśi[ka paṁcha]shu paṁchashu 5 vasheshu
Mān.	. . ta [ra]ju . . . pradeśike [paṁ]chashu paṁ[chashu] 5 vashesh[u]
Dhau.	yut[ā] la[j]u[k]e . . . . paṁchasu paṁchasu vasesu
Jau.	. . . . cha pād[e]sike cha paṁchasu paṁchasu vasesu

Gir.	anusaṁy[ā]na[ṁ n]iyātu etāyeva athāya imāya dhaṁmānusasṭiya
Kāl.	[a]nusa[ṁ]yānaṁ nikham[aṁ]tu etāye vā a[ṭh]āye imāya dhaṁmanusathiyā
Shāh.	anusaṁyanaṁ nik[r]amatu etisa vo karaṇa imisa dhraṁmanuśastiye
Mān.	anusa[ṁ]yana[ṁ] nikramatu etaye va athraye imaye dhramanuśastiye
Dhau.	anusayānaṁ nikhamāvū
Jau.	anusayānaṁ nikhamāvū

Gir.	yathā añāya pi kaṁmāy[a]
Kāl.	yathā aṁ[nāye] pi kaṁmāye
Shāh.	[tha] añaye pi kraṁmaye
Mān.	ya[tha] añaye pi krama[ṇe]
Dhau.	athā aṁnāye pi [ka]ṁ[ma]ne hevaṁ imā[y]e [dhaṁ]mānus[ath]iy[e]
Jau.	athā aṁnāye pi kaṁma[n]e . . . .

Gir.	(*D*) [s]ādhu	mātari cha pitari cha	susrūsā	mitra-saṁstuta-ñātīnaṁ
Kāl.	(*D*) sādhu	māta-pitisu	sususā	mita-saṁthuta-nātikyān[aṁ] chā
Shāh.	(*D*) sadhu	mata-pitushu	suśrusha	mitra-saṁst[u]ta-ñatikanaṁ
Mān.	(*D*) [sadhu	mata]-pi[tu]shu	[s]u[śrusha	mitra]-sa[ṁ]stuta-ñatikanaṁ cha
Dhau.	(*D*) [s]ādh[u]	māt[ā]-p[i]t[i]su	su[s]ūs[ā	m] . . . . nātisu cha
Jau.	. . . .		. [s]ā	mita-saṁthute[s] . . . nātisu ch[a]

Gir.	bāmhaṇa-samaṇānaṁ		sādh[u d]ānaṁ	prāṇānaṁ sādhu	anāraṁbho
Kāl.	baṁbhana-sama[nā]naṁ	[chā]	sādhu d[ā]ne	pānānaṁ	anālaṁbh[e]
Shāh.	bramaṇa-[śra]maṇa[naṁ]		. . . .	[pra]ṇanaṁ	[anaraṁ]bho
Mān.	bra[ma]ṇa-śramaṇana[ṁ]		sadhu dane	praṇana	[anara]bhe
Dhau.	baṁbhana-samanehi		sādhu dāne	jīvesu	anālaṁbhe
Jau.	baṁbhana-samanehi		sādhu dāne	jīvesu	[a]nālaṁbhe

Gir.		apa-vyayatā	apa-bhāḍatā	sādhu (*E*) parisā	pi		yute
Kāl.	sādhu	[a]pa-v[i]yātā	[a]pa-[bha]ṁ[ḍa]t[ā]	sādhu (*E*) palisā	pi	cha	yutāni
Shāh.	sadhu	apa-vayata	apa-bhaṁḍata	sadhu (*E*) pari	[pi]		yutani
Mān.	sadhu	apa-[va]yata	apa-bha[ḍata]	sadhu (*E*) parisha	pi	cha	yutani
Dhau.	sādhu	apa-viy[a]t[ā]	apa-bh[aṁ]ḍatā	sādhu (*E*) p[a]lisā	pi	cha . . . . [nas]i	
Jau.	sādhu	. . . .					

Gir.	āñapayisati	gaṇanāyaṁ	hetuto	cha	vyaṁjanato	cha
Kāl.	[ga]nanasi	anap[a]yisaṁti	hetuvatā	chā	viyaṁjanat[e]	chā
Shāh.	[ga]ṇanasi	aṇapeśaṁti	hetuto	cha	vaṁñanato	cha
Mān.	ga[ṇa]nasi	[aṇapa]yiśa[ti]	he[tute]	cha	vi[yaṁja]nate	cha
Dhau.	y[u]t[ān]i	ā[na]p[ay]is[a]ti	[he]tut[e]	ch[a]	vi[yaṁja]	
Jau.	. . . .	[y]i	hetute	cha	viyaṁjanate	cha

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT

Gir.	(*A*) atikātaṁ	aṁt[a]raṁ	bahūni	vāsa-satāni	vaḍhito	eva
Kāl.	(*A*) atika[ṁ]taṁ	a[ṁ]ta[la]ṁ	bahuni	vasa-satāni	v[aḍh]it[e]	vā
Shāh.	(*A*) atikrataṁ	aṁtaraṁ	bahuni	vasha-śatani	vaḍhito	vo
Mān.	(*A*) atikrataṁ	ata[raṁ]	bahuni	vasha-śa[ta]ni	vadhite	vo
Dhau.	(*A*) atikaṁtaṁ	aṁtalaṁ	bahūni	vasa-satāni	vaḍhite	va
Jau.	(*A*) a[t]ikaṁtaṁ	aṁtalaṁ	bahūni	vasa-satāni	vaḍhite	va

Gir.	prāṇāraṁbho	vihiṁsā	cha	bhūtānaṁ	ñātīsu	a[s]aṁpratipatī
Kāl.	pā[nā]laṁbhe	vi[h]isā	chā	bhutānaṁ	nātinā	asaṁ[pa]ṭip[a]ti
Shāh.	praṇaraṁbho	vihisa	cha	bhuta[na]ṁ	ñatina	asaṁpaṭipati
Mān.	praṇaraṁ[bh]e	vihi[sa]	cha	bhutanaṁ	ñatina	asapa[ṭ]ipati
Dhau.	pānā[la]ṁbhe	vihisā	cha	bhūtānaṁ	nātisu	asaṁpaṭipati
Jau.	pānālaṁbhe	. . . .				

Gir.	brā[m]haṇa-sramaṇānaṁ	asaṁpratīpatī	(*B*) ta	aja	Devānaṁpriyasa
Kāl.	samana-b[aṁ]bhanānaṁ	asaṁpaṭipati	(*B*) s[e]	ajā	Devānaṁpiyasā
Shāh.	śramaṇa-bramaṇana[ṁ]	a[saṁ]paṭipati	(*B*) [so	aja	Devana]ṁpriyasa
Mān.	śrama[ṇa]-bramaṇana	asa[ṁ]paṭipati	(*B*) se	aja	[De]vanapriyasa
Dhau.	samana-bābha[ne]su	asaṁpaṭipati	(*B*) se	aja	Devānaṁpiyasa
Jau.	. . . .		(*B*) se	aja	Devānaṁpiyasa

Gir.	Priyadasino	rāño	dhaṁma-charaṇena	[bhe]rī-ghoso	aho
Kāl.	Piyadasine	lājine	dhaṁm[a]-chal[an]enā	bheli-ghose	aho
Shāh.	Priyadraśisa	[raño]	dhrama-charaṇena	bheri-ghosha	aho
Mān.	Priyadraśine	rajine	dhrama-[cha]ra[ṇe]na	bheri-ghoshe	aho
Dhau.	Piyadasine	lājine	dhaṁma-chalanena	bheli-ghosaṁ	a[h]o
Jau.	Piyadasine	lājine	dhaṁma-chalanena	bhe[l]	

Gir.	dhaṁma-ghoso	vimāna-darsaṇā	cha hasti-da[sa]ṇā cha	agi-kh[a]ṁdhāni
Kāl.	dhaṁma-ghose	vimana-dasan[ā]	[ha]thini	agi-kaṁdh[ā]ni
Shāh.	dhrama-ghosha	vimanana[ṁ] draśanaṁ	[a]stina	joti-kaṁdhani
Mān.	dhama-ghoshe	vimana-draśana	asti[ne]	agi-kaṁdhan[i]
Dhau.	dhaṁma-[gho]saṁ	vimāna-dasanaṁ	hathīni	[a]gi-kaṁdhāni
Jau.	. . . .			

Gir.	cha	[a]ñāni	cha	divyāni	rūpāni	dasayitpā	janaṁ	(*C*) yārise
Kāl.		aṁnāni	chā	divyāni	lupāni	dasayitu	jana[sa]	(*C*) [ā]disā
Shāh.		añani	cha	divani	rupani	draśayitu	janasa	(*C*) yadiśaṁ
Mān.		aña[ni	cha]	di[vani]	rupani	draśeti	janasa	(*C*) [a]diśe
Dhau.		aṁnāni	cha	[di]vi[y]āni	lūpān[i]	dasayitu	munisānaṁ	(*C*) ād[i]se
Jau.	. . . .			divi[y]āni	lūpāni	drasayitu	munisānaṁ	(*C*) ādise

Gir.	bahūhi	v[āsa]-satehi	na	bhūta-puve	tārise	aja	vaḍhite
Kāl.	ba[h]u[hi	v]asā-[sa]tehi	nā	huta-puluve	tādise	ajā	vaḍhite
Shāh.	bahuhi	vasha-śatehi	na	bhuta-pruve	tadiśe	aja	vaḍhite
Mān.	bahuhi	vasha-śa[tehi]	na	[hu]ta-pr[u]ve	tadiśe	[a]ja	vaḍhite
Dhau.	b[a]hūhi	vasa-sa[t]ehi	no	hūta-puluve	tādise	aja	va[ḍhite]
Jau.	bahūhi	vasa-sate	. . . .				

Gir.	Devānaṁpriyasa	Priyadasino	rāño	dhaṁmānusasṭiyā	anāraṁ[bh]o
Kāl.	Devānaṁpiyasā	Piyadasine	[l]ājine	dhaṁmanusathiye	a[n]ālaṁbhe
Shāh.	Devanaṁpriyasa	Priyadraśisa	raño	dhraṁmanuśa[sti]ya	anaraṁbho
Mān.	[De]vanapriyasa	Priyadraśine	rajine	dhramanuśastiya	anarabhe
Dhau.	[De]vānaṁpiyasa	Piy[a]dasine	lājin[e]	dhaṁ[m]ānus[a]thi[y]ā	an[āla]ṁbhe
Jau.	. . . .			dhaṁmānusathiyā	anālaṁbhe

Gir.	prāṇānaṁ	avihīsā	bhūtānaṁ	ñātīnaṁ	saṁpaṭipatī	bramhaṇa-samaṇānaṁ
Kāl.	pānānaṁ	avihisā	bhutānaṁ	nāti[naṁ]	saṁpaṭipati	baṁbha[na-sa]manānaṁ
Shāh.	praṇa[naṁ]	avihisa	bhutanaṁ	ñatina[ṁ]	saṁpa[ṭi]pati	[bra]maṇa-śramaṇana
Mān.	praṇana	avihisa	bhutana	ñatina	saṁpaṭipati	bamaṇa-śramaṇana
Dhau.	pānānaṁ	avihisā	bhūtānaṁ	nātisu	saṁpaṭipat[i	sama]na-b[ā]bhanesu
Jau.	pānānaṁ	avihisā	bhūtānaṁ	nātisu	[saṁpa]	. . . .

Gir.	saṁpaṭipatī	mātari pitari [s]usrusā	thaira-susrusā	(*D*) esa	añe
Kāl.	saṁpaṭipati	mātā-pitisu sususā		(*D*) ese chā	aṁne
Shāh.	saṁpaṭipati	mata-pitushu	vuḍhana[ṁ]suśrusha	(*D*) e[ta]	añaṁ
Mān.	sa[ṁ]paṭipati	mata-pitushu suśru[sha]	vudhrana [su]śrusha	(*D*) eshe	añ[e]
Dhau.	saṁpaṭipati	m[ā]t[i]-pitu- susūsā	vu[ḍha]-susūsā	(*D*) esa	aṁne
Jau.	. . . .			(*D*) esa	aṁne

Gir.	cha	bahuvidhe .	[dha]ṁma-charaṇe	va[ḍhi]te	(*E*) vaḍhayisati	cheva
Kāl.	chā	ba[h]uvidhe	dhaṁma-chalane	vadh[i]te	(*E*) vadhiyisati	chevā
Shāh.	cha	bahuvidhaṁ	dhrama-charaṇaṁ	vaḍhitaṁ	(*E*) vaḍhiśati	cha yo
Mān.	cha	bahuvidhe	dhrama-charaṇe	vadhrite	(*E*) vadhrayiśati	yeva
Dhau.	cha	ba[h]uvidhe	dh[a]ṁma-chalane	vaḍhite	(*E*) vaḍhayis[a]ti	cheva
Jau.	cha	bahuvidhe	dhaṁma-chalane	vaḍhite	(*E*) va[ḍhay]i .	. .

Gir.	Devānaṁpriyo	[Pri*]ya[da]si	rājā		dhaṁma-[cha]raṇaṁ	idaṁ
Kāl.	Devānaṁpiy[e]	Piyadasi	lāja	ima[ṁ]	dha[ṁ]ma-chalanaṁ	
Shāh.	Devanaṁpriyasa	Priyadraśisa	raño		dhrama-charaṇaṁ	ima[ṁ]
Mān.	Devanapriye	Priyadraśi	raja		dhama-[cha]raṇa	ima[ṁ]
Dhau.	Devānaṁpiye	Piyada[s]ī	l[ā]jā		dhaṁma-chalanaṁ	imaṁ
Jau.	. . . .	. . .	. .	.	. . . . . .	.

Gir.	(*F*) putrā		cha		[p]otrā	cha	prapotrā	cha	Devānaṁpriyasa
Kāl.	(*F*) putā		cha	kaṁ	natāle	chā	panātikyā	ch[ā]	Devānaṁpiyasā
Shāh.	(*F*) putra	pi	cha	kaṁ	nataro	cha	pranatika	cha	Devanaṁpriya[sa]
Mān.	(*F*) [putra]	pi	cha	ka	natare	cha	paṇatika		De[va]napriyasa
Dhau.	(*F*) putā	pi	chu		nati		[panati] . .	[cha]	Devānaṁpiyasa
Jau.	. .	.	.	.	.	.	. .	.	. . .

Gir.	Priyadasino	rāño	[pra*]vadhayisaṁti		idaṁ	[dha]ṁma-charaṇaṁ
Kāl.	Piyadasine	lājine	[pa]v[a]ḍhayisaṁt[i	ch]ev[a]		dhaṁma-chalanaṁ
Shāh.	Priyadraśisa	raño	pra[va]ḍh[e]śaṁti	[yo]		dhrama-charaṇaṁ
Mān.	Priyadaśine	rajine	pavaḍhayiśaṁti	yo		dhrama-charaṇa
Dhau.	Piyadasine	lājine	pavaḍhayisaṁti	yeva		dhaṁma-chalanaṁ
Jau.	Piyadasine	lājine	pavaḍhayi[sa]ṁ[t]i	[y]e[va]		dhaṁma-cha[la] . .

Gir.		āva savaṭa-kapā	dhaṁmamhi	sīlamhi		tisṭaṁto	[dha]ṁmaṁ
Kāl.	i[maṁ]	āva-kapa[ṁ]	dhaṁmasi	s[ī]lasi	chā	chiṭhit[u]	dhaṁmaṁ
Shāh.	ima[ṁ	ava]-kapa	dhrame	śile	cha	tiṭhiti	dhramaṁ
Mān.	imaṁ	[a]va-kapaṁ	dhrame	śile	cha	[chi]ṭhitu	dhra[maṁ]
Dhau.	imaṁ	ā-k[a]paṁ	dhaṁmasi	[s]īlasi	ch[a	ch]i[ṭh]itu	[dhaṁmaṁ]
Jau.	. .	. . .	. .	. .	.	. .	. . .

Gir.	anusāsisaṁti	(*G*) [e]sa	hi	sesṭe	kaṁme	ya	dhaṁmānusāsanaṁ
Kāl.	anusāsisaṁti	(*G*) ese	hi	seṭhe	kaṁm[aṁ]	aṁ	dhaṁmānusāsanaṁ
Shāh.	anuśaśiśaṁti	(*G*) eta	h[i	s]reṭhaṁ	k[r]ama[ṁ]	yaṁ	dhraman[u]śaśana[ṁ]
Mān.	anu[śa]śiśaṁti	(*G*) eshe	hi	sreṭhe		a[ṁ]	dhramanuśaśana
Dhau.	[a]nus[ā]sisaṁ[t]i	(*G*) esa	h[i]	se[ṭhe	kaṁ]me	yā	dhaṁmānusāsanā
Jau.	. . . .	. .	.	. .	. .	.	. . . .

Gir.	(*H*) dhaṁma-charaṇe	pi		na	[bha]vati	asīlasa	(*I*) [ta]	imaṁhi
Kāl.	(*H*) dhaṁma-chalane	pi	chā	no	hoti	asilasā	(*I*) se	im[a]s[ā]
Shāh.	(*H*) dhrama-charaṇa[ṁ]	pi	cha	na	bhoti	aśilasa	(*I*) so	imisa
Mān.	(*H*) dhrama-[cha]ra[ṇe]	pi	[cha]	na	hoti	aśi[la]sa	(*I*) se	imasa
Dhau.	(*H*) dhaṁma-chalane	pi	chu	no	hoti	asīlasa	(*I*) se	imasa
Jau.	(*H*) dhaṁma-chalane .	pi	chu	no	ho[t]i .	. .	. .	. .

Gir.	athamhi	[va]dhī	cha	ahīnī	cha	sādhu	(*J*) e[t]āya	athāya	ida[ṁ]
Kāl.	[a]thasā	v[a]dhi		ahini	chā	sādhu	(*J*) etāye	[a]thāye	iyaṁ
Shāh.	athrasa	vaḍhi		ahini	cha	sadhu	(*J*) etaye	aṭhaye	ima[ṁ]
Mān.	athrasa	vadhri		ahi[ni	cha]	sadhu	(*J*) etaye	athraye	i[yaṁ]
Dhau.	aṭhasa	v[a]ḍhī		ahīni	ch[a]	sā[dhū]	(*J*) et[āy]e	[aṭhāy]e	iyaṁ
Jau.	. . . .								

Gir.	lekhāpitaṁ	imasa	atha[sa]	v[a]dhi	yujaṁtu	hīni	ch[a	no]	lochetavyā
Kāl.	likhite	imas[ā]	a[tha]s[ā]	vadhi	yujaṁtu	hini	ch[a]	mā	alochayisu
Shāh.	nipistaṁ	imisa	aṭhasa	vaḍhi	yujaṁtu	hini	cha	ma	lo[ch]e[sh]u
Mān.	li[khi]te	e[ta]sa	[athra]sa	vadhra	yu[jaṁ]tu	hini	cha	ma	[alo]chay[i]su
Dhau.	likhite	imasa	aṭhasa	vaḍhī	yujaṁtū	hīni	cha	mā	alochayisū
Jau.	. . . .					[hī]ni	cha	mā	aloch[ay]i . .

Gir.	(*K*) dbādasa-vāsābhisitena	Devān[a]ṁpriyena	Priyadasinā	rāñ[ā]
Kāl.	(*K*) duv[ā]ḍas[a]-vaś[ā]bhisitenā	Dev[ā]naṁp[i]yen[ā]	Piyadaśinā	lājinā
Shāh.	(*K*) badaya-vashabhisitena	Devanaṁpriyena	Priyadraśina	raña
Mān.	(*K*) duva[da]śa-vashabhisitena	Devanapriyena	Priyadraśina	rajina
Dhau.	(*K*) duvādasa vasāni abhisitasa	Devānaṁpi[ya]sa	Piyadasine	lājine
Jau.	. . . .			

Gir.	idaṁ		lekhāpitaṁ
Kāl.			lekhitā
Shāh.	ñanaṁ	hi[da]	nipesitaṁ
Mān.	iya[ṁ]		likhapite
Dhau.	yaṁ	[idha]	likhite
Jau.	. . . . . .		

FIFTH ROCK-EDICT

Gir.	(*A*) D[e]vānaṁpriyo	Piyadasi	rājā	evaṁ	āha	(*B*) kalāṇaṁ
Kāl.	(*A*) Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lājā		ahā	(*B*) kayāne
Shāh.	(*A*) Devanapriyo	Priyadraśi	raya	eva[ṁ]	hahati	(*B*) ka[la]ṇa[ṁ]
Mān.	(*A*) De[vanaṁ]priyena	Priyadraśi	raja	eva[ṁ]	aha	(*B*) kalaṇa[ṁ]
Dhau.	(*A*) [Dev]ānaṁpiye	Piyadasī	lājā	h[eva]ṁ	āhā	(*B*) kayāne
Jau.	(*A*) Devā[na]ṁpiye	Piya[da]	. . . .			

Gir.	dukaraṁ	(*C*) y[o	ādikaro]	kalāṇ[a]sa	so	dukaraṁ	karoti	(*D*) ta
Kāl.	dukale ı	(*C*) e	ādikale	kay[ā]nasā	se	dukalaṁ	kaleti	(*D*) se
Shāh.	dukara[ṁ]	(*C*) [yo]	a[dikaro	kala]ṇasa	so	du[ka]raṁ	karoti	(*D*) so
Mān.	dukara[ṁ]	(*C*) ye	adikare	kayaṇasa	se	dukaraṁ	karoti	(*D*) taṁ
Dhau.	dukale	(*C*)		k[a]y[ā]n[a]sa	s[e]	dukalaṁ	kal[e]ti	(*D*) se
Jau.	. . . .							

Gir.	mayā	bahu	kalāṇaṁ	kataṁ	(*E*) t[a]	mama	putā	cha	potā
Kāl.	mamayā	bahu	kayāne	kaṭ[e]	(*E*) t[ā	ma]m[ā	putā]	ch[ā]	nat[āle]
Shāh.	maya	bahu	kalaṁ	ki[ṭ]raṁ	(*E*) taṁ	maa	putra	cha	nataro
Mān.	maya	bahu	[ka]yaṇe	[ka]ṭe	(*E*) [ta]ṁ	ma[a]	putra	[cha]	natar[e]
Dhau.	me	b[ah]uke	kayāne	kaṭe	(*E*) taṁ	ye me	[p]ut[ā]	va	n[a]t[ī]
Jau.	. . . .								nat[ī]

Gir. cha paraṁ cha tena y[a] me [a]pachaṁ āva saṁvaṭa-kapā
Kāl. [chā] palaṁ [chā] tehi [ye] apatiye [m]e āva-kapaṁ
Shāh. cha para[ṁ] cha [tena y]e me apacha vrakshaṁti ava-kapaṁ
Mān. cha para cha t[e]na ye apatiye me [a]va-[ka]paṁ
Dhau. [va] . . . . ṁ cha t[e]na ye apatiye me āva-kapaṁ
Jau. va palaṁ cha te . . . .

Gir. anuvatisare tathā so sukataṁ kāsati (*F*) yo tu eta desaṁ
Kāl. tathā anuvaṭisa[ṁ]ti s[e] s[u]kaṭaṁ kachhaṁ[t]i (*F*) e chu het[ā] desaṁ
Shāh. tatha ye an[u]vaṭiśaṁti te s[u]kiṭa[ṁ] kashaṁti (*F*) yo chu ato . . kaṁ
Mān. tatha anuvaṭiśati se sukaṭa ka[sha]ti (*F*) ye [chu] atra deśa
Dhau. tathā anuvatisaṁti s[e] sukaṭaṁ kachh[aṁ]ti (*F*) e heta d[esa]ṁ
Jau. . . . .

Gir. pi hāpesati so [du]kataṁ kāsati (*G*) sukaraṁ hi pāpa[ṁ]
Kāl. pi hāpa[y]i[sat]i s[e] dukaṭaṁ kachhati (*G*) p[ā]pe hi nāmā supadālaye
Shāh. pi hapeśadi so dukaṭaṁ kashati (*G*) papaṁ h[i] sukaraṁ
Mān. pi hapeśati se dukaṭa kashati (*G*) pape hi nama supadarave
Dhau. pi hāpayisat[i] se dukaṭaṁ kachhati (*G*) pā[p]e hi [nāma] supadālaye
Jau. . . . . s[u]padālaye

Gir. (*H*) atikātaṁ aṁtaraṁ na bhūta-pruvaṁ dhaṁma-mahāmātā nāma
Kāl. (*H*) se atikaṁtaṁ aṁtalaṁ no huta-puluva dhaṁ[ma]-mahāmatā nāmā
Shāh. (*H*) sa atikrataṁ atara no bhuta-pruva dhraṁma-ma[ha]ma[tra] nama
Mān. (*H*) s[e] atikrata[ṁ] a[ṁ]tara[ṁ] na bhuta-pruva dhrama-[ma]hamatra nama
Dhau. (*H*) s[e] at[ikaṁ]taṁ aṁtalaṁ no hūta-puluvā dhaṁma-mahāmātā nāma
Jau. (*H*) se [a] . . . .

Gir. (*I*) ta, m[a]yā traidasa-vāsābhi[s]i[tena] dhaṁm[a]-mahāmātā katā
Kāl. (*I*) t[e]dasa-vasābh[i]sitenā mamayā dhaṁma-mahāmāt[ā] ka]ṭ[ā]
Shāh. (*I*) so todaśa-vashabhisitena maya dhrama-mahamatra kiṭa
Mān. (*I*) se treḍaśa-va[sha]bhisitena maya dhrama-mahamatra kaṭa
Dhau. (*I*) se tedasa-va[sā]bhisitena me dhaṁma-mahāmātā nāma kaṭā
Jau. . . . .

Gir. (*J*) te sava-pāsaṁḍesu vyāpatā dhāmadhisṭānāya . . . . .
Kāl. (*J*) [te] sav[a]-pāsaṁ[ḍe]su viyā[pa]ṭā dhaṁ[m]ādhithā[nāye ch]ā dhaṁma-
Shāh. (*J*) te savra-prashaṁḍesh[u] vapaṭa dhraṁmadhithanaye cha dhrama-
Mān. (*J*) te savra-pa[sha]ḍesha vapuṭa dhramadhitha[na]ye cha dhrama-
Dhau. (*J*) te sava-pāsaṁḍe[su] v[i]y[āpaṭā] dhaṁmādhithān[ā]ye dhaṁma-
Jau. . . . . [dha]ṁ[m]ā[dh]i[th]ānā . . .

Gir. . . . . [dha]ṁma-yutasa cha Yoṇa-K[a]ṁbo[ja]-
Kāl. vaḍhiyā hi[da]-sukhāye vā dhaṁm[a]-yutas[ā] Yona-Kaṁb[o]ja-
Shāh. vaḍhiya hida-sukhaye cha dhrama-yutasa Yona-Kaṁboya-
Mān. vadhriya hida-sukhaye cha dh[r]ama-yutasa Yona-Kaṁboja-
Dhau. [va]ḍhiye hita-sukhāye [cha] dhaṁma-yutas[a] Yona-Kaṁbocha-
Jau. . . . .

Gir. Gaṁdhārānaṁ Ristika-P[e]teṇikānaṁ ye vā pi a[ṁ]ñ[e ā]parātā
Kāl. Gaṁdhālānaṁ e vā [pi] aṁne apalaṁtā
Shāh. Gaṁdharanaṁ Raṭhikanaṁ Pitinikanaṁ ye va pi aparaṁta
Mān. Gadharana Raṭhika-Pitinikana ye va pi añe aparata
Dhau. Gaṁdhālesu Laṭhika-[P]itenikesu e vā pi aṁne āpalaṁtā
Jau. . . . .

Gir. (*K*) bhatamayesu va . . . .
Kāl. (*K*) bhaṭamayesu baṁbhanibhesu anathesu [v]udhesu hida-
Shāh. (*K*) bhaṭamayeshu bramaṇibheshu anatheshu vuḍheshu [hita]-
Mān. (*K*) bha[ṭa]mayeshu bramaṇibhyeshu anatheshu vudhreshu hida-
Dhau. (*K*) bhaṭi[mayesu] bābha[n]ibhi[yes]u anāthesu ma[hāla]kesu cha h[i]t[a]-
Jau. . . . . bhanibhi . . . .

Gir. [su]khā[ya dhaṁma]-yutānaṁ apar[i]godhāya vyāpatā te (*L*) ba[ṁ]dhana-
Kāl. sukhāye dhaṁma-yutāye apalibodhāye viyapaṭā te (*L*) baṁdha[na]-
Shāh. sukhaye [dhraṁ]ma-yutasa apalig[o]dha vap[a]ṭa te (*L*) badhana-
Mān. su[khaye] dhrama-yuta- apalibodhaye viya[p]uṭa te (*L*) badhana-
Dhau. sukhāye dhaṁma-yutāye a[pa]libodhāye viyā[pa]ṭā se (*L*) baṁdhana-
Jau. . . . .

Gir. badhasa paṭividhānāya . . . .
Kāl. [badha]sā paṭividhānāy[e] apalibodhāye mokh[ā]ye chā eyaṁ anubadh[ā]
Shāh. badhasa paṭividhanay[e] apalibodhaye mo[kshaye] ayi anuba . .
Mān. badha[sa] paṭivi[dhanay]e apalibodhaye mokshay[e cha iyaṁ] anubadha
Dhau. [ba]dhas[a] p[a]ṭi[vidhānā]ye apalib[o]dhāye mokhāye cha iya[ṁ] anubaṁdh[a]
Jau. . . . . mokhāye . . . . . .

Gir. [p]rajā katābhīkāresu vā thairesu vā vyāpatā te
Kāl. pajāva ti v[ā kaṭābhikā]le ti vā m[ah]ā[la]ke ti v[ā] viy[ā]paṭā te
Shāh. prajava kiṭabhikaro va mahalake va viyapaṭa [t]e
Mān. p[r]aja t[i] va katrabhikara ti va mahalake ti va viyapraṭa te
Dhau. p[aj]ā [t]i [va ka]ṭābhīkā[le] ti va mahālake ti va viyāpaṭā se
Jau. . . . .

Gir. (*M*) Pāṭalipute cha bāhirasu cha . . . .
Kāl. (*M*) hid[ā] bā[h]ilesu chā naga[l]esu s[a]ves[u olodha]n[esu]
Shāh. (*M*) ia bahireshu cha nagareshu savreshu orodhaneshu
Mān. (*M*) hida bahireshu cha nagaresh[u] savreshu [o]rodhaneshu
Dhau. (*M*) hida cha bāhilesu cha nagalesu savesu s[a]vesu olodhanes[u]
Jau. . . . .

Gir. . . . . [y]e vā pi me añe . .
Kāl. bhā[tina]ṁ cha ne bh[agi]ni[nā] e vā [pi] aṁn[e]
Shāh. bhratuna cha me spasana cha ye va pi aṁñe
Mān. bhatana cha spas[u]na [cha] ye va pi añe
Dhau. [me] e vā pi bhāt[ī]naṁ me bhaginīnaṁ va aṁnesu vā
Jau. . . e [v]ā . . . .

Gir. ñātikā sarvata vyāpatā te (*N*) yo ayaṁ dhaṁma-nisrito ti va
Kāl. nātikye savatā viyā[pa]ṭā (*N*) e iyaṁ dhaṁma-nisite ti vā
Shāh. ñatika savatra viyapuṭa (*N*) y[e] ayaṁ dh[r]ama-niśite ti va
Mān. ñatike savratra viyapaṭa (*N*) [e] iyaṁ dhrama-niśito to va
Dhau. [nāt]i[su sava]t[a] v[i]yāpaṭā (*N*) e iyaṁ dhaṁm[a-n]isite ti va
Jau. . . . .

Gir. . . . .
Kāl. dāna-suyute ti [v]ā sav[a]tā v[i]jitas[i] mamā [dha]ṁma-
Shāh. dhrama[dhitha]ne ti va dana-s[a]yute ti va savata vijite maa dhrama-
Mān. dhramadhithane ti va dana-saṁyute ti va savratra vijitasi maa dhrama-
Dhau. dhaṁmādhithāne ti va dāna-sayute va sava-puṭhaviyaṁ dha[ṁ]ma-
Jau. . . . .

Gir. . . . . [t]e [dha]ṁma-mahāmātā (*O*) etāya athāya ayaṁ dhaṁma-
Kāl. yutasi viyāpaṭā te dhaṁma-m[a]hām[a]tā (*O*) etāye aṭhāye [i]yaṁ dhaṁma-
Shāh. yu[ta]si viyapaṭa te dhrama-mahamatra (*O*) etaye aṭhaye [a]yi dhrama-
Mān. yutasi vapuṭa [te] dhrama-mahamatra (*O*) etaye athraye ayi dhrama-
Dhau. yutasi viyāpaṭā ime dhaṁma-mahām[ā]tā (*O*) [i]m[ā]ye aṭhāye iyaṁ dhaṁma-
Jau. . . . .

Gir. lipī likhitā . . . .
Kāl. lipi lekhitā chi[la]-thitikyā hotu [tathā] cha me [pa]jā [a]nuva[ta]tu
Shāh. dipi nipista ch[i]ra-thitika bhot[u] ta[tha] cha [m]e p[r]aja anuvatatu
Mān. dipi likhita chira-ṭhitika hotu tatha cha me praja anuvaṭatu
Dhau. lip[ī] li[kh]i[tā] chila-ṭhitīk[ā ho]tu t[athā] cha me pa[jā anu]vatatu
Jau. . . . .

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT

Gir. (*A*) [Devā] . . . . [s]i rājā evaṁ āha (*B*) atikrāt[a]ṁ aṁtara[ṁ]
Kāl. (*A*) Dev[ā]naṁpi[y]e Piyadas[i] lājā hevaṁ āhā (*B*) atikaṁtaṁ aṁtalaṁ
Shāh. (*A*) Devanaṁpriyo Priyadraśi raya eva ahati (*B*) atikrataṁ aṁtara
Mān. (*A*) Devanapriye Priyadraśi raja [e]va[ṁ] aa (*B*) atikrataṁ ataraṁ
Dhau. (*A*) Dev[ānaṁp]iye Pi[yada]sī lājā [he]vaṁ [ā]hā (*B*) atikaṁ[taṁ a]ṁ[ta]laṁ
Jau. (*A*) . . . . [na]ṁpiye Piyadasī lājā hevaṁ āhā (*B*) atikaṁtaṁ aṁtalaṁ

Gir. na bhūta-pru[v] . [s] . [v] . . . [l] . atha-kaṁme va paṭivedanā vā
Kāl. no huta-puluv[e] sav[a]ṁ kalaṁ aṭha-k[aṁ]me [v]ā [paṭ]i[veda]nā vā
Shāh. na bhuta-pruvaṁ sava[ṁ] kala[ṁ] aṭha-kramaṁ va paṭivedana va
Mān. na huta-pruve [sa]vraṁ kala athra-[krama] va [pa]ṭivedana va
Dhau. no [h]ū[ta]-puluve s[a]vaṁ kālaṁ aṭha-ka[ṁ]me va [pa]ṭiveda[n]ā va
Jau. no hūta-puluve savaṁ kālaṁ aṭha-kaṁm[e] paṭivedanā va

Gir. (*C*) ta mayā evaṁ kataṁ (*D*) s[a]ve kāle bhuṁj[a]mānasa me
Kāl. (*C*) s[e] ma[may]ā hevaṁ kaṭe (*D*) s[a]vaṁ kālaṁ adamānas[ā] me
Shāh. (*C*) ta[ṁ] maya eva[ṁ] kiṭa[ṁ] (*D*) savraṁ kalaṁ aśamanasa me
Mān. (*C*) ta maya evaṁ kiṭaṁ (*D*) savra kalaṁ aśatasa me
Dhau. (*C*) se mamayā kaṭe (*D*) sa[va]ṁ [kālaṁ] . . . . [māna]sa me
Jau. (*C*) se mamayā kaṭe (*D*) savaṁ kālaṁ . . . . . . [sa m]e

Gir.		orodhanamhi	gabhāgāramhi	vachamhi	va	vinītamhi cha	uyānesu
Kāl.		olodhanasi	gabhāgālas[i]	va[chas]i		vin[itasi	u]y[ānasi]
Shāh.		orodhanaspi	grabhagaraspi	vrachaspi		vinitaspi	uyanaspi
Mān.		orodhane	grabhagarasi	vrachaspi		vinitaspi	uyanaspi
Dhau.	aṁte	olodh[a]nasi	ga[bhā]g[āla]si	v[achas]i		[v]inītasi	[u]y[ā]n[asi]
Jau.	aṁte	olodhanasi	gabhāgālasi	vachasi		vinītas[i]	uyānasi

Gir.	cha	savatra	paṭivedakā	sṭitā	athe	me	[ja]nasa	paṭivedetha
Kāl.		[sava]t[ā	paṭive]dakā		aṭha[ṁ]		janasā	. . . . vedetu
Shāh.		savatra	paṭivedaka		aṭhaṁ		janasa	paṭivedetu
Mān.		savratra	pa[ṭ]i[ve]da[ka]		athra		janasa	paṭivedetu
Dhau.	[cha	sa]vata	paṭivedakā		janasa		aṭhaṁ	[pa]ṭived[a]yaṁtu
Jau.	cha	savata	paṭivedakā		janasa		aṭhaṁ	praṭivedayaṁtu

Gir.		iti	(*E*)	sarvatra	cha	janasa	athe	karomi	
Kāl.	[m]e		(*E*)	sa[va]tā	[ch]ā	ja[nas]ā	aṭhaṁ	kachhāmi	hakaṁ
Shāh.	me		(*E*)	savatra	cha	ja[na]sa	aṭh[r]a	karomi	
Mān.	me		(*E*)	savratra	cha	janasa	athra	kar[o]mi	ahaṁ
Dhau.	m[e]	ti	(*E*)	sava[ta]	ch[a]	j[a]nasa	aṭhaṁ	kalāmi	h[aka]ṁ
Jau.	me	ti	(*E*)	savata	cha	janasa			[ka]ṁ

Gir.	(*F*) ya		cha	kiṁchi	mukhato	āñapayāmi	svayaṁ	dāpakaṁ	vā
Kāl.	(*F*) yaṁ	pi	ch[ā	k]i[chhi	m]u[kha]t[e	ānapayā]mi	[ha]kaṁ	dā[pakaṁ]	v[ā]
Shāh.	(*F*) ya[ṁ]	pi	cha	ki[chi]	mukhato	aṇapayami	a[haṁ]	dapa[ka]	va
Mān.	(*F*) yaṁ	pi	cha	kichhi	mukhato	aṇapemi	ahaṁ	dapakaṁ	va
Dhau.	(*F*) aṁ	pi	cha	ki[ṁ]chhi	mukh[a]te	ānapay[ā]mi		dāpakaṁ	v[ā]
Jau.	(*F*) aṁ	pi	cha	kiṁchhi	mukhate	ānapayāmi		dāpakaṁ	vā

Gir.	srāvāpakaṁ	vā	ya	vā	puna	mahāmātresu	āchāyi[ke]	aropitaṁ	bhavati
Kāl.	[sāvakaṁ]	vā	ye	vā	punā	mahāmat[e]hi	a[tiyāyike	ālopite	h]o[t]i
Shāh.	śravaka	va	ye	va	p[a]na	mahamatrana	a[cha]yika	a[ro]pitaṁ	bhoti
Mān.	śravakaṁ	va	ye	va	puna	mahamatrehi	achayike	aropite	hoti
Dhau.	[sā]v[a]kaṁ	vā	e	vā		mahām[āteh]i	atiyāyike	ālopite	hoti
Jau.	sāvakaṁ	vā	e	v[ā]		mah[ā]mātehi	a[t]i[yā]yike	[ā]lopite	hoti

Gir.	tāya athāya	vivādo	nijhatī	v[a	s]aṁto	parisāyaṁ	ānaṁtaraṁ
Kāl.	tā[yeṭh]ā[ye]	vivāde	n[i]jhati	v[ā]	saṁtaṁ	palis[ā]ye	anaṁ[ta]l[i]yenā
Shāh.	taye aṭhaye	viva[de]	nijha[t]i	va	sataṁ	parishaye	anaṁtariyena
Mān.	taye athraye	vivade	nijati	va	saṁta	par[isha]ye	a[na]taliyena
Dhau.	tasi aṭhasi	v[i]vāde	va [n]ijhatī	vā	saṁtaṁ	palisāyā	āna[ṁ]taliyaṁ
Jau.	tasi aṭhasi	vivāde	va			lisāy[aṁ	ā]naṁ[ta]liyaṁ

Gir.	paṭ[i]vedeta[v]yaṁ	me		sa[r]vatra	sarve	kāle	(*G*) evaṁ	mayā
Kāl.	paṭ[i] . . . . . . viye	me		sav[a]t[ā]	savaṁ	kālaṁ	(*G*) hevaṁ	ānapayite
Shāh.	praṭivedetavo	me[1]		savatra	savaṁ	kala[ṁ]	(*G*) eva	aṇapita[ṁ]
Mān.	paṭivedetaviye	me		savratra	savra	kala	(*G*) evaṁ	aṇapita
Dhau.	paṭi[ve]detav[i]y[e]	me	ti	savata	savaṁ	kālaṁ	(*G*) heva[ṁ]	me
Jau.	paṭivedetaviye	me	ti	savata	savaṁ	kālaṁ	(*G*) hevaṁ	me

[1] The preceding passage from section E is repeated thus: (E) *savatra cha aṭhaṁ janasa karomi a[haṁ]* (F) *yaṁ cha kichi mukhato aṇapemi ahaṁ dapaka[ṁ] va śravaka va ye va pana maha-*

Gir.	āñapitaṁ	(*H*) nāsti	hi	me	to[s]o	ustānamhi	atha-saṁtīraṇāya	va
Kāl.	m[a]mayā	(*H*) nathi	hi	me	dose	uṭhān[a]sā	aṭha-saṁtil[a]nāye	chā
Shāh.	maya	(*H*) [na]sti	hi	me	tosho	uṭhanas[i]	aṭha-sa[ṁ]tiraṇaye	[cha]
Mān.	maya	(*H*) nasti	hi	me	toshe	[uṭhanasi]	ath[r]a-sa[ṁ]tiraṇaye	cha
Dhau.	anusathe	(*H*) nath[i	hi	m]e	[tos]e	u[ṭhāna]si	aṭha-saṁtīlanāya	cha
Jau.	anusathe	(*H*) nathi	hi	me	tose	uṭhānasi	aṭha-saṁtīlan[ā]y[a]	cha

Gir.	(*I*) katavya-mate	hi	me	sa[rva]-loka-hitaṁ	(*J*) tasa	cha	puna
Kāl.	(*I*) kaṭ[a]viya-mute	hi	me	s[a]va-loka-hi[te]	(*J*) t[asā	ch]ā	[p]u[n]ā
Shāh.	(*I*) kaṭava-mataṁ	hi	me	sava-loka-hitaṁ	(*J*) ta[sa	cha]	
Mān.	(*I*) kaṭaviya-mate	hi	me	savra-loka-h[i]te	(*J*) [ta]sa	chu	puna
Dhau.	(*I*) kaṭaviya-m[at]e	hi	me	sava-loka-hite	(*J*) tasa	cha	pana
Jau.	(*I*)		me	sava-loka-hite	(*J*) tasa	cha	pana

Gir.	esa	mūle	ustānaṁ	cha	atha-saṁtīraṇā	cha	(*K*) nāsti	hi
Kāl.	es[e]	mule	uṭh[āne]		[a]ṭha-saṁtilanā	chā	(*K*) [na]thi	hi
Shāh.	mulaṁ	etra	uthanaṁ		aṭha-saṁtiraṇa	cha	(*K*) na[sti]	hi
Mān.	eshe	mule	uṭhane		athra-satiraṇa	cha	(*K*) nasti	hi
Dhau.	iyaṁ	mūle	[u]ṭhān[e	cha	a]ṭha-saṁtīl[a]n[ā]	cha	(*K*) nathi	hi
Jau.	iyaṁ	mūle	uṭhāne	cha	aṭha-saṁtīlanā	cha	(*K*) nathi	hi

Gir.	kaṁmataraṁ	sarva-loka-hitatpā	(*L*) ya	cha	kiṁchi	parākramāmi
Kāl.	kaṁ[ma]talā	sava-lo[ka]-hitenā	(*L*) yaṁ	cha	kichhi	palakamāmi
Shāh.	k[r]amatara[ṁ]	sava-loka-hite[na]	(*L*) yaṁ	cha	kichi	parak[r]amami
Mān.	kramatara	savra-loka-hitena	(*L*) ya[ṁ]	cha	[kichhi]	pa[rakra]mami
Dhau.	kaṁmata . .	[sa]va-lo[ka]-hitena	(*L*) [aṁ]	ch[a	kichhi]	p[a]lakamāmi
Jau.	k[aṁ]matalā	sava-loka-hiten[a]	(*L*) aṁ	cha	kichhi	p[a]lakamāmi

Gir.	ahaṁ	kiṁti	bhūtānaṁ	ānaṁṇaṁ	gachheyaṁ		idha	cha	nāni
Kāl.	hakaṁ	kiti	bhutānaṁ	[a]naniyaṁ	ye[haṁ		hi]da	cha	[kā]ni
Shāh.		kiti	bhutanaṁ	anaṇiyaṁ	v[r]acheyaṁ		ia	cha	sha
Mān.	aaṁ	k[i]t[i]	bh[u]tanaṁ	anaṇiyaṁ	ye[haṁ]		ia	cha	she
Dhau.	hakaṁ	kiṁti	bhūtānaṁ	ā[na]niyaṁ	yeha[ṁ]	ti	[h]i[da]	cha	[k]ān[i]
Jau.	hakaṁ	. . . .		[n]iyaṁ	yehaṁ	ti	hida	cha	kāni

Gir.	sukhāpayāmi	paratrā	cha	svagaṁ	ārādhayaṁtu		(*M*) ta [1]
Kāl.	sukhāyāmi	palata	chā	svagaṁ	ālādhayitu		(*M*) s[e]
Shāh.	sukhayami	paratra	cha	spagraṁ	aradhetu		(*M*)
Mān.	sukhayami	paratra	cha	spagra	a[ra]dhetu	ti	(*M*) se
Dhau.	sukhayāmi	pal[a]ta	cha	svag[aṁ	āl]ādhayaṁtū	ti	(*M*)
Jau.	su[kha]yāmi	palata	cha	svagaṁ	ālādhayaṁtū	ti	(*M*)

matranaṁ achayi[k]aṁ aropita[ṁ] bhoti t[a]ye aṭhaye [v]ivade sa[ṁ]taṁ nijati va parishaye anaṁtariyena paṭivedetavo me.

[1] On p. 12 above, l. 7, place *ta* after (M), and cancel foot-note 2. On p. 13, l. 11, read '(M) Now, for the following purpose', &c.

Gir.	etāya	athāya	ayaṁ	dha[ṁ]ma-lipī	lekhāpitā	kiṁti chiraṁ	tisṭeya
Kāl.	etā[y]eṭhāye		iyaṁ	dhama-lipi	lekhitā	chila-ṭhitikyā	hotu
Shāh.	etaye	aṭhaye	ayi	dhrama	nipista	chira-thitika	bhotu
Mān.	etaye	athraye	iyaṁ	dhrama-dipi	likhita	chira-ṭhitika	hotu
Dhau.	et[ā]y[e	aṭhāye	i]yaṁ	dhaṁma-lipī	likhitā	ch[i]la-ṭh[i]tīkā	hotu
Jau.	etāye	aṭhāye	i[ya]ṁ	dhaṁma-lipī	likhitā	chila-ṭhitīka	hotu

Gir.	iti	tathā	cha	me	putrā	potā	cha	prapotrā	cha	anuvataraṁ
Kāl.		tathā	cha	me	puta-dāle					palakamātu
Shāh.		tatha	cha	me	putra	nataro				parakramaṁtu
Mān.		ta[tha	cha]	me	pu[tra	nata]re				para[kra]mate
Dhau.		ta[th]ā	cha		putā			papotā	me	palakama[ṁ]t[ū]
Jau.	.	.	.	.	. .	. .	.	[t]ā	me	[pa]lakamaṁtu

Gir.	sava-loka-hitāya	(*N*) dukaraṁ	[t]u		idaṁ	añatra
Kāl.	sava-loka-hitā[ye]	(*N*) dukale	ch[u]		iyaṁ	anat[ā]
Shāh.	sava-lo[ka-hita]ye	(*N*) [du]kara	tu	[kh]o	imaṁ	añat[r]a
Mān.	sa[vra-lo]ka-hitaye	(*N*) dukare	cha	kho		[a]ñatra
Dhau.	[sava-loka]-hitāye	(*N*) dukale	chu		iyaṁ	aṁnat[a]
Jau.	sava-loka-hitāye	(*N*) dukale	chu		i[ya]ṁ	aṁnata

Gir.	agena	parākramena
Kāl.	agenā	palakam[e]nā
Shāh.	agre	parakramena
Mān.	a[g]rena	para[kra]mena
Dhau.	a[g]en[a	pa]lakamena
Jau.	agena	palakamena

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT

Gir.	(*A*) Devānaṁpiyo	Piyadasi	rājā	sarvata	ichhati	save pāsaṁḍā
Kāl.	(*A*) Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lājā	[savat]ā	[i]chhati	sava-[pāsa]ṁḍa
Shāh.	(*A*) Devanaṁpriyo	Priyaśi	raja	savatra	ichhati	savra-[p]rashaṁḍa
Mān.	(*A*) Devanapriyo	Priyadraśi	raja	savratra	ichhati	savra-pashaḍa
Dhau.	(*A*) [D]evānaṁ[p]iye	Piy[a]dasī	lājā	savata	ichhat[i	sava-p]āsaṁ[ḍā]
Jau.	(*A*)	da[sī]	lājā	savata	ichhati	sava-p[ā]saṁḍā

Gir.	vaseyu		(*B*) save		te	sayamaṁ	cha	bhāva-sudhiṁ
Kāl.	vas[e]vu		(*B*) [sa]ve	hi	te	sayama[ṁ]		bhāva-sudhi
Shāh.	vaseyu		(*B*) save	hi	te	sayame		bhava-śudhi
Mān.	vaseyu		(*B*) savre	hi	te	sa[ya]ma		[bha]va-śu[dh]i
Dhau.	[va]sevū	ti	(*B*) save	h[i]	t[e	sa]yamaṁ		[bh]āv[a]-sudhī
Jau.	va[s]e . .	[t]i	(*B*) [sav]e	hi	te	sa[yama]ṁ		bhāva-[su]dhī

Gir.	cha	ichhati	(*C*) jano	tu	uchāvacha-chhaṁdo
Kāl.	chā	ichhaṁti	(*C*) jane	[ch]u	uchāvuchā-chh[a]ṁde
Shāh.	cha	ichhaṁti	(*C*) jano	chu	uchavucha-chhaṁdo
Mān.	[cha	ichhaṁ]ti	(*C*) jane	chu	uchavucha-chhade
Dhau.	cha	ichhaṁti	(*C*) mun[i]sā	ch[a	u]ch[ā]v[u]cha-[chha]ṁ[d]ā
Jau.	cha	ichhaṁti	(*C*) munisā	cha	uchāvucha-chhaṁdā

Gir.	uchāvacha-rāgo	(*D*) te sarvaṁ va	kāsaṁti	eka-desaṁ	va	kasa[ṁ]ti
Kāl.	uchāvucha-lā[g]e	(*D*) te savaṁ		eka-des[a]ṁ	pi	k[a]chhaṁ[t]i
Shāh.	uchavucha-rago	(*D*) te savraṁ va		eka-deśaṁ	va pi	kashaṁti
Mān.	uchavucha-rage	(*D*) te savraṁ		eka-deśaṁ	va pi	kashati
Dhau.	uchāvucha-lāgā	(*D*) te savaṁ vā		ek[a]-de[saṁ	va	kachhaṁ]ti
Jau.	uchāvuch[a]-lāgā	(*D*)	. . . . .	[sa]ṁ	va	kachhaṁti

Gir.	(*E*) vip[ul]e	tu	pi	dāne	yasa	nāsti	sayame	bhāva-sudhitā
Kāl.	(*E*) vipule	pi	chu	dān[e]	asā	nathi	sayame	bhā[va]-sudh[i]
Shāh.	(*E*) vipule	pi	chu	dane	yasa	nasti	sayama	bhava-śudhi
Mān.	(*E*) [v]ipule	pi	ch[u]	dane	yasa	nasti	sayeme	bhava-śuti
Dhau.	(*E*) vipul[e]	pi	chā	dāne	asa	n[athi	sa]yame	[bh]āva-sudhī
Jau.	(*E*) [v]i[pul]e	[p]i	chā	[d]ā[ne]	. .	. .	. .	. . [dhī]

Gir.	va	kataṁñatā	va	daḍha-bhati[t]ā	cha	nichā	bāḍhaṁ
Kāl.		kiṭanāt[ā		d]iḍha-bhatitā	chā	ni[che]	bāḍhaṁ
Shāh.		kiṭrañata		driḍha-bhatita		niche	paḍhaṁ
Mān.		kiṭanata		driḍha-bhatita	cha	niche	baḍhaṁ
Dhau.					cha	nīche	bāḍhaṁ
Jau.					cha	nīche	[b]āḍhaṁ

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT

Gir.	(*A*) atikātaṁ	aṁtaraṁ	rājāno	vihāra-yātāṁ	
Kāl.	(*A*) atikaṁtaṁ	a[ṁ]talaṁ	Devānaṁpiyā	[vihāla-yātaṁ	nāma]
Shāh.	(*A*) atikrataṁ	ataraṁ	Devanaṁpriya	vihara-yatra	nama
Mān.	(*A*) a[ti]krataṁ	ataraṁ	Devanapri[ya]	vihara-yatra	nama
Dhau.	(*A*) [atika]ṁ[ta]ṁ	aṁt[ala]ṁ	lāj[ā]n[e]	v[i]h[ā]la-yātaṁ	nāma
Jau.	. . . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . . . .	.
Sōp.	. . . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . . . .	.

Gir.	ñayāsu	(*B*) eta	magavyā	añāni	cha	etārisani
Kāl.	nikhamisu	(*B*) hidā	migaviyā	aṁnāni	chā	heḍisānā
Shāh.	nikramishu	(*B*) atra	mrugaya	añani	cha	ediśani
Mān.	nikramishu	(*B*) ia	mrigaviya	añani	cha	ediśani
Dhau.	[n]i[kha]m[i]s[u]	(*B*) . . [ta	miga]viy[ā]	a[ṁ]nāni	ch[a]	edisāni
Jau.	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . [v]i[y]ā	[a]ṁnāni	cha	e[d]i . . . .
Sōp.	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . .	. . .	.	. . .

Gir.	abhīramakāni	ahuṁsu		(*C*) so	Devānaṁpriyo	Piyadasi
Kāl.	abhilāmān[i]	husu		(*C*)	Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi
Shāh.	abhiramani	abhuvasu		(*C*) so	Devanaṁpriyo	Priyadraśi
Mān.	abhiramani	husu		(*C*) s[e]	Devanap[r]iy[e]	P[r]iyadraśi
Dhau.	a[bh]i[l]āmāni	huvaṁti	naṁ	(*C*) se	Devānaṁpiye	P[i]y[a]dasī
Jau.	. . . . . . [m]āni	huvaṁti	naṁ	(*C*) se	Devānaṁpiye	[Piya] . . . .
Sōp.	. . . . .	. . .	. .	. .	. . . .	. . .

Gir.	rājā	dasa-varsābhisito	saṁto	ayāya	Saṁbodhiṁ	(*D*) tenesā
Kāl.	lājā	das[a]-vasābhisite	saṁtaṁ	nikhamithā	Saṁbodhi	(*D*) tenatā
Shāh.	raja	daśa-vashabhisito	sataṁ	nikrami	Sabodhi	(*D*) tenada
Mān.	raja	daśa-vashabhisite	saṁta[ṁ]	nikrami	Sabodhi	(*D*) tenada
Dhau.	lājā	d[a]sa-[vas]ābhisi[t]e		[n]ikhami	Saṁbodh[i]	(*D*) [t]e[na]tā
Jau.	. . . .	[dasa] . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Sōp.	. . .	. . .	. . .	. nikhamiṭha	Sa . . .	. . .

Gir.	dhaṁma-yātā	(*E*) etayaṁ		hoti	bāmhaṇa-samaṇānaṁ	dasaṇe
Kāl.	dhaṁma-yātā	(*E*) [h]etā	iyaṁ	hoti	samana-baṁbhanānaṁ	dasane
Shāh.	dhraṁma-yatra	(*E*) atra	iyaṁ	hoti	śramaṇa-bramaṇanaṁ	draśane
Mān.	dhrama-yada	(*E*) atra	iya	hoti	śamaṇa-bramaṇana	dra[śa]ne
Dhau.	dha[ṁma-yātā]	(*E*) [tat]esa		[ho]ti	samana-bābhanānaṁ	d[a]s[a]n[e]
Jau.	. . . . [tā]	(*E*) [ta]tesa		hoti	[sa] . . .	. . .
Sōp.	. . . . . .	(*E*) heta	iyaṁ	[ho]ti	baṁ[bha] . . .	. . .

Gir.	cha	dāne	cha	thairānaṁ	dasaṇe	ch[a]	hiraṁṇa-paṭividhāno	cha
Kāl.	chā	dāne	cha	vudh[ā]naṁ	dasa[n]e	ch[a]	hilaṁna-paṭi[v]idhāne	chā
Shāh.		danaṁ		vuḍhana[ṁ]	daśana		hiraña-p[r]aṭividhane	cha
Mān.		dane	cha	vudhrana	dra[śa]ne	[cha	hi]ña-paṭivi[dhane	cha]
Dhau.	ch[a]	d[āne]	cha	v[u]ḍhānaṁ	dasane	cha	h[i]laṁna-p[a]ṭividhā[ne	cha]
Jau.	cha	dāne	cha	vuḍhānaṁ	dasane	cha	hilaṁna-paṭiv[i]dh[ā]ne	[cha]
Sōp.	. . .	. . .	.	vuḍhānaṁ	dasane	[cha]	hiraṁna-paṭividhāne	cha

Gir.	jānapadasa	cha	janasa	daspanaṁ		dhaṁmānus[a]sṭī	cha
Kāl.	[jā]napadasā		[ja]n[a]sā	das[a]ne		dhaṁmanusathi	chā
Shāh.	[jana]padasa		janasa	draśana		dhramanuśasti	
Mān.	janapadasa		janasa	draśane		dhramanuśasti	cha
Dhau.	[jāna]padasa		janasa	[dasa]ne	cha	dhaṁmānu[sath]ī	[cha]
Jau.	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	.
Sōp.	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. [dha*]ṁmānusa[thi]	

Gir.	dhama-paripuchhā	cha	tadopayā		(*F*) esā	bhuya	rati
Kāl.	dhama-palipuchhā	chā	tatopa[yā]		(*F*) [e]se	bh[u]ye	lāti
Shāh.	dhrama-pa[ri]p[ru]chha	cha	tatopayaṁ		(*F*) eshe	bhuy[e	ra]ti
Mān.	dhrama-[pa]r[i]puchha	cha	tatopaya		(*F*) eshe	bhuye	rati
Dhau.	. . . . [p]u[chh]ā	cha	[ta]d[o]payā		(*F*) e[sā	bhuy]e	abhilāme
Jau.	[dha]ṁma-p[al]i[puchh]ā	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. ilāme
Sōp.	dhaṁma . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. ye	[ra]tī

Gir.	bhavati	Devānaṁpiyasa	Priyadasino	rāño	bhā[g]e	aṁñe
Kāl.	hoti	Devānaṁpiyasā	Piyadas[i]sā	lājine	bh[ā]g[e]	aṁne
Shāh.	bhoti	Devanaṁpriyasa	Priyadraśisa	raño	bhago	aṁñi
Mān.	hoti	Devanapriyasa	Priyadraśisa	rajine	bhage	aṇe
Dhau.	hoti	Devānaṁpiyasa	Piyada[s]ine	lājine	bhāge	[aṁ]ne
Jau.	hoti	De[v]ānaṁpiyasa	Piyadasine	lājine	bhāge	[a] . . .
Sōp.	hoti	De . . .	. . .	. n[e]	bhāge	aṁ .

NINTH ROCK-EDICT

Gir.	(*A*) Devānaṁpiyo	Priyadasi	rājā	eva	āha	(*B*) asti	jano
Kāl.	(*A*) Devānaṁpiye	Piy[a]da[s]i	lā[jā]		āhā	(*B*)	jan[e]
Shāh.	(*A*) Devanaṁpriyo	Priyadraśi	r[a]ya	evaṁ	ahati	(*B*)	jano
Mān.	(*A*) Devanapriye	Priyadraśi	raja	evaṁ	aha	(*B*)	jane
Dhau.	(*A*) Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasī	lājā	hevaṁ	āhā	(*B*) [athi	ja]ne
Jau.	(*A*) Devān[aṁ]piye	Piyadasī	lā[jā]	. . . .			

Gir.	uchāvachaṁ	maṁgalaṁ	karote	ābādhesu	vā	āvāha-vīvāhesu
Kāl.	uch[āv]uchaṁ	maṁgalaṁ	ka[l]eti	ābādhasi		av[āha]si vivāhasi
Shāh.	uchavuchaṁ	maṁgalaṁ	karoti	abadhe		avahe vivahe
Mān.	uchavucha[ṁ	ma]gala[ṁ]	karoti	abadhasi		a[va]hasi vi[va]hasi
Dhau.	uchāvuchaṁ	maṁgalaṁ	kal[e]ti	[āb]ādha . . . . [v]i[vāha] . .		
Jau.	. . . .					

Gir.	vā	putra-lābhesu	vā	pravāsaṁmhi	vā	etamhī	cha	añamhi	cha
Kāl.		pajopadāne		pavāsasi		e[tā]ye		aṁnāye	chā
Shāh.		pajupadane		pravase		ataye		añaye	cha
Mān.		prajopadaye		pravasaspi		etaye		añaye	[cha]
Dhau.		. . [ju]padāye		pavās[a]si		etāye		aṁnāye	ch[a]
Jau.		[pa]jupadāye		pavāsasi		etāye		aṁnāye	cha

Gir.		jano	uchāvachaṁ	maṁgalaṁ	karote	(*C*) eta	tu
Kāl.	edisāye	jane	bahu	magala[ṁ]	k[a]leti	(*C*) heta	[ch]u
Shāh.	ediśiy[e]	jano	ba	maṁgalaṁ	karoti	(*C*) atra	tu
Mān.	[ed]iśa[ye	jane]	bahu	maṁga[laṁ	ka]ro[t]i	(*C*) atra	tu
Dhau.	hedisāye	j[a]n[e]	bahukaṁ	maṁgalaṁ	k[a]	(*C*)	[chu]
Jau.	hedisāye	jane	[ba]hu[ka]ṁ	. . . .			

Gir.	mahiḍāyo	bahukaṁ	cha	bahuvidhaṁ	cha	chhudaṁ	cha
Kāl.	abaka-jani[yo]	bahu	chā	bahuvidhaṁ	chā	khudā	[ch]ā
Shāh.	striyaka	bahu	cha	bahuvidhaṁ	cha	putika	cha
Mān.	abaka-janika	bahu	cha	bahuvidha	cha	khuda	cha
Dhau.	ithī	b[ahuka]ṁ	cha	[ba]hu[v]idh[aṁ]	ch[a	kh]ud[aṁ	cha]
Jau.	. . . .						

Gir.	nirath[aṁ]	cha	maṁgalaṁ	karote	(*D*) ta	katavyameva		tu
Kāl.	nilathiyā	chā	magalaṁ	ka[la]ṁti	(*D*) se	kaṭavi	cheva	kho
Shāh.	niraṭhiyaṁ	cha	maṁgalaṁ	karo[ti]	(*D*) so	kaṭavo	cha [va]	kho
Mān.	nirathriya	cha	magalaṁ	karoti	(*D*) se	ka[ṭaviye	ch]eva	kho
Dhau.	[nilaṭhi]yaṁ	cha	maṁgalaṁ	kaleti	(*D*) se	kaṭ[a]viye	che[va	kh]o
Jau.	. . . . .	[cha	ma]ṁ[gala]ṁ	k[a]leti	(*D*) se	kaṭaviye	cheva	kho

Gir.	magalaṁ	(*E*) apa-phalaṁ	tu	kho	etarisaṁ		maṁgalaṁ
Kāl.	maṁgale	(*E*) apa-phale	[ch]u	kho	[e]s[e]		
Shāh.	maṁgala	(*E*) apa-phala[ṁ]	tu	kho	eta		
Mān.	magale	(*E*) apa-phale	chu	[kho	e]she		
Dhau.	m[a]ṁgale	(*E*) [a]pa-phale	chu	kho	esa	h[e]dise	maṁ[ga] . .
Jau.	maṁgale	(*E*) apa-[pha]le	chu	[kh]o	e[sa]	he[d]ise	ma . . . . .

Gir.	(*F*) ayaṁ	tu		mah[ā]-phale	maṁgale	ya	dhaṁma-maṁgale
Kāl.	(*F*) [i]yaṁ	chu	kho	mah[ā]-ph[a]le		ye	dhaṁma-magale
Shāh.	(*F*) imaṁ	[t]u	kho	maha-phala		ye	ma-maṁgala
Mān.	(*F*) iyaṁ	chu	kho	maha-phale		ye	dhrama-magale
Dhau.	(*F*) . . [ya]ṁ	[ch]u	kho	mah[ā]-ph[a]le		e	[dha]ṁma-maṁgale
Jau.	(*F*) i[ya]ṁ	[chu]	. . . .				

Gir.	(*G*) ta[te]ta		dāsa-bhatakamhi	samya-pratipatī	gurūnaṁ	apachiti
Kāl.	(*G*) he[tā]	iyaṁ	dāsa-bhaṭakasi	s[a]myā-paṭip[a]ti	gulunā	apachiti
Shāh.	(*G*) [a]tra	ima	dasa-bhaṭakasa	samma-paṭipati	garuna	apachiti
Mān.	(*G*) atra	iyaṁ	dasa-bhaṭakasi	samya-paṭipati	guruna	a[pachit]i
Dhau.	(*G*) [ta]te[sa		d]ā[sa-bhaṭakas]i	saṁmyā-paṭipat[i	gulū]naṁ	a[pa] . . . .
Jau.	. . . .		[sa-bha]ṭakasi	saṁmyā-paṭipati	gulūnaṁ	apachiti

Gir.	sādhu	pāṇesu	sayamo	sādhu	bamhaṇa-samaṇānaṁ	sādhu
Kāl.		[p]ā[n]ān[aṁ]	saṁyame		s[a]man[a]-baṁbhanānaṁ	
Shāh.		praṇanaṁ	sa[ṁ]yamo		śamaṇa-bramaṇana	
Mān.		pra[ṇa]na	[sa]yame		śramaṇa-bramaṇana	
Dhau.		. . . .	. . . . [me]		samana-bābhan[ā]naṁ	
Jau.		pānesu	say[a]me		saman[a]-bābha[n]ā[naṁ]	

Gir.	dānaṁ	et[a]	cha	aññ[a]	cha	etārisaṁ	dhaṁma-maṁgalaṁ	nāma
Kāl.	dāne	ese		aṁne	chā	heḍise ׀	dhaṁma-magale	nāmā
Shāh.	dana	etaṁ		añaṁ	cha		dhrama-maṁga[laṁ]	nama
Mān.	[dane]	eshe		aṇe	cha	ediśe	dhrama-magale	nama
Dhau.	dāne	esa		aṁne	ch[a]	. . . . . .	[dhaṁma]-maṁga[le	nāma]
Jau.	[d]ā[n]e	[esa		a]ṁ[n]e	. . . .			

Gir.	(*H*) ta	vatavyaṁ	pitā	va	putena	vā	bhātrā	vā	svāmikena
Kāl.	(*H*) se	vata[v]iye	pitinā	pi	putena	pi	bh[ā]tinā	pi	suvāmiken[a]
Shāh.	(*H*) [s]o	vatavo	pituna	pi	putrena	pi	bhratana	pi	spamik[e]na
Mān.	(*H*) se	vataviye	pi[tu]na	pi	putrena	pi	bhratuna	pi	spamikena
Dhau.	(*H*) [se]	vata[viye	p]it[inā	pi	pute]na	pi	bhātinā	pi	suvāmike[na]
Jau.	. . . .		[pi]tinā	pi	putena	pi	bhātinā	pi	suvāmike[na]

Gir.	vā					idaṁ	sādhu	idaṁ
Kāl.	pi	mita-saṁthuten[ā]	ava	paṭivesiyenā	[p]i	iyaṁ	sādhu	iyaṁ
Shāh.	pi	mitra-sastutena	ava	prativeśiyena		imaṁ	sadhu	[imaṁ]
Mān.	pi	mitra-sa[ṁ]stutena	[a]va	paṭiveśiyena	pi	iyaṁ	sadhu	iyaṁ
Dhau.	[p]i					. . . . . .		
Jau.	pi					iyaṁ	sādhu	iyaṁ

Gir.	katavya	maṁgalaṁ	āva	tasa	aṭhasa	nisṭānāya	(*I*) asti
Kāl.	kaṭaviye	[ma]g[a]le	āva	[ta]sā	athas ā	ni[v]utiyā	
Shāh.	kaṭa[vo]	maṁgala[ṁ]	yava	tasa	aṭhrasa	nivuṭiya	nivuṭaspi
Mān.	kaṭaviye	magale	ava	tasa	athrasa	nivuṭiya	nivuṭasi
Dhau.	. . . . . .	. [l]e	[ā]va	tasa	aṭhas[a]	niphatiy[ā]	(*I*) [a]ṭhi
Jau.	kaṭaviye	. . . .					

Gir.	cha pi vutaṁ sādhu dana iti (*J*) na tu etārisaṁ astā
Kāl.	imaṁ kachhāmi ti (*I*) e hi i[ta]le magale
Shāh.	va p[u]na imaṁ kashaṁ (*I*) ye hi etake magale
Mān.	va puna ima [ka]shami ti (*I*) e hi [i]tare maga[le]
Dhau.	[cha heva]ṁ v[u]te dāne s[ā]dh[ū] ti (*J*) [s]e [na]thi . . . .
Jau.	. . . . [s]e

Gir.	dānaṁ va ana[ga]ho va yārisaṁ dhaṁma-dānaṁ va dhamanugaho va
Kāl.	sa[ṁ]sayikye se (*J*) siyā va taṁ aṭhaṁ nivaṭey[ā] siyā punā no
Shāh.	saśayike taṁ (*J*) siya vo taṁ aṭhaṁ nivaṭeyati siya puna no
Mān.	śa[śa]yike se (*J*) s[i]ya va taṁ athraṁ nivaṭeya s[i]ya pana no
Dhau.	. . . . [anu]ga[h]e v[ā ād]i[se dha]ṁma-dāne dhaṁ[mānugahe] . .
Jau.	dāne anugah[e] vā ādi[s]e dhaṁma-dāne dhaṁmānugahe cha

Gir.	(*K*) ta tu kho mitrena va suhadayena [v]ā ñatikena va sahāyana va
Kāl.	(*K*) hi[da]lokike chev[a] se (*L*) iyaṁ punā dhaṁma-magale akāliky[e]
Shāh.	(*K*) ialoka cha vo taṁ (*L*) ida puna dhrama-magalaṁ akalikaṁ
Mān.	(*K*) hidal[o]kike cheva se (*L*) iyaṁ puna dhrama-magale akalike
Dhau.	(*K*) . . . . . . [m]i . . . . [t]i[k]ena sahāye[na p]i
Jau.	(*K*) se chu kho mitena . . . .

Gir.	ovāditavyaṁ tamhi tamhi pakaraṇe [i]daṁ kachaṁ idaṁ sādha iti
Kāl.	(*M*) haṁche pi taṁ aṭhaṁ no niṭeti hida aṭhaṁ palata anaṁtaṁ
Shāh.	(*M*) yadi puna taṁ aṭhaṁ na nivaṭ[e] ia atha paratra anaṁtaṁ
Mān.	(*M*) [ha]che pi taṁ athraṁ no nivaṭeti [hi]da a[tha] paratra anata
Dhau.	viyovadita . . . . . . i [tasi] pak[alana]si [iya]ṁ . . . . .
Jau.	. . . . yaṁ sādh[ū]

Gir.	iminā sak[a] svagaṁ ārādhetu iti (*L*) ki cha iminā katavyataraṁ
Kāl.	punā pavasati (*N*) haṁche puna taṁ aṭhaṁ nivateti hidā tato
Shāh.	puñaṁ prasavati (*N*) haṁche puna taṁ ṭhaṁ nivaṭeti tato
Mān.	puṇa prasavati (*N*) hache puna ta[ṁ] athraṁ nivaṭ[e]ti hida tato
Dhau.	. . . . . . [l]ādhayitave (*L*) . . . . ṭa[v] . . . . .
Jau.	imena sakiye svage ālādhayitave (*L*) kiṁ hi imena kaṭaviyatalā

Gir.	yathā svagāradhī
Kāl.	ubhaye[sa]ṁ ladhe hoti hida chā se aṭhe palata chā anaṁtaṁ
Shāh.	u[bha]y[e]sa ladhaṁ bhoti ia cha so aṭho paratra cha anaṁtaṁ
Mān.	ubhayesaṁ [ara]dhe hoti hida cha se athre paratra cha anata
Dhau.	. . . . [svagasa] āl[adh]ī
Jau.	. . . .

Kāl.	punā pasavati tenā dhaṁma-magalen[ā]
Shāh.	puñaṁ prasavati tena dhramaṁgalena
Mān.	puṇaṁ prasavati tena dhramagalena

TENTH ROCK-EDICT

Gir.	(*A*) Devānaṁpiyo	Priyadasi	rājā	yaso	va	kīti	va	na
Kāl.	(*A*) Devā[naṁ]piye	Piy[a]dashā	lajā	y[a]sho	vā	kiti	vā	no
Shāh.	(*A*) Devanapriye	Priyadraśi	raya	yaśo	va	kiṭri	va	no
Mān.	(*A*) [Devana]priye	Priyadraśi	raja	yaśo	va	kiṭi	va	no
Dhau.	(*A*) [Devānaṁ]piye	Piyad[a]s[ī	lājā	yaso	v]ā	[k]iṭī	vā	n.
Jau.	. . . .	. . .	. .	. .	.	. .	.	.

Gir.	mahāthāvah[ā]	mañate	añata						
Kāl.	[ma]hathāvā	manati	an[a]tā	[ya]ṁ	pi	yaso	vā	ki[t]i	vā
Shāh.	mahaṭhavaha	mañati	añatra	yo	pi	yaśo		kiṭri	va
Mān.	mahathravahaṁ	mañati	aṇatra	yaṁ	pi	ya[śo	va]	kiṭi	va
Dhau.	. . . . [ha]ṁ	maṁn[ate]	. . . .		i	[yaso]	vā	k[iṭ]ī	[v]ā
Jau.	. . . . . .	. . .	. . .	. .	.	[ya]so	vā	ki[ṭ]ī	vā

Gir.		tadātpano	dighāya	cha	me [ja]no	dhaṁma-susru[ṁ]sā
Kāl.	ichh[at]i	tadatvāye	ayatiye	chā	jane	dhaṁma-susushā
Shāh.	ichhati	tadatvaye	ayatiya	cha	jane	dhrama-suśrasha
Mān.	ichhati	tadatvaye	ayatiya	cha	jane	[dhra]ma-suśrusha
Dhau.	ichhati	tadatvāye	[ā]		[ja]ne	. . . . . . [sūsa]ṁ
Jau.	ichh[a]ti	tadatvāye	ā[ya]tiye	cha	jane	dhaṁma-susūsaṁ

Gir.	susrusatā			dhaṁma-vutaṁ	cha	anuvidhiyatāṁ	
Kāl.	susushātu	me	ti	dhaṁma-vataṁ	vā	anuvi[dh]iya[ṁ]tu	ti
Shāh.	suśrushatu	me	ti	dhraṁma-vutaṁ	cha	anuvi[dhi]yatu	
Mān.	suśrushatu	me	ti	dhrama-[vutaṁ	cha]	anuvidhiyatu	ti
Dhau.	[susū]s[at]u	[m]e		dhaṁma . .	. .	. . . . . .	[me]
Jau.	susūsatu	me		. . . .	. .	. . . . . .	.

Gir.	(*B*) etakāya	Devānaṁpiyo	Piyadasi	rājā	yaso	va	kiti	va
Kāl.	(*B*) dhata[k]āye	Devāna[ṁ]piye	Piyadasi	lājā	yasho	vā	kiti	vā
Shāh.	(*B*) etakaye	Devanapriye	Priyadraśi	raya	yaśo		kiṭri	va
Mān.	(*B*) etakaye	Devanapriye	Priya[dra]śi	raja	yaśo	va	kiṭi	va
Dhau.	(*B*) etakāye				[yaso	vā	kiṭī	v]ā
Jau.	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. .	. .	.	. .	.

Gir.	i[chha]ti	(*C*) ya[ṁ]	tu	kich[i]	parik[a]mate	Devānaṁ	Priyadasi
Kāl.	ichha	(*C*) aṁ	ch[ā]	kichhi	lakamati	Devanaṁpiye	Piyadashi
Shāh.	ichhati	(*C*) ya[ṁ]	tu	kichi	parakramati	Devanaṁpriyo	Priyadraśi
Mān.	i[chha]ti	(*C*) . .	. .	[k]ichhi	parak[r]ama[ti]	Devanapriye	Priyadraśi
Dhau.	i	. . . .	. .	. . . i	[pa]lakama[t]i	Devānaṁpiye	
Jau.	. . . .	. .	. .	. . .	. . [t]i	Devānaṁpiye	

Gir.	rājā	ta	savaṁ	pāratrikāya		kiṁti	sakale	a[pa]-parisrave
Kāl.	lajā	ta	[sha]va	pālaṁtikyāye	vā	kiti	sakale	apa-p[a]lāshave
Shāh.	raya	taṁ	sav[r]aṁ	paratrikaye	va	kiti	sakale	aparisrave
Mān.	raja	taṁ	savraṁ	parat[r]ikay[e	va	k]i[ti]	sa[kale	apa]-pa[r]isav[e]
Dhau.				pāl[atik]ā[y]e	. .	kiṁti	saka[le	apa-pal]isave
Jau.				pālatikāye	vā	ki[ṁ]ti	[sa]kale	apa-palisave

Gir. asa (*D*) esa tu parisave ya apuṁñaṁ (*E*) dukaraṁ
Kāl. shiyāti ti (*D*) [e]she chu palisave e apune (*E*) dukale
Shāh. siyati (*D*) eshe tu parisrave yaṁ apuñaṁ (*E*) dukare
Mān. siyati ti (*D*) eshe chu pa[ri]save e apu[ṇe] (*E*) dukare
Dhau. [hu]v[eyā t]i (*D*) pa[l]isa . . . . (*E*) [du]ka[le
Jau. [h]uveyā ti (*D*) . . . .

Gir. tu kho etaṁ chhudakena va janena usaṭena va añatra
Kāl. chu kho eshe khudakena vā vagenā ushuṭena vā ana[ta]
Shāh. [tu] kho eshe khudrakena vagrena usaṭena va añatra
Mān. chu kho eshe khudakena [va va]gr[e]na [u]saṭena va ana[tra
Dhau. . . . . t[a agena] . . . . [na sa]vaṁ cha
Jau. . . . .

Gir. agena parāk[r]amena savaṁ parichajitpā (*F*) et[a] t[u] kho
Kāl. agen[ā pa]lakamenā shava[ṁ] palitiditu (*F*) [h]e[ta chu] kho
Shāh. agrena parakramena sava[ṁ] paritijitu (*F*) at[r]a chu
Mān. a[gre]na para[krame]na sav[raṁ] pariti[ji]tu (*F*) atra tu [kho
Dhau. paliti[j]i[tu] khudakena v[ā] usaṭena vā (*F*)
Jau. . . [l]itijit[u] khudakena [v]ā u[sa]ṭena vā (*F*)

Gir. usaṭena dukaraṁ
Kāl. [u]shaṭe[na] vā dukale
Shāh. usaṭe . . . .
Mān. usaṭeneva du[ka]re
Dhau. u[saṭena] chu [dukalatale]
Jau. usaṭena chu dukalatale

ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT

Gir. (*A*) Devinaṁpriyo Piyadasi rājā ev[a]ṁ āha (*B*) nāsti etārisaṁ
Kāl. (*A*) Devānaṁp[i]ye Piyadashi [l]ājā hevaṁ hā (*B*) nathi h[e]dishe
Shāh. (*A*) Devana[ṁ]priyo Priyadraśi raya evaṁ hahati (*B*) nasti ed[i]śaṁ
Mān. (*A*) Devanapri[y]e Priyadraśi raja evaṁ aha (*B*) nasti ediśe

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Gir. dānaṁ yārisaṁ dhaṁma-dānaṁ dhaṁma-saṁstavo vā dhaṁma-
Kāl. dāne adisha dha[ṁ]ma-dāne । dhama-
Shāh. danaṁ yadiśaṁ dhrama-dana dhrama-saṁstav[e] dh[r]ama-
Mān. dane [a]diśe dhrama-dane dhrama-saṁtha[v]e dhrama-

Gir. saṁvibhāgo [vā] dhaṁma-saṁbadho va (*C*) tata idaṁ bhavati
Kāl. shav[i]bhage । dhaṁma-shaṁbadh[e] । (*C*) ta[ta] eshe
Shāh. saṁvibhago dh[r]ama-saṁba[ṁ]dha (*C*) tatra etaṁ
Mān. saṁvibhaga dhrama-sa[ṁ]ba[ṁ]dh[e] (*C*) tatra eshe

Gir. dāsa-bhatakamhi samya-p[r]atipatī mātari pitarā sādhu sus[r]usā
Kāl. dāsha-bhaṭakashi । shamyā-paṭipati mātā-pitishu । shushushā ।
Shāh. dasa-bhaṭakanaṁ saṁmma-paṭipati mata-pitushu suśrusha
Mān. dasa-bhaṭa[ka]si samya-paṭipati mata-[pitu]shu su[śru]sha

Gir.	mita-[sa]stuta-ñātikānaṁ	bāṁhaṇa-s[r]amaṇā[naṁ]	sādhu	dā[naṁ]
Kāl.	mita-shaṁthuta-nātikyānaṁ	samanā-[ba]ṁbhanānā		[dā]ne
Shāh.	mi[t]ra-saṁstuta-ñatikanaṁ	śramaṇa-bramaṇana		dana
Mān.	mitra-saṁ[stuta]-ñatikana	śramaṇa-bramaṇana		dan[e]

Gir.	prāṇānaṁ	anāraṁbho	sādhu	(*D*) eta	vatavyaṁ	pitā	va	putrena
Kāl.	pānānaṁ	anāl[aṁ]bhe		(*D*) eshe	vatav[i]ye	pi[t]inā	pi	pute[na]
Shāh.	praṇana	anara[ṁ]bho		(*D*) etaṁ	vatavo	pituna	pi	putrena
Mān.	praṇana	[ana]rabhe		(*D*) [e]she	vataviye	pituna	pi	putrena

Gir.	va	bhāt[ā]	va	mita-sastut[a]-ñāt[i]k[e]na			va	āva
Kāl.	pi	bhā[t]inā	pi	sh[a]vām[i]kyena	pi	mita-śaṁthutānā		avā
Shāh.	pi	bhratuna	pi	[spa]mikena	pi	mitra-saṁstutana		ava
Mān.	pi	bhratuna	pi	spamike[na]	pi	mitra-saṁ[stu]t[e]na		ava

Gir.	paṭīvesiyehi	ida	sādhu	īda	ka[tav]ya[ṁ]	(*E*) so	t[a]thā
Kāl.	p[a]ṭiveshiyen[ā]	iy[a]ṁ	shādhu	iyaṁ	kaṭaviye	(*E*) [ś]e	tathā
Shāh.	prativeśiyena	[i]ma[ṁ]	sadhu	imaṁ	kaṭavo	(*E*) so	tatha
Mān.	paṭiveśiyena	iyaṁ	sa[dhu]	iyaṁ	kaṭaviye	(*E*) se	tatha

Gir.	karu	ilokachasa			āradho hoti	parata	cha	aṁnaṁtaṁ
Kāl.	kala[ṁta]	hidalokikye	cha	kaṁ	āladhe hoti	palata	ch[ā]	anata
Shāh.	karata[ṁ]	ialoka	cha		a[ra]dheti	paratra	cha	anataṁ
Mān.	karata[ṁ]	hi[dalo]ke	[cha]	kaṁ	aradhe ho[ti	pa]ra[tra]	cha	ana[ṁ]taṁ

Gir.	puñaṁ	bhavati	tena	dhaṁma-dānena
Kāl.	punā	paśavati	tenā	dhaṁma-dānenā
Shāh.	puña	prasavati	[te]na	dhrama-danena
Mān.	puṇaṁ	p[r]asavati	te[na	dhra]ma-danena

TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT

Gir.	(*A*) Devānaṁpiye	Piyad[a]si	rājā	sava-pāsaṁḍāni	cha
Kāl.	(*A*) [D]evānāpiye	[P]iyadash[i]	lājā	shāvā-pāshaṁ[ḍān]i	
Shāh.	(*A*) Devanaṁpriyo	Priyadraśi	raya	savra-prashaṁḍani	
Mān.	(*A*) Devanapriye	Priyadraśi	raja	savra-pashaḍani	

Gir.	[pa]vajitāni	cha	gharastāni	cha	pūjayati	d[ā]nena	cha	vivādhāya
Kāl.	pav[a]jitā[n]i		gahathāni	vā	pujeti	dānena		vividh[aye]
Shāh.	pravrajita[ni]		grahathani	cha	pujeti	danena		vividhaye
Mān.	[p]rava[ji]tani		gehathani	cha	pujeti	danena		vividhaye

Gir.	[cha]	pūjāya	pūjayati ne	(*B*) na	tu	tathā	dānaṁ	va	pū[jā]
Kāl.	cha ।	puj[ā]ye		(*B*) n[o]	ch[u]	tathā	dāne	vā	pujā
Shāh.	cha	pujaye		(*B*) no	chu	tatha	[da]na	va	puja
Mān.	cha	pujaye		(*B*) no	chu	tatha	dana	va	puja

Gir.	va	D[e]vānaṁpiyo	maṁñate	yathā	kiti	sāra-vaḍhī	asa
Kāl.	vā	Devāna[ṁ]piye	m[a]nati	athā	k[i]ta	ś[ā]lā-v[a]ḍhi	śiyāti
Shāh.	va	Devanaṁpriyo	mañati	yatha	kiti	sa[la]-vaḍhi	siya
Mān.	va	[De]vana[ṁ]priye	mañati	atha	kiti	sala-vaḍhi	siya

Gir.	sa[va-pā]saṁḍānaṁ	(*C*) sār[a]-vaḍhī	tu	bahuvidhā	(*D*) tasa	tu	idaṁ
Kāl.	ś[a]va-pāśaḍāna	(*C*) śālā-vaḍhi	nā	bahuvidhā	(*D*) taśa	chu	inaṁ
Shāh.	savra-prashaṁḍanaṁ	(*C*) sala-vaḍhi	tu	bahuvidha	(*D*) tasa	tu	iyo
Mān.	savra-pashaḍana ti	(*C*) sala-vruḍhi	t[u]	bahuvidha	(*D*) tasa	chu	iyaṁ

Gir.	mūlaṁ	ya	vachi-gutī	kiṁti		ātpa-pāsaṁḍa-pūjā	va	para-
Kāl.	mule	a	va[cha]-guti	kiti	t[i]	ata-paśaḍa-[v]ā pujā	vā	pala-
Shāh.	mula	yaṁ	vacha-guti	kiti		ata-prashaṁḍa-puja	va	pa[ra]-
Mān.	mule	aṁ	vacha-guti	kiti		ata-prashaḍa-puja	va	para-

Gir.	pāsaṁḍa-garahā	va	no	bhave	aprakaraṇamhi	lahukā	va	asa
Kāl.	pāśaṁḍa-galahā	va	no	[śa]yā	ap[a]k[a]l[a]naś[i]	lahakā	vā	śiyā
Shāh.	pashaṁḍa-garana	va	no	siya	[a]pakaraṇasi	lahuka	va	siya
Mān.	pashaḍa-garaha	va	no	siya	apakaraṇasi	lahuka	va	siya

Gir.	tamhi	tamhi	prakaraṇe	(*E*) pūjetayā	tu	eva	para-pāsaṁḍā
Kāl.	[ta]gi	taśi	pakalan[a]ś[i]	(*E*) pujetav[i]ya	chu		p[a]la-pā[śa]ḍā
Shāh.	tasi	tasi	prakara[ṇ]e	(*E*) pujetaviya	va	chu	para-prasha[ṁḍa]
Mān.	tasi	tasi	pakaraṇasi	(*E*) pujetaviya	va	chu	para-p[r]ashaḍa

Gir.	tena	tana	prakaraṇena	(*F*) evaṁ	karuṁ	ātpa-pāsaṁḍaṁ	cha
Kāl.	tena	tena	akālana	(*F*) heva	kalata	ata-pāśaḍā	baḍhaṁ
Shāh.	tena	tena	akarena	(*F*) e[v]aṁ	karataṁ	ata-p[r]ashaṁḍaṁ	
Mān.	tena	tena	akarena	(*F*) evaṁ	karataṁ	atva-pashaḍa	baḍhaṁ

Gir.	vaḍhayati	para-pāsaṁḍasa		cha	upakaroti	(*G*) tad-aṁñathā
Kāl.	vaḍhiyati	pala-pāśaḍa	pi	vā	upakaleti	(*G*) tadā anatha
Shāh.	vaḍheti	para-prashaṁḍaṁsa	pi	cha	upakaroti	(*G*) tada añatha
Mān.	vaḍhayati	para-pashaḍasa	pi	cha	upakaroti	(*G*) tad-aṁñatha

Gir.	karoto	ātpa-pāsaḍaṁ	cha	chhaṇati	para-pāsaṁḍasa	cha	pi
Kāl.	kalata	ata-pāśaḍa	cha	chhanati	pala-pāśaḍa	pi	vā
Shāh.	ka[ra]min[o]	ata-p[rashaṁḍa]		kshaṇati	para-[pra]shaḍasa	cha	
Mān.	karataṁ	ata-pashaḍa	cha	chhaṇati	para-pashaḍasa	pi	cha

Gir.	apakaroti	(*H*) yo	hi	kochi	ātpa-pāsaṁḍaṁ	pūjayati	para-pāsaṁḍaṁ
Kāl.	apakaleti	(*H*) ye	[h]i	kechha	[a]ta-pāśaḍa	punāti	pala-pāshaḍa
Shāh.	apakaroti	(*H*) yo	hi	kachi	ata-prashaḍaṁ	pujeti	[para]-p[r]ashaḍa[ṁ]
Mān.	apakaroti	(*H*) ye	hi	kechhi	atva-pashaḍa	pujeti	para-pashaḍa

Gir.	v[a]	garahati	savaṁ	ātpa-pāsaṁḍa-bhatiyā		kiṁti	ātpa-pāsaṁḍaṁ
Kāl.	vā ।	ga[la]hati ।	shave	ata-pāshaṁ[ḍa]-bhatiyā	vā	kiti ।	ata-pāshaṁḍa ।
Shāh.		garahati	savre	ata-prashaḍa-bhatiya	va	kiti	ata-prashaṁḍaṁ
Mān.	va	garahati	savre	atva-pashaḍa-bhatiya	va	kiti	atva-pashaḍa

Gir.	dīpayema	iti	so	cha	puna	tatha	karāto	ātpa-pāsaṁḍa[ṁ]	bāḍhataraṁ
Kāl.	[d]ipayema		she	cha	punā	tathā ।	kalaṁtaṁ ।	bāḍhatale ।	up[a]haṁt[i] ।
Shāh.	dipayami	ti	so	cha	puna	tatha	karaṁtaṁ [1]	ba[ḍhata]raṁ	upahaṁti
Mān.	dipayama	ti	. .	. .	puna	tatha	karataṁ	baḍhataraṁ	upahaṁti

Gir.	upahanāti	(*I*) ta	samavāyo	eva	sādhu	kiṁti	[a]ñamaṁñasa
Kāl.	ata-pāshaṁḍashi ।	(*I*)	shamavāye	vu	shādhu	kiti ।	aṁnamanashā
Shāh.	ata-prashaḍaṁ	(*I*) so	sayamo	vo	sadhu	kiti	añamañasa
Mān.	atva-pasha[ḍa]	(*I*) se	samavaye	vo	sadhu	ki[ti]	aṇamaṇasa

Gir.	dhaṁmaṁ	sruṇāru	cha	susuṁsera	cha		(*J*) evaṁ	hi
Kāl.	dhaṁmaṁ ।	shune[y]u	chā ।	shushusheyu	chā	ti ।	(*J*) hevaṁ	hi
Shāh.	dhramo	śruṇeyu	cha	suśrusheyu	cha	ti	(*J*) evaṁ	hi
Mān.	dhramaṁ	śruṇ[e]y[u	cha]	suśrushe[yu]	cha	ti	(*J*) evaṁ	hi

Gir.	D[e]vānaṁpiyasa	ichhā	kiṁti	sava-pāsaṁḍā	bahu-srutā	cha	asu
Kāl.	Devānaṁpiyashā	ichhā	kiṁti	sava-pāshaṁḍa ।	baha-shutā	chā	
Shāh.	Devanaṁpriyasa	ichha	kiti	savra-prashaṁḍa	bahu-śruta	ch[a]	
Mān.	Devanapriyasa	ichha	kiti	savra-pashaḍa	bahu-śruta	cha	

Gir.	kal[ā]ṇāgamā	cha	[a]su		(*K*) ye	cha	tatra	tata	prasaṁnā
Kāl.	kayānāgā	cha ।	huveyu	ti ।	(*K*) e	[cha]	tata	t[a]t[a] ।	p[a]sh[aṁ]nā ।
Shāh.	kal[aṇa]gama	cha	siyasu		(*K*) ye	cha	tatra	tatra	prasana
Mān.	kayaṇagama	cha	[hu]veyu	ti	(*K*) e	cha	tatra	tatra	prasana

Gir.	tehi	vatavyaṁ	(*L*) Devānaṁpiyo	no	tathā	dānaṁ	va	pūjāṁ
Kāl.	te[hi	va]taviye ।	(*L*) Devānāpiye	no	tathā ।	dānaṁ	vā ।	pujā
Shāh.	tesha[ṁ]	vatavo	(*L*) Devanaṁpriy[o]	na	[tatha	da]na[ṁ	va]	p[u]ja
Mān.	tehi	vataviye	(*L*) Devanapriye	no	tatha	danaṁ	va	puja[ṁ]

Gir.	va	maṁñate	yathā	kiṁti	sāra-vaḍhī	asa	sarva-pāsaḍānaṁ
Kāl.	vā ।	maṁnat[i] ।	athā	kiti	sh[ā]lā-v[a]ḍhi	śiyā ।	shava-pāshaṁḍatiṁ ।
Shāh.	va	mañati	ya[tha]	kiti	sala-vaḍhi	siyati	savra-prashaḍanaṁ
Mān.	va	maṇati	atha	kiti	sala-vaḍhi	siya	savra-pashaḍa[na]

Gir.	(*M*) bahakā	cha	etāya	athā	vyāpatā	dhaṁma-mahāmātā	cha
Kāl.	(*M*) bahukā	ch[ā] ।	etāyāṭhāye ।		viyāpaṭā ।	dha[ṁ]ma-mahāmātā ।	
Shāh.	(*M*) bahuka	cha	etaye	a[ṭha] . .	vap[a]ṭa	dh[ra]ma-ma[ha]matra	
Mān.	(*M*) [ba]huka	cha	etaye	athraye	vapuṭa	dhrama-mahamatra	

Gir.	ithījhakha-mahāmātā	cha	vacha-bhūmīkā	cha	añe	cha	nikāyā
Kāl.	ithidhiyakha-mahāmātā ।		vacha-bh[u]mikyā ।		ane	vā	[n]iky[ā]y[ā]
Shāh.	i[stridhi]yaksha-ma[ha]matra		[vra]cha-bhumika		añe	cha	nikaye
Mān.	istrijaksha-mahamatra		vracha-bh[u]mika		añe	cha	nikay[e]

[1] The five last words are repeated thus: *so cha puna tatha karataṁ.*

Gir.	(*N*) ayaṁ	cha	etasa	phala	ya	ātpa-pāsaṁḍa-vaḍhī	cha	hoti
Kāl.	(*N*) iyaṁ	cha	etishā ।	phale ।	yaṁ	ata-pāshaṁḍa-vaḍhi	chā ।	hoti
Shāh.	(*N*) imaṁ	cha	etisa	[pha]laṁ	yaṁ	ata-pashaḍa-vaḍhi		[bh]o[ti]
Mān.	(*N*) iyaṁ	cha	etisa	phale	yaṁ	atva-pashaḍa-vaḍhi	cha	bh[o]t[i]

Gir.	dhaṁmasa	cha	dīp[a]nā
Kāl.	dhaṁmasha	chā	dipanā ।
Shāh.	dhramasa	cha	di[pana]
Mān.	dhramasa	cha	[di]pana

THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT

Gir.	(*A*)	. . . . . .	. . . . .	ño
Kāl.	(*A*) aṭha-[va]shā- । bhishita- । shā	[De]vānaṁpiyasha	Piyadashine ।	lājine ।
Shāh.	(*A*) [aṭha]-vasha-a[bhis]ita[sa	Devana]pri[a]sa	Pri[a]draśisa	ra[ño]
Mān.	(*A*) [aṭha]-vashabhisita[sa]	De[va]na[priyasa]	Priyadraśine	rajine

Gir.	Kaliṁgā	[v . j .] . .	(*B*)	. . . . . .	.
Kāl.	Kaligyā	vijitā ।	(*B*) diyaḍha-mite ।	pāna-shat[a]-shaha[ś]e ।	ye
Shāh.	Ka[liga]	vi[j]ita	(*B*) diaḍha-mat[r]e	praṇa-śata-[saha]sre	y[e]
Mān.	[Ka]liga	[v]i[jita]	(*B*) [di]ya[ḍha]-mat[r]e	praṇa-[śata-sa] . . .	.

Gir.	. . . .	[v . ḍh]e	[sa]ta-sahasra-mātraṁ	tatrā	hataṁ	bahu-tāvatakaṁ
Kāl.	[ta]phā	apavuḍhe [।	śa]ta-[sha]hasha-mite ।	tata	hate ।	bahu-tāvatake ।
Shāh.	tato	apavuḍhe	śata-sahasra-matre	tatra	hate	bahu-tavata[ke]
Mān.	. .	. . .	. . . . .	. .	. .	. . .

Gir.		mata	(*C*) tatā	pachhā	adh[u]nā	ladhesu	Kaliṁgesu
Kāl.	vā	maṭe	(*C*) tat[o	pa]chhā ।	adhunā	ladhesha ।	Kaligyeshu ।
Shāh.	[va]	m[uṭe]	(*C*) tato	[pa]cha	a[dhu]na	ladh[e]shu	[Kaligeshu]
Mān.	. .	[mạ]ṭe	(*C*) [tato]	pacha	adhuna	la[dhe]shu	Kaligeshu

Gir.	tī[v]o	dhaṁmavāyo .	. . . . .	. . . . .	.
Kāl.	tive ।	dhaṁma[vāy]e	dhaṁma-k[ā]matā ।	dhaṁmānushathi	chā ।
Shāh.	[tivre	dhrama-śilana]	dhra[ma-ka]mata	dhramanuśasti	cha
Mān.	ti[vr]e	dhrama[va]ye	. . . . . .	[dhra]manu[śa]sti	[cha]

Gir.	. . . . . .	. . . .	. .	[sa]yo	Devānaṁpriyasa
Kāl.	Devānaṁpiyashā ।	(*D*) sh[e]	athi	anushaye ।	Devānaṁpiya[sh]ā ।
Shāh.	Devanapriyasa	(*D*) so	[a]sti	anusochana	Devanap[ria]sa
Mān.	[De]vana[pri]	(*D*)	. .	. . . .	. . . .

Gir.	[v . j .] .	. . .	. . .	. .	. . .	.	. .	[va]dho
Kāl.	vijin[i]tu ।	Kaligyāni ।	(*E*) avijitaṁ	hi ।	vijinamane ।	e	tatā ।	vadha
Shāh.	vijiniti	Kaliga[ni]	(*E*) avijitaṁ	[hi	vi]jinamano	yo	tat[r]a	vadha
Mān.	. .	. . .	. . .	. .	. . .	.	. .	.

Gir. va maraṇaṁ va apavāho va janasa ta bāḍhaṁ
Kāl. vā । malane vā । apavahe [vā] । jan[a]shā । [sh]e bāḍha ।
Shāh. va maraṇaṁ va apavaho va janasa taṁ baḍhaṁ
Mān. . . [maraṇe va apavahe va janasa] se [baḍhaṁ]

Gir. vedana-mata cha g[u]r[u]-mata cha Devā[naṁpi] . . [sa] (*F*) . . . .
Kāl. vedaniya-mute । g[u]l[u]-mut[e] chā । Devānaṁ[pi]yashā । (*F*) iyaṁ
Shāh. v[e]dani[ya]-ma[taṁ] guru-mata[ṁ] cha Devanaṁpriyasa (*F*) idaṁ
Mān. vedaniya-mate guru-mate [cha Devanapriyasa] (*F*) [i]yaṁ

Gir. . . . .
Kāl. pi chu । tato । galu-matatale । D[e]vānaṁpiyashā (*G*) [ya] tatā
Shāh. pi chu [tato] guru-matataraṁ [Devanaṁ]priyasa (*G*) ye tatra
Mān. [pi] chu tato . . . .

Gir. . . . bāmhaṇā va samaṇā va añe . . . .
Kāl. vashati b[ā]bhanā va shama vā ane vā pāśaṁḍa gih[i]thā
Shāh. vasati bramaṇa va śrama[ṇa] va a[ṁ]ñe va prashaṁḍa gra[ha]tha
Mān. . . . .

Gir. . . . . [s]ā mātr[i] pitari
Kāl. vā yeśu vihitā [e]sh[a] a[gabhu]t[i]-shushushā m[ā]tā-piti-
Shāh. va yesu vihita esha agrabhuṭi-suśrusha mata-pitushu
Mān. . . [ye]su [vihi]ta esha [a]grabhu[ṭi]-suśrusha mata-pi[tu]sh[u]

Gir. susuṁsā guru-susuṁsā mita-saṁstata-sahāya-ñātike[su] dāsa-
Kāl. shushushā galu-shushā mita-shaṁthuta-shahāya-nātikeshu dāśa-
Shāh. suśrusha guruna suśrusha mitra-saṁstuta-sahaya-ñatikeshu dasa-
Mān. su[śru]sha guru-suśrusha mit[r]a-sa[ṁ]stu . . . . . .

Gir. [bha] . . . .
Kāl. bha[ṭa]kash[i sha]m[y]ā-paṭipati diḍha-bhatitā teshaṁ tatā hoti
Shāh. bhaṭakanaṁ samma-pratipa[ti] driḍha-bhatita tesha tatra bhoti
Mān. . . . .

Gir. . . . . abhiratānaṁ va vinikhamaṇa (*H*) yesaṁ
Kāl. [upa]ghāte vā vadhe vā abhilatānaṁ vā vinikhamane (*H*) yeshaṁ
Shāh. [a]pag[r]atho va vadho va abhiratana va nikramaṇaṁ (*H*) yesha
Mān. . . . . [va]dh[e] va abh[iratanaṁ] va vini[k]ramaṇi (*H*) yesha[ṁ]

Gir. vā [p.] . . . .
Kāl. vā pi shuvihi[t]ānaṁ shinehe avipahine e tānaṁ mita-śaṁth[u]ta-
Shāh. va pi suvihitanaṁ [si]ho aviprahino [e te]sha mitra-saṁstuta-
Mān. va pi s[u]vih[itanaṁ] si[ne]he avipahin[e e] ta[naṁ] mitra-[saṁ] . . . .

Gir. . . [h]āya-ñātikā vyasanaṁ prāpuṇati tata so pi tesa
Kāl. sha[h]āya-[nā]tikya viyashanaṁ pāpunāta tatā she [p]i t[ā]namev[ā]
Shāh. sahaya-ñatika vasana prapuṇati [ta]tra taṁ pi tesha vo
Mān. . . . .

Gir. [u]paghāto hāti (*I*) paṭībhā[g]o chesā s[ava] . . . . . .
Kāl. upaghāt[e] hoti (*I*) paṭibhāge chā esh[a] sh[a]va-manu[shāna]ṁ
Shāh. apaghratho bhoti (*I*) pratibhagaṁ cha [e]taṁ savra-manuśanaṁ
Mān. . . . . [esha] savra-manuśanaṁ

Gir. . . . .
Kāl. gul[u]-m[a]te chā Devāna[ṁ]piyashā (*J*) n[a]thi chā ṣhe jan[a]pade yatā
Shāh. guru-mataṁ cha Devanaṁpriya[sa] (*J*) nasti cha
Mān. guru-mate cha Devanaṁpriyasa (*J*) nasti cha se janapade yatra

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Gir. . . sti ime nikāyā añatra Yone[su] . . . .
Kāl. nathi ime nikāyā ānatạ Y[o]nesh[u] baṁhmane ch[ā] shamane chā
Shāh.
Mān. nasti ime ni[ka]ya a[ña]tra Yoneshu [bramaṇe cha] śra[maṇe] . .

Gir. . . . . [mh]i yatra nāsti mānusānaṁ ekataramhi
Kāl. nathi chā kuvāpi jan[a]padashi [ya]tā n[a]thi m[a]nushān[a] ı ekatalash[i]
Shāh. ekatare
Mān. . . . . pi [janapada]si ya[t]ra . . . .

Gir. pāsaṁḍamhi na nāma prasā[d]o (*K*) y[ā]vata[k]o j[ano]
Kāl. [p]i ı pāshaḍashi ı no n[ā]ma pashāde ı (*K*) she ava[ta]ke jane ı
Shāh. pi prashaḍaspi na nama prasado (*K*) so yamatro [ja]no
Mān. . . . . . na nama prasade (*K*) se yavatake jane

Gir. [ta]d[ā] . . . .
Kāl. t[a]dā Kali[ṁ]geshu ı [ladheshu ha]te ch[ā] maṭ[e] chā ı [apavuḍhe]
Shāh. tada Kalige [ha]to cha muṭ[o] cha apav[uḍha]
Mān. tada Kaligesh[u] hate cha . . . . apavuḍhe

Gir. . . . . sra-bhāgo va garu-mat[o]
Kāl. [chā ı] tato shat[e] bhāge vā ı shah[a]sha-bhāge vā ı aja gulu-mate
Shāh. cha tato śata-bhage va sahasra-bhagaṁ va [a]ja guru-mataṁ
Mān. cha ta[to] śata-bhage va sahasra-bhage va aja guru-ma[te]

Gir. Devānaṁ . . . .
Kāl. vā ı Devāna[ṁ]piyashā . . . .
Shāh. v[o] Devanaṁpriyasa (*L*) yo pi cha apakareyati kshamitaviya-mate va
Mān. [va] Devanapriya[sa] (*L*) . . . . . pa[ka] . . . [mi]tavi . . . . .

Gir. . . . . na ya saka chhamitave (*M*) yā cha pi aṭaviyo
Kāl. . . . .
Shāh. Devanaṁp[r]iyasa yaṁ śako kshamaṇaye (*M*) ya pi cha aṭavi
Mān. . . . . (*M*) . . [pi cha] aṭavi

Gir. D[e]vānaṁpiya[sa] pijite pāti . . . .
Kāl. . . . .
Shāh. Devanaṁpriyasa vijite bhoti ta pi anuneti anunijapeti
Mān. Devanapriyasa vijitasi hoti [ta] pi a[nuna]ya[ti a]nu[nijha]paya[ti]

Gir.	. . . . chate te[sa]ṁ Devānaṁpiyasa . . . .
Kāl.	. . . .
Shāh.	(*N*) anutape pi cha prabhave Devanaṁpriyasa vuchati tesha kiti
Mān.	(*N*) [anu]tape pi cha prabhave Devanapriyasa vuchati [te]sha [ki] . .

Gir.	. . . . sava-
Kāl.	. . . . [ney]u (*O*) ichha . . . . . sha[va]-
Shāh.	avatrapeyu na cha [ha]ṁñeyasu (*O*) ichhati hi D[e]vanaṁpriyo savra-
Mān.	. . . . (*O*) . chha . . vanapri[y .] . .

Gir.	bhūtānāṁ achhatiṁ cha sayamaṁ cha samachairaṁ ch[a] mādava cha
Kāl.	[bhu] . . . . [shayama shamacha]liya[ṁ] madava ti
Shāh.	bhutana akshati sa[ṁ]yamaṁ sama[cha]riyaṁ rabhasiye
Mān.	. . . .

Gir.	(*P*) . . . .
Kāl.	(*P*) iyaṁ vu mu . . . . . Devānaṁpiyeshā ye dha[ṁ]ma-
Shāh.	(*P*) ayi cha mukha-mut[a] vijaye Devanaṁpriya[sa] yo dhrama-
Mān.	. . . . . . [mukha]-mute v[i]jaye D[e]vanapriyasa ye dhrama-

Gir.	. . . . [la]dh[o] . . . . naṁpriyasa idha
Kāl.	vijaye (*Q*) sh[e] cha punā ladhe Devāna[ṁp]i . . . . . . cha
Shāh.	vijayo (*Q*) so cha puna ladho Devanaṁpriyasa iha cha
Mān.	vijaye (*Q*) se cha [puna] la[dh]e [Deva]napri[ya]sa hida cha

Gir.	[sa]vesu [ch .] . . . .
Kāl.	shaveshu cha ateshu a shashu pi [yo]jana-shateshu at[a]
Shāh.	saveshu cha aṁteshu [a] shashu pi yojana-śa[t]eshu yatra
Mān.	sa[vr]eshu cha aṁteshu a shashu pi y[o]ja[na-śa]t[e]shu . . . .

Gir.	. . . . . [Yo]na-rāja paraṁ cha tena
Kāl.	Atiyoge nām[a] Yo[na-lā] . . paraṁ cha tenā A[ṁ]tiyogenā
Shāh.	Aṁtiyoko nama Y[o]na-raja paraṁ cha tena Atiyok[e]na
Mān.	. . tiyo[ge nama Yo]na-[raja] . . . .

Gir.	chatpāro rājāno Turamāyo cha [A]ṁt[ek]ina cha Magā
Kāl.	chatāli 4 lajāne Tulamaye [nā]m[a] Aṁteki[ne nā]ma Makā
Shāh.	chature 4 rajani Turamaye nama Aṁtikini nama Maka
Mān.	. . . . Aṁt[e] . . . . [nama Ma]ka

Gir.	cha . . . . . , ...
Kāl.	nāma Alikyashudale nāma nichaṁ Choḍa-Paṁḍiyā avaṁ
Shāh.	nama Alikasudaro nama nicha Choḍa-Paṁḍa ava
Mān.	na[ma] Alikasudare nama nicha Choḍa-Paṁḍiya a

Gir.	. . . . idha rāja-vi[sa]yamhi
Kāl.	Taṁbapaṁniyā hevamev[ā] (*R*) hevamevā [hi]dā lā[ja]-viśavashi
Shāh.	Ta[ṁ]bapaṁ[ṇi]ya (*R*) [e]vameva [hi]da raja-vishavaspi
Mān.	Taṁbapa[ṁ]ṇiya (*R*) evameva [hida] raja-vishava[si]

Gir. [Y]o[na]-Kaṁbo . . . .
Kāl. Yona-Kaṁbojeshu Nābhak[a]-Nābhapaṁtishu Bhoja-Pitinikye[sh]u
Shāh. Yona-Ka[ṁ]boyeshu Nabhaka-Nabhitina Bhoja-Pitinikeshu
Mān. Y[o]na-Kaṁ[bojeshu] Nabhaka-[Na]bhapa[ṁ]tishu [Bh]o[ja-Pi]tini[ke]shu

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Gir. . ṁdhra-Pāriṁdesu savata Devānaṁpiyasa dhaṁmānus[a]sṭiṁ
Kāl. [Adha]-P[ā]lade[sh]u [sha]vatā [D]evā[na]ṁpi[ya]shā dhaṁmānu[sha]thi
Shāh. Aṁdhra-Palideshu savatra Devanaṁpriyasa dhramanuśasti
Mān. Adha-[Pa] . . . .

Gir. anuv[a]tare (*S*) yata pi dūti . . . .
Kāl. anuvataṁti (*S*) y[a]ta pi dutā Devāna[ṁp]iyasā no yaṁti t[e] pi
Shāh. anuvaṭaṁti (*S*) yatra pi Devanaṁpriyasa duta na vrachaṁti te pi
Mān. . . . . (*S*) [yatra pi du]ta [De]vanapriyaṣa na yaṁti te pi

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Gir. . . . . [na]ṁ dhamānusasṭiṁ
Kāl. sutu Dev[āna]ṁp[i]naṁya dh[aṁma]-vutaṁ v[i]dh[a]na[ṁ] dhaṁmānusa[th]i
Shāh. śrutu Devanaṁpriyasa dhrama-vuṭaṁ vidh[a]naṁ dhramanuśasti
Mān. śrutu Devanapriyasa dhrama-vuta vidhana[ṁ] dhramanuśasti

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Gir. cha dhamaṁ anuvidhiyare . . . .
Kāl. dha[ṁ]ma[ṁ] anuvidhiyaṁa [a]nuvidhiyisaṁa [ch]ā (*T*) ye se
Shāh. dhramaṁ [a]nuvidhiyaṁti anuvidhiyiśaṁ[ti] cha (*T*) yo [sa]
Mān. dhra[ṁ]ma[ṁ] anuvidhiyaṁti [a]nuvidhiy[iśaṁti cha] (*T*) [ye se]

Gir. . . . . [v]ijayo savathā puna vijayo
Kāl. [la]dhe etakenā hoti savatā vi[ja]ye
Shāh. ladhe etakena bho[ti] savatra vijayo sava[tra] pu[na] vijayo
Mān. ladhe e[ta]ke[na ho]ti savra[tra] vi[jaye] . . . .

Gir. pīti-raso sā (*U*) ladhā sā pītī hoti . dhaṁma-vījayamhi
Kāl. piti-lase se (*U*) gadhā sā hoti piti piti dhaṁm[a]-vijayashi
Shāh. priti-raso so (*U*) ladha bh[oti] priti dhrama-vijayaspi
Mān. . . . .

Gir. . . . .
Kāl. (*V*) lahukā v[u] kho sā piti (*W*) pālaṁtikyameve maha-phalā
Shāh. (*V*) lahuka tu kho sa priti (*W*) paratri[ka]meva maha-phala
Mān. . . . . (*W*) paratrikameva maha-phala

Gir. . . . . . ṁ[p]riyo (*X*) etā[ya athā]ya ayaṁ dhaṁma-
Kāl. maṁnaṁ[ti] Dev[e]naṁ[pi]ne (*X*) etāye chā aṭhāye iyaṁ dha[ṁ]ma-
Shāh. meṅati Devana[ṁ]priyo (*X*) etaye cha aṭhaye ayi dhrama-
Mān. [ma]ṇati De[va]napri[ye] (*X*) e[ta]ye cha [a]thray[e] iyaṁ dhraṁma-

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Gir. [l] . . . . [va]ṁ vijayaṁ mā
Kāl. lipi likhitā kiti putā papotā me a[su] nava[ṁ] vijay[a] ma
Shāh. dipi nipi[sta] kiti putra papotra me asu navaṁ vijayaṁ ma
Mān. dipi li[khi]ta kiti putra prap[o]tra me a[su] nava[ṁ] v[i]. . . .

Gir.	vijetavyaṁ	maṁñā	sarasake	eva	vijaye	chhāti	cha	. . .
Kāl.	vijayataviya	manishu	shayakashi	no	vi[ja]yashi	khaṁti	chā	la hu-
Shāh.	vijetav[i]a	mañishu	spa[kaspi]	yo	vijay[e	·ksham]ti	cha	lahu-
Mān.	. . . . [tavi]yaṁ	maṇ[ishu	saya]	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

Gir.	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Kāl.	daṁḍatā	[chā]	lochetu	tameva	chā		vijayaṁ	manatu	ye
Shāh.	da[ṁ]ḍata	cha	rochetu	taṁ	cha	yo	vija	maña[tu]	yo
Mān.	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

Gir.	. . . . .	. . .	. . .	kik[o]	ch[a	pā]r[alo]ki[ko] . .	. . .
Kāl.	dhaṁma-vijaye	(*Y*) she	hidalokikya			palalokiye	(*Z*) shavā
Shāh.	dhrama-vijayo	(*Y*) so	hidalokiko			paralokiko	(*Z*) sava-
Mān.	. . . . .	(*Y*) . .	hidaloke			paralokike	(*Z*) sava

Gir.	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Kāl.	cha	ka	nilati	hot[u]		uyāma-lati	(*AA*)	shā	hi
Shāh.	chati-rati			bhotu	ya	[dh]raṁma-rati	(*AA*)	sa	hi
Mān.	cha	[ka]	nirati	hotu	ya	dhrama-rati	(*AA*)	sa	hi

Gir.	ilokikā	cha	pāralokikā	cha
Kāl.	hi[da]lokika		pa[la]lokikyā	
Shāh.	hidalokika		paralokika	
Mān.	[i]aloki[ka]		paraloki[ka]	

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT

Gir.	(*A*) ayaṁ	dhaṁma-lipī	Devānaṁpriyena	Priyadasinā	r[ā]ñā
Kāl.	(*A*) iyaṁ	dhama-lipi	Dev[ānaṁp]i[y]e[n]ā	[P]iyadasinā	lajinā
Shāh.	(*A*) ayi	dhrama-dipi	Devanaṁpriyena	Priśi[na]	raña
Mān.	(*A*) [i]yaṁ	dhrama-dipi	De[va]napriyena	Pri[ya]	. [jina]
Dhau.	(*A*) iyaṁ	dhaṁma-lipī	De[v]ānaṁpiyena	Piyada[sin]ā	lāj[inā]
Jau.	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

Gir.	l[e]khāpitā	asti	eva	saṁkhit[e]na	asti	majhamena	asti	vistatana
Kāl.	likhāpitā	athi	yevā	sukhitenā	[a]thi	majhimenā	athi	vithaṭenā
Shāh.	nipesapita	asti	vo	saṁkshitena	asti	yo		vistriṭena
Mān.	[likhapita]	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Dhau.	[likhā]	. . .	. . .	. . .	athi	ma[jhimena]	. . .	. . .
Jau.	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	[ma]jhime[na]	ath[i]	vithaṭena

Gir.	(*B*) na	cha	sarvaṁ	[sa]rvata	ghaṭitaṁ	(*C*) mahālake	hi	vijitaṁ
Kāl.	(*B*) no	hi	savatā	save	[gha]ṭite	(*C*) mahālake	hi	vijite
Shāh.	(*B*) na	hi	savatra	sasavre	gaṭite	(*C*) mahalake	hi	vijite
Mān.	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Dhau.	(*B*) . .	[h]i	save	sav[a]ta	ghaṭite	(*C*) mahaṁte	hi	vijaye
Jau.	(*B*) [no]	hi	save	savata	ghaṭite	(*C*) mahaṁte	hi	vijaye

Gir.	bahu	cha	likhitaṁ	likhāpayisaṁ	cheva		(*D*)	asti	cha
Kāl.	bahu	cha	likhite	lekhāpeśāmi	cheva	nikyaṁ	(*D*)	athi	chā
Shāh.	bahu	cha	likhite	likha[p]eśami	cheva		(*D*)	asti	chu
Mān.	. . .	. . .	[likhite	likha]pe[śa]mi	che[va]	ni . . .	(*D*)	[asti	chu]
Dhau.	bahu[k]e	cha	likhite	likhiyis . . .	. . .	. . .	(*D*)	[a]thi	. .
Jau.	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

Gir.	eta	kaṁ	puna	puna	vutaṁ	tasa	tasa	athasa	mādhūratāya
Kāl.	hetā		puna	pun[ā]	la[p]it[e]	tasha	tashā	athashā	madhuliyāye
Shāh.	atra		puna	puna	[la]pitaṁ	tasa	tasa	[a]thasa	madhuriyaye
Mān.	[a]tra		puna	puna	la[pite]	tasa	ta[sa]	a[thra]sa	[madhu]riyaye
Dhau.	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	[vu]te	ta[sa]	. . .	. . .	. [y]āy[e]
Jau.	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	[sa]	mādhuliyāye

Gir.	kiṁti		jano	tathā	paṭipajetha[a]		(*E*)				tatra
Kāl.	yena		jane	tathā	paṭipajeyā		(*E*)	she	shāyā		ata
Shāh.	ye[na]		jana	tatha	paṭipajeyati		(*E*)	so	siya	va	atra
Mān.	[ye]na		jane	ta[tha]	paṭipaje[ya]ti		(*E*)	se	[si]ya		atra
Dhau.	[k]iṁti	cha	j[a]ne	tathā	paṭipajeyā	ti	(*E*)	e	pi	chu	heta
Jau.	kiṁt[i]	cha	jane	tathā	paṭipajeyā	ti	(*E*)	e	pi	chu	heta

Gir.	ekadā	asamāt[a]ṁ	likhita[ṁ]	asa	desaṁ	va	sachhāya	[kā]raṇaṁ	va
Kāl.	k[i]chhi	asamati	likhite		dishā	vā	shaṁkheye	kālanaṁ	vā
Shāh.	kiche	asamataṁ	likhitaṁ		deśaṁ	va	saṁkhay[a]	karaṇa	va
Mān.	ki[chhi]	. . . [t]i	likhi[t .]		. . . .	va	[saṁkha]ya	. . .	.
Dhau.		asamati	likhit[e	s] . . . . . saṁ			. . [lochay]itu	. . .	.
Jau.	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

Gir.	[a]lochetpā	lipikarāparadhena	va	
Kāl.	alochayitu	li[p]ikalapalādhena	vā	
Shāh.	alocheti	dipikarasa	va	aparadhena
Mān.	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Dhau.	. . .	k[a]l[ā]	[t]i	
Jau.	. . .	. . .	. . .	

II. THE TWO SEPARATE ROCK-EDICTS

FIRST SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT

Dhau.	(*A*) [Devāna]ṁ[pi]y[asa		vacha]nena		Tosaliyaṁ	ma[hā]māta
Jau.	(*A*) Dev[ā]naṁpiye	he[va]ṁ	[ā]hā		(*B*) Sam[ā]pāyaṁ	mahāmātā

Dhau.	[naga]la-[v]i[yo]hālak[ā		va]taviya	(*B*) [aṁ	kichhi	dakhā]mi
Jau.	[na]gala-viyohālaka	he[vaṁ	va]tav[i]y[ā]	(*C*) aṁ	kichhi	dakhāmi

Dhau.	hakaṁ	taṁ	ichhāmi	k[i]ṁ[t]i		kaṁ[mana	pa]ṭi[pāday]ehaṁ
Jau.	ha[ka]ṁ	[taṁ]	ichhām[i	k]iṁt[i	kaṁ	kamana	pa]ṭipātayehaṁ

Dhau. duvālate cha ālabhehaṁ (*C*) esa cha me mokhya-mata duvā[la]
Jau. duvālate cha ālabhehaṁ (*D*) es[a] cha me mokhiya-mata duvālaṁ

Dhau. [etasi aṭha]si aṁ tuph[esu] anusathi (*D*) tuphe hi bahūsu pāna-
Jau. a[ṁ] tuphesu anusathi (*E*) phe hi bahūsu pāna-

Dhau. sahasesuṁ ā[yata] p[a]na[yaṁ ga]chh[e]ma su munisānaṁ
Jau. sahasesu [ā]ya[ta] p[a]na[yaṁ] gachhema [su] m[u]n[i]s[ā]na[ṁ]

Dhau. (*E*) save munise pajā mamā (*F*) ath[ā] pajāye ichhāmi h[a]ka[ṁ]
Jau. (*F*) sava-mu[n]ā me pajā (*G*) atha pa[jā]ye ichhāṁ[i]

Dhau. [kiṁti sa]ve[na hi]ta-sukhena hidalo[kika]-pālalokike[na] y[ūjev]ū
Jau. [kiṁ]t[i] me savena hita-sukhena y[ū]jeyū ti hi[dal]o[g]ik[a]-pālalokikena

Dhau. [t]i [tathā .... muni]sesu pi [i]chhāmi [ha]ka[ṁ] (*G*) no cha
Jau. [he]meva me ichha sava-munis[e]su (*H*) no chu tu[phe]

Dhau. pāpunātha āv[a]-ga[m]u[k]e [iyaṁ aṭhe] (*H*) [k]e[chha] v[a] eka-
Jau. [e]taṁ [p]ā[p]unātha āva-gamu[k]e [i]yaṁ aṭh[e] (*I*) kechā eka-

Dhau. puli[se] .... nāti e[ta]ṁ se pi desaṁ no savaṁ (*I*) de[kha]t[a hi]
Jau. [muni]s[e] pā[p]unāti se pi desaṁ no savaṁ (*J*) dakhatha hi

Dhau. [t]u[phe] etaṁ suvi[hi]tā pi (*J*) [n]itiyaṁ eka-pulise [pi athi] y[e]
Jau. [tuphe] pi suvitā [p]i (*K*) bahuka aṭhi ye eti eka-munise

Dhau. baṁdhanaṁ vā p[a]likilesaṁ vā pāpunāti (*K*) tata hoti akasmā
Jau. ba[ṁ]dhanaṁ pali[kile]saṁ [p]i pāpunāti (*L*) tata [ho]t[i aka]sm[ā]

Dhau. tena badhana[ṁ]tik[a] aṁne cha ...... hu jane da[v]iye
Jau. ti ten[a] badhana[ṁ]ti[ka anye] cha [va]ge bahuke

Dhau. dukhīyati (*L*) tata ichhitaviye tuphehi kiṁti m[a]jhaṁ paṭipādayemā
Jau. vedayati (*M*) tata tuphe[hi ichhi]taye kiṁti majhaṁ [pa]ṭipātayem[a]

Dhau. ti (*M*) imeh[i] chu [jāteh]i no saṁpaṭipajati isāya āsulopena
Jau. (*N*) imehi jāte[hi] no [pa]ṭipa[ja]ti i[s]ā[ya] āsulopena

Dhau. ni[ṭhū]liyena tūlanā[ya] anāvūtiya ālasiyena k[i]lamathena
Jau. [ni]ṭhū[li]ye[na] t[ul]āya [a]nā[v]uti[ya āla]s[y]e[na ki]lamath[e]na

Dhau. (*N*) se ichhitaviye kitiṁ ete [jātā no] huvevu ma[m]ā
Jau. (*O*) hevaṁ ichhit[a]vi[y]e kiṁti me et[ā]ni jātā[ni n]o hveyū

Dhau. ti (*O*) etasa cha sava[sa] mūle anāsulope a[tū]l[a]nā cha
Jau. ti (*P*) savasa chu iyaṁ mū[le] a[n]ā[s]u[lo]p[e atulanā] cha

Dhau. (*P*) niti[ya]ṁ e kilaṁte siyā [na] te uga[chha]
Jau. (*Q*) ni[tiya]ṁ [e]y[aṁ k]il[aṁt]e [siya] .... saṁchalitu uthāy[ā]

Dhau. saṁchalitaviy[e] tu va[t]ita[v]iy[e] etaviye vā (*Q*) hevaṁmeva
Jau. saṁchalitavye tu v[a]ṭitaviya [pi] etaviye pi nīt[i]yaṁ (*R*) eve

Dhau. e da[kheya] t[u]phāk[a] tena vataviye ānaṁne dekhata
Jau. dakh[e]yā āna[ṁ]ne ṇijhap[e]ta[vi]ye

Dhau. hevaṁ cha hev[a]ṁ cha [D]evānaṁpiyasa anusathi (*R*) se
Jau. heva[ṁ hevaṁ] cha Devānaṁ[p]i[ya]sa an[u]sa[thi ti] (*S*) [eta]ṁ

Dhau. mah[ā-pha]le [e] t[a]sa [saṁpa]ṭipāda mahā-apāye asaṁpaṭipati
Jau. [saṁpaṭipā]ta[yaṁ]taṁ mahā-phale hoti asaṁpaṭipati mahāpāy[e] hoti

Dhau. (*S*) [vi]paṭ[i]pādayamīne hi etaṁ nathi svagasa [ā]l[a]dhi no lāj[ā]la[dh]i
Jau. (*T*) vipaṭipātayaṁtaṁ no svag[a]-āladhi no lājādhi

Dhau. (*T*) duā[ha]le hi i[ma]sa kaṁm[asa] m[e] kute man[o]-atileke
Jau. (*U*) du[ā]hale etasa [kaṁ]masa sa me k[u]t[e ma]n[o-ati]le[ke]

Dhau. (*U*) sa[ṁ]paṭipajam[ī]n[e] chu [etaṁ] svaga[ṁ] ālādha[yi]sa[tha]
Jau. (*V*) [etaṁ saṁpaṭipajamīne mama] cha ānaneyaṁ esatha

Dhau. [mama cha ā]naniyaṁ ehatha (*V*) iyaṁ cha l[i]p[i] t[i]sa-na[kha]tena
Jau. svagaṁ cha ālā[dha]yisa[th]ā (*W*) iyaṁ chā li[p]i anutisaṁ

Dhau. so[ta]viy[ā] (*W*) aṁta[l]ā [p]i cha [t]i[s]e[na kha]nasi kha[nas]i
Jau. sot[a]v[i]yā (*X*) [a]lā [p]i kha[ne]na sota[vi]yā

Dhau. ekena pi sotaviya (*X*) hevaṁ cha kalaṁtaṁ tuphe chaghatha
Jau. ek[a]k[e]na pi (*Y*) . . . . m[ī]ne ch[aghatha]

Dhau. sampa[ṭi]pād[a]y[i]tave (*Y*) [e]t[ā]ye aṭhāye iya[ṁ l]i[p]i likhit[a h]ida ena
Jau. . . . . . . tave (*Z*) etāye cha aṭh[ā]ye iyaṁ [li]khitā [l]ipī ena

Dhau. nagala-vi[y]o[hā]lakā sas[v]ataṁ samayaṁ yūjevū t[i] . . .
Jau. mahāmātā nagalaka sa[s]vata[ṁ] sama[ya]ṁ [etaṁ] yu[j]ey[u] t[i] ena

Dhau. . . [na]sa akasmā [pa]libodhe va [a]k[a]smā paliki[l]e[s]e va no siyā
Jau. [muni]s[ā]naṁ [a] . . . . . ne [pal]i[k]i . . . . . .

Dhau. ti (*Z*) etāye cha aṭhāye haka[ṁ] . . . . mate p[a]ṁchasu paṁchasu
Jau. . . . . ye [pa]ṁchasu paṁchasu

Dhau. [va]sesu [n]i[khā]may[i]sāmi e akhakhase a[chaṁ]ḍ[e]
Jau. va[sesu] anu[sa]yānaṁ nikhāma[y]isāmi mahāmāta[ṁ] achaṁḍa[ṁ]

Dhau. s[a]khinālaṁbhe hosati etaṁ aṭhaṁ jānitu . . . . . . [ta]thā kala[ṁ]ti
Jau. aphal[usa]ṁ ta . . . .

Dhau. atha mama anusathī ti (*AA*) Ujenite pi chu kumāle etāye v[a]
Jau. . . . . pi kumāle [v] . . ta . . . . .

Dhau. aṭhāye [ni]khāma[yisa] . . . . . . hedisameva vagaṁ no cha atikāmayisati
Jau. . . . . m[ayi] . . . .

Dhau. tiṁni vasāni (*BB*) hemeva T[a]kha[s]ilāte pi (*CC*) [a]dā a . . . . . .
Jau. . . . . [lā]t[e] . . . .

Dhau. te mahāmātā nikhamisaṁti anusayānaṁ tadā ahāpayitu atane
Jau. vachanik[a] ada [anusa]yānaṁ n[ikha]mi[saṁ]ti a[ta]ne

Dhau. kaṁmaṁ etaṁ pi jānisaṁti taṁ pi ta[th]ā kalaṁti
Jau. ka[ṁma]ṁ . . . . . . [yitu taṁ pi tathā] kalaṁti

Dhau. a[tha] lājine anusathī ti
Jau. [athā] . . . .

SECOND SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT

Dhau. (*A*) Devānaṁpiyas[a] vachanena Tosaliyaṁ kumāle mahāmātā cha
Jau. (*A*) Devānaṁpiye hevaṁ ā[ha] (*B*) Samāpāyaṁ mahamatā

Dhau. vataviya (*B*) aṁ kichhi dakhām[i] h[akaṁ taṁ i] . . . .
Jau. l[ā]ja-vachanik[a] vataviyā (*C*) aṁ kichhi dakh[ā]mi hakaṁ taṁ i[chh]āmi

Dhau. . . . . duvālate cha ālabhehaṁ (*C*) esa
Jau. hakaṁ k[iṁ]ti kaṁ kamana paṭipātayehaṁ duvā[la]te cha ālabhehaṁ (*D*) esa

Dhau. cha me mokhya-mata duvālā etasi aṭhasi aṁ tuphe[s]u . . . .
Jau. cha me mokhiya-mat[a] duvāl[a] etasa a[tha]sa a[ṁ] t[uph]esu anusa[thi]

Dhau. . . . . . . mama (*E*) ath[a] pajāye ichhāmi hakaṁ ki[ṁ]ti
Jau. (*E*) sava-munisā me pajā (*F*) atha pajāy[e] ichhāmi kiṁti me

Dhau. savena hi[ta-sukhe]na hidalokika-pālalokikāye yujevū ti
Jau. saveṇā hita-su[kh]ena yu[je]yū [1] ti hidalogika-pālaloki[k]e[ṇa]

Dhau. h[e]v[aṁ] . . . . (*F*) siyā aṁtānaṁ avijitānaṁ
Jau. hevaṁmeva me ichha sava-munisesu (*G*) siyā aṁtānaṁ [a]vijitānaṁ

Dhau. ki-chha[ṁde] su lāja [aphesu] . . (*G*) . . . . m[a]va ichha mama aṁtesu
Jau. kiṁ-chhaṁde su lājā aphesū ti (*H*) etākā [vā] me ichha [a]ṁtesu

Dhau. . . . i [p]ā[p]unevu te iti Devānaṁp[iy] . . . . [anu]v[i]g[ina] mamāye
Jau. pāpuneyu lājā hevaṁ ichh[a]ti anu[v]i[g]ina hve[yū]

Dhau. huvevū ti asvasevu cha sukhaṁmeva lahevu mamat[e]
Jau. mamiyāye [a]svaseyu cha me sukhaṁ[m]ev[a] cha lahey[ū] mamate

Dhau. no dukha[ṁ] h[e]va[ṁ] . . . un[e]vū iti khamisati ne
Jau. [n]o kha[ṁ] hevaṁ cha pāpuneyu kha[m]i[sa]ti ne

[1] The last eight words are repeated thus: *[a]tha pajāye ichhāmi kiṁ[ti] m[e] savena hita-sukh[e]na yujeyū.*

Dhau. Devānaṁpiye [aph]ākā ti e chakiye khamitave mamā nimitaṁ [va]
Jau. lājā e s[a]kiye khamitave mamaṁ nimitaṁ

Dhau. cha dhaṁmaṁ chalevū hidaloka palaloka[ṁ] cha
Jau. cha dhaṁma[ṁ] chaley[ū] ti hidalog[aṁ] cha palalogaṁ cha

Dhau. ālādhayevū (*H*) etasi aṭhasi haka[ṁ] anusāsāmi tuphe
Jau. ālādhayey[ū] (*I*) etāye cha aṭhāye hakaṁ tupheni anusāsāmi

Dhau. ana[n]e [e]takena hakaṁ anusāsitu chhaṁdaṁ cha veditu
Jau. ana[ne eta]kena [ha]kaṁ tupheni a[nu]sāsitu chhaṁda[ṁ cha] vedi[t]u

Dhau. ā [hi] dhi[t]i paṭiṁñā cha mamā [a]jalā (*I*) s[e] hevaṁ kaṭu
Jau. ā mama dhiti paṭiṁnā cha achala (*J*) sa hevaṁ [ka]ṭū

Dhau. kaṁme chal[i]t[a]v[i]ye asv[āsa] . . . . . i [cha] tāni ena
Jau. k[aṁ]me [cha]litaviye asvāsa[n]iyā ch[a] te en[a] te

Dhau. pāpunevū iti atha pitā tatha Devānaṁpiy[e] aphāka athā cha
Jau. pāpuneyu a[th]ā pita [h]evaṁ [n]e lājā ti atha

Dhau. atānaṁ hevaṁ Devānaṁpiye [a]nukaṁpati aphe athā cha pajā
Jau. [a]tānaṁ anukaṁpat[i he]vaṁ a[ph]eni anuka[ṁpa]ti athā pajā

Dhau. hevaṁ may[e] D[e]vānaṁpiyasa (*J*) se hakaṁ anusāsitu [chha]ṁda[ṁ]
Jau. hevaṁ [may]e lā[j]ine (*K*) tupheni hakaṁ anusāsita [chh]āṁdaṁ

Dhau. ch[a veditu tu]phāk[a] desāvuṭike
Jau. [cha v]e[di]ta [ā ma]ma dhiti paṭi[ṁ]nā chā achala [saka]la-desā-āy[ut]ike

Dhau. hosāmi etāye aṭhāye (*K*) paṭibalā hi tuph[e] asvāsanāye hita-
Jau. hosāmī et[a]si [a]thas[i] (*L*) [a]laṁ [h]i tuphe asvāsa[nā]ye hi[ta]-

Dhau. sukhāye cha [tesa] hidalokika-pālalo[ki]kāye (*L*) hevaṁ cha
Jau. sukhāye [cha te]sa[ṁ] hidalogi[ka]-p[ā]lal[o]ki[k]ā[y]e (*M*) hevaṁ cha

Dhau. kalaṁtaṁ tuphe svagaṁ ālādha[yi]satha mama ch[a] ānaniyaṁ
Jau. kalaṁtaṁ svaga[ṁ cha ā]lādhayisa[tha] mama cha āna[n]eyaṁ

Dhau. ehatha (*M*) etāye cha aṭhāye iyaṁ lipi likhitā hida e[na]
Jau. es[a]tha (*N*) etāye cha a[th]āye i[ya]ṁ lipī li[kh]i[ta hi]da e[na]

Dhau. [ma]hāmātā svasata[ṁ sa]ma yujisaṁti as[vā]s[a]nāye dhaṁma-
Jau. [ma]h[ā]mātā sāsvataṁ samaṁ yujeyū asvāsanāye cha dhaṁma-

Dhau. chala[n]āye cha tes[a] aṁtānaṁ (*N*) iyaṁ cha lipi [anu]chātuṁmāsaṁ
Jau. chala[nā]ye [cha] aṁtā[na]ṁ (*O*) iyaṁ cha lipī a[nu]ch[ā]tuṁ[m]āsaṁ

Dhau. tisena nakhatena sotaviyā (*O*) kāmaṁ chu [kha]ṇas[i] khanasi
Jau. s[ota]viyā tisena (*P*) aṁta[lā] pi cha sotaviyā

Dhau. aṁtalā pi tisena ekena [p]i [so]taviya (*P*) hevaṁ kala[ṁ]taṁ
Jau. (*Q*) khane saṁtaṁ eke[na] pi [sota]v[i]yā (*R*) heva[ṁ] cha [ka]laṁ[ta]ṁ

Dhau. [t]uphe chaghatha saṁpaṭipādayitave
Jau. chaghatha saṁpaṭipātayit[av]e

III. THE SIX PILLAR-EDICTS

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT

Tōp. (*A*) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ āhā (*B*) saḍuvīsati-vasa-abhisitena
Ar. (*A*) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ āha (*B*) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena
Nand. (*A*) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ ā[ha] (*B*) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena
Rām. (*A*) Devānaṁpiye P[i]yadasi lāja heva āha (*B*) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena
All. (*A*) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasī lājā hevaṁ āhā (*B*) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena

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Tōp. me iyaṁ dhaṁma-lipi likhāpitā (*C*) hidata-pālate dusaṁpaṭipādaye
Ar. me iyaṁ dhaṁma-li[p]i likhāpita (*C*) hidata-pālate dusaṁpaṭipādaye
Nand. me iyaṁ dhaṁma-lipi likhāpita (*C*) hidata-pālate dusaṁpaṭipādaye
Rām. me iyaṁ dhaṁma-lipi likhāpita (*C*) hidata-pālate dusaṁpaṭipādaye
All. me iyaṁ dhaṁma-lipi likhāpitā (*C*) hidata-pālate dusaṁpaṭipāda[y]e

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Tōp. aṁnata agāyā dhaṁma-kāmatāyā agāya palīkhāyā agāya su[sū]sāyā
Ar. aṁnata agāya dhaṁma-kāmatāya agāya palīkhāy[a] agāya susūsāya
Nand. aṁnata agāya dhaṁma-kāmatāya agāya palīkhāya agāya susūsāya
Rām. aṁnata agāya dhaṁma-kāmatāya agāya palīkhāya agāya susūsāya
All. aṁnata agāya dhaṁma-kāmatāya agāya palīkhāya agāya susūsāyā

Tōp. agena bhayenā agena usāhenā (*D*) esa chu kho mama anusathiyā
Ar. agena bhayena agena usāhena (*D*) esa chu kho mama anusathiya
Nand. agena bhayena agena usāhena (*D*) esa chu kho mama anusathiya
Rām. agena bhayena agena usāhena (*D*) esa chu kho mama anusathiya
All. agena bhayena a[g]ena usāhena (*D*) esa chu kho mama anusathi[y]ā

Tōp. dhaṁmāpekhā dhaṁma-kāmatā chā suve suve vaḍhitā vaḍhīsati chevā
Ar. dhaṁmāpekha dhaṁma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍhita vaḍhisati cheva
Nand. dhaṁmāpekha dhaṁma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍhita vaḍhisati cheva
Rām. dhaṁmāpekha dhaṁma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍhita vaḍhisati cheva
All. dhaṁmāpekhā dhaṁma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍhitā vaḍhisati ch[e]vā

Tōp. (*E*) pulisā pi cha me ukasā chā gevayā chā majhimā chā
Ar. (*E*) pulisā pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha
Nand. (*E*) pulisā pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha
Rām. (*E*) pulisā pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha
All. (*E*) pulisā pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha

Tōp. anuvidhīyaṁtī saṁpaṭipādayaṁti chā alaṁ chapalaṁ samādapayitave
Ar. anuvidhīyaṁti saṁpaṭipādayaṁti cha alaṁ chapalaṁ samādapayitave
Nand. anuvidhīyaṁti saṁpaṭipādayaṁti cha alaṁ chapalaṁ samādapayitave
Rām. anuvidhīyaṁti saṁpaṭipādayaṁti cha alaṁ chapalaṁ samādapayitave
All. anuvidhīyaṁti saṁpaṭipādayaṁti cha alaṁ chapalaṁ samādapayitave

Tōp.	(*F*) hemevā	aṁta-mahāmātā	pi	(*G*) esa	hi	vidhi	yā	iyaṁ	dhaṁmena
Mīr.	. . .	. . . .	.	.	.	.	.	.	. . .
Ar.	(*F*) hemeva	aṁta-mahāmātā	pi	(*G*) esā	hi	vidhi	yā	iyaṁ	dhaṁmena
Nand.	(*F*) hemeva	aṁta-mahāmātā	pi	(*G*) esā	hi	vidhi	yā	iyaṁ	dhaṁmena
Rām.	(*F*) hemeva	aṁta-mahāmātā	pi	(*G*) esā	hi	vidhi	yā	iyaṁ	dhaṁmena
All.	(*F*) heṁmeva	aṁta-mahāmātā	pi	(*G*) esā	hi	vidhi	yā	[i]yaṁ	dhaṁmena

Tōp.	pālanā	dhaṁmena	vidhāne	dhaṁmena	sukhiyanā	dhaṁmena
Mīr.	. . . . [naṁ]	dhaṁmen[a]	v[ī]dh[āne]	dha[me] .	. . .	. . .
Ar.	pālana	dhaṁmena	vidhāne	dhaṁmena	sukh[ī]yana	dhaṁmena
Nand.	pālana	dhaṁmena	vidhāne	dhaṁmena	sukhīyana	dhaṁmena
Rām.	pālana	dhaṁmena	vidhāne	dha[ṁ]m[e]na	sukhīyana	dhaṁmena
All.	pālanā	dhaṁmena	vidhāne	dhaṁmena	sukhīyanā	dhaṁmena

Tōp.	gotī	ti	
Mīr.	. . . .		
Ar.	gotī	ti	
Nand.	gotī	ti	
Rām.	gotī	ti	
All.	[gut]i	[ti	cha]

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT

Tōp.	(*A*) Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āhā	(*B*) dhaṁme	sādhū
Mīr.	(*A*) De[vā]n[a]ṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	[hevaṁ	ā]..	(*B*) dh[aṁ]me	s[ā]dh[u]
Ar.	(*A*) Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āha	(*B*) dhaṁme	sādhu
Nand.	(*A*) Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āha	(*B*) dhaṁme	sādhu
Rām.	(*A*) Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āha	(*B*) dhaṁme	sādhu
All.	(*A*) Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasī	lājā	hevaṁ	āhā	(*B*) dhaṁme	sādhu

Tōp.	kiyaṁ	chu	dhaṁme	ti	(*C*) apāsinave	bahu	kayāne	dayā	dāne	sache
Mīr.	k[iya]ṁ	. . .	. . [m]e	ti	(*C*) a[pā]sinave	bahu	kayāne	dayā	dāne	sache
Ar.	kiyaṁ	chu	dhaṁme	ti	(*C*) apāsinave	bahu	kayāne	daya	dāne	sache
Nand.	kiya	chu	dhaṁme	ti	(*C*) apāsinave	bahu	kayāne	daya	dāne	sache
Rām.	kiyaṁ	chu	dhaṁme	ti	(*C*) apāsinave	bahu	kayāne	daya	dāne	sache
All.	kiyaṁ	chu	dhaṁme	ti	(*C*) apāsinave	bahu	kayāne	dayā	dāne	sache

Tōp.	sochaye		(*D*) chakhu-dāne	pi	me	bahuvidhe	diṁne	(*E*) dupada-
Mīr.	sochaye		(*D*) [chakhu-dā]nā	[pi	me]	bahuvidhe	diṁne	(*E*) du[pa]da-
Ar.	socheye	ti	(*D*) chakhu-dāne	pi	me	bahuvidhe	diṁne	(*E*) dupada-
Nand.	socheye	ti	(*D*) chakhu-dāne	pi	me	bahuvidhe	diṁne	(*E*) dupada-
Rām.	socheye	ti	(*D*) chakhu-dāne	pi	me	bahuvidhe	diṁne	(*E*) dupada-
All.	sochaye		(*D*) chakhu-dāne	pi	me	bahuvidhe	diṁne	(*E*) dupada-

Tōp.	chatupadesu	pakhi-vālichalesu	vividhe	me	anugahe	kaṭe	ā	pāna-
Mīr.	ch[a]tu[pa]desu	pakhi-vālichale[su	viv]i[dhe	me	anu]gahe	kaṭe	ā	pāna-
Ar.	chatupadesu	pakhi-vālichalesu	vividhe	me	anugahe	kaṭe	ā	pāna-
Nand.	chatupadesu	pakhi-vālichalesu	vividhe	me	anugahe	kaṭe	ā	pāna-
Rām.	chatupadesu	pakhi-vālichalesu	vividhe	me	anugahe	kaṭe	ā	pāna-
All.	chatupadesu	pakhi-vālichalesu	vividhe	me	anugahe	kaṭe	ā	pāna-

Tōp.	dākhināye	(*F*) aṁnāni	pi	cha	me	bahūni	kayānāni	kaṭāni	(*G*) etāye
Mīr.	dākhināye	(*F*) a[ṁ]nāni	pi	cha	me	bah[ūni	kayānāni]	kaṭāni	(*G*) etāye
Ar.	dakhināye	(*F*) a[ṁ]nāni	pi	cha	me	bahūni	kayānāni	kaṭāni	(*G*) etāye
Nand.	dakhināye	(*F*) aṁnāni	pi	cha	me	bahūni	kayānāni	kaṭāni	(*G*) etāye
Rām.	dakhināye	(*F*) aṁnāni	pi	cha	me	bahūni	kayānāni	kaṭāni	(*G*) etāye
All.	dakhināye	(*F*) aṁnāni	pi	cha	me	bahūni	kayānāni	kaṭāni	(*G*) etāye

Tōp.	me	aṭhāye	iyaṁ	dhaṁma-lipi	likhāpitā	hevaṁ	anupaṭipajaṁtu	chilaṁ-
Mīr.	me	aṭhāye	iyaṁ	dhaṁma-lipi	li[khāpitā]	. . . . .	anupaṭipajaṁtū	chil[aṁ]-
Ar.	me	aṭhāye	iyaṁ	dhama-lipi	likhāpita	hevaṁ	anupaṭipajaṁtu	chilaṁ-
Nand.	me	aṭhāye	iyaṁ	dhaṁma-lipi	likhāpita	hevaṁ	anupaṭipajaṁtu	chilaṁ-
Rām.	me	aṭhāye	iyaṁ	dhaṁma-lipi	likhāpita	hevaṁ	anupaṭipajaṁtu	chilaṁ-
All.	me	aṭhāye	iyaṁ	dhaṁma-lipi	likhāpitā	hevaṁ	anupaṭipajaṁtu	chila-

Tōp.	thitikā	cha	hotū	tī	ti	(*H*) ye	cha	hevaṁ	saṁpaṭipajīsati	se
Mīr.	[th]itikā	cha	hot[ū]		ti	(*H*) ye	[cha]	. . . . .	. . . . . [sa]ti	se
Ar.	thitīkā	cha	hotū		ti	(*H*) ye	cha	hevaṁ	saṁpaṭipajisati	se
Nand.	thitīkā	cha	hotū		ti	(*H*) ye	cha	hevaṁ	saṁpaṭipajisati	se
Rām.	thitīkā	cha	hotū		ti	(*H*) ye	cha	hevaṁ	saṁpaṭipajisati	se
All.	ṭhitīkā	cha	hotū		ti	(*H*) ye	cha	hevaṁ	saṁpaṭipajisati	se

Tōp.	sukaṭaṁ	kachhatī	ti
Mīr.	sukaṭaṁ	ka[chha]tī	ti
Ar.	sukaṭaṁ	kachhati	ti
Nand.	sukaṭaṁ	kachhati	
Rām.	sukaṭaṁ	kachhatī	ti
All.	sukaṭaṁ	kachhatī	ti

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT

Tōp.	(*A*) Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	ahā	(*B*) kayānaṁmeva	dekhati
Mīr.	(*A*) Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āhā	(*B*) kayānaṁm[eva	de] . . . .
Ar.	(*A*) Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āha	(*B*) kayānaṁmeva	dekhaṁti
Nand.	(*A*) Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āha	(*B*) kayānaṁmeva	dekhaṁti
Rām.	(*A*) Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āha	(*B*) kayānaṁmeva	dekhaṁti
All.	(*A*) Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasī	lājā	hevaṁ	āhā	(*B*) kayānameva	dekhati

Tōp.	iyaṁ	me	kayāne	kaṭe	ti	(*C*) no	mina	pāpaṁ	d[e]khati	iyaṁ	me
Mīr.	. . .	. . .	kayāne	kaṭe	tī	(*C*) no	min[ā]	pāpaṁ	dekhati	iyaṁ	me
Ar.	iyaṁ	me	kayāne	kaṭe	ti	(*C*) no	mina	pāpaṁ	dekhaṁti	iyaṁ	me
Nand.	iyaṁ	me	kayāne	kaṭe	ti	(*C*) no	mina	pāpaṁ	dekhaṁti	iyaṁ	me
Rām.	iyaṁ	me	kayāne	kaṭe	ti	(*C*) no	mina	pāpaṁ	dekhaṁti	iyaṁ	me
All.	iyaṁ	me	kayāne	kaṭe	ti	(*C*) no	mina	pāpakaṁ	dekhati	iyaṁ	me

Tōp.	pāpe	kaṭe	ti	iyaṁ	vā	āsinave	nāmā	ti	(*D*) dupaṭivekhe	chu	kho
Mīr.	pāp[e	kaṭe	ti	iyaṁ	va]	āsinave	nāmā	ti	(*D*) [du]paṭivekhe	chu	kho
Ar.	pāpe	kaṭe	ti	iyaṁ	va	āsinave	nāmā	ti	(*D*) dupaṭivekhe	chu	kho
Nand.	pāpe	kaṭe	ti	iyaṁ	va	āsinave	nāmā	ti	(*D*) dupaṭivekhe	chu	kho
Rām.	pāpe	kaṭe	ti	iyaṁ	va	āsinave	nāmā	ti	(*D*) dupaṭivekhe	chu	kho
All.	pāpake	kaṭe	ti	iyaṁ	vā	āsinave	nāmā	ti	. . . .	. . .	. . .

Tōp.	esā	(*E*) hevaṁ	chu	kho	esa	dekhiye	(*F*) imāni	āsinava-gāmīni	nāma
Mīr.	esā	(*E*) hevaṁ	chu	kho	[esa	de]khiye	(*F*) imāni	āsinav[a-gāmīni]	nāma
Ar.	esa	(*E*) hevaṁ	chu	kho	esa	dekhiye	(*F*) imāni	āsinava-gāmīni	nāmā
Nand.	esa	(*E*) hevaṁ	chu	kho	esa	dekhiye	(*F*) imāni	āsinava-gāmīni	nāmā
Rām.	esa	(*E*) hevaṁ	chu	kho	esa	dekhiye	(*F*) imāni	āsinava-gāmīni	nāmā

Tōp.		atha	chaṁḍiye	niṭhūliye	kodhe	māne	isyā	kālanena	va
Mīr.		atha	chaṁḍ[i]ye	ni[ṭhū]li[y]e	k[o]dhe	māne	isyā	kālanena	[va]
Ar.	ti	atha	chaṁḍiye	niṭhūliye	kodhe	māne	isya	kālanena	va
Nand.	ti	atha	chaṁḍiye	niṭhūliye	kodhe	māne	isya	kālanena	va
Rām.	ti	atha	chaṁḍiye	niṭhūliye	kodhe	māne	isya	kālanena	va

Tōp.	hakaṁ	mā	palibhasayisaṁ		(*G*) esa	bāḍha	dekhiye	(*H*) iyaṁ	me
Mīr.	hakaṁ	mā	palibha[sa]yi[sa]ṁ		(*G*) . . .	bā[ḍhaṁ]	dekhiye	(*H*) iyaṁ	me
Ar.	hakaṁ	mā	palibhasayisaṁ	ti	(*G*) esa	bāḍhaṁ	dekhiye	(*H*) iyaṁ	me
Nand.	hakaṁ	mā	palibhasayisaṁ	ti	(*G*) esa	bāḍhaṁ	dekhiye	(*H*) iyaṁ	me
Rām.	hakaṁ	mā	palibhasayisaṁ		(*G*) esa	bāḍhaṁ	dekhiye	(*H*) iyaṁ	me

Tōp.	hidatikāye	iyaṁmana	me	pālatikāye	
Mīr.	[hi]dat[i]kāye	iyaṁ	me	pālatikāye	
Ar.	hidatikāye	iyaṁmana	me	pālatikāye	ti
Nand.	hidatikāye	iyaṁmana	me	pālatikāye	ti
Rām.	hidatikāye	iyaṁmana	me	pālatikāye	ti

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT

Tōp.	(*A*) Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	l[ā]ja	hevaṁ	āhā	(*B*) saḍuvīsati-vasa-abhisitena
Ar.	(*A*) Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āha	(*B*) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena
Nand.	(*A*) Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āha	(*B*) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena
Rām.	(*A*) Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āha	(*B*) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena

Tōp.	me	iyaṁ	dhaṁma-lipi	likhāpitā	(*C*) lajūkā	me	bahūsu	pāna-sata-sahasesu
Ar.	me	iyaṁ	dhaṁma-lipi	likhāpita	(*C*) lajūkā	me	bahūsu	pāna-sata-sahasesu
Nand.	me	iyaṁ	dhaṁma-lipi	likhāpita	(*C*) lajūkā	me	bahūsu	pāna-sata-sahasesu
Rām.	me	iyaṁ	dhaṁma-lipi	likhāpita	(*C*) lajūkā	me	bahūsu	pāna-sata-sahasesu

Tōp.	janasi	āyatā	(*D*) tesaṁ	ye	abhihāle	vā	daṁḍe	vā	ata-patiye	me
Ar.	janasi	āyata	(*D*) tesaṁ	ye	abhihāle	va	d[a]ṁḍe	va	ata-patiye	me
Nand.	janasi	āyata	(*D*) tesaṁ	ye	abhihāle	va	daṁḍe	va	ata-patiye	me
Rām.	janasi	āyata	(*D*) tesaṁ	ye	abhihale	va	daṁḍe	va	ata-patiye	me

Tōp.	kaṭe	kiṁti	lajūkā	asvatha	abhītā	kaṁmāni	pavatayevū		janasa
Ar.	kaṭe	kiṁti	lajūka	asvatha	abhīta	kaṁmāni	pavatayevū	ti	janasa
Nand.	kaṭe	kiṁti	lajūka	asvatha	abhīta	kaṁmāni	pavatayevū	ti	janasa
Rām.	kaṭe	kiṁti	lajūka	asvatha	abhīta	kaṁmāni	pavatayevū	ti	janasa

Tōp.	jānapadasā hita-sukhaṁ upadahevū anugahinevu chā (*E*) sukhīyana-
Ar.	jānapadasa hita-sukhaṁ upadahevu anugahinevu cha (*E*) sukhīyana-
Nand.	jānapadasa hita-sukhaṁ upadahevū anugahinevu cha (*E*) sukhīyana-
Rām.	jānapadasa hita-sukhaṁ upadahevu anugahinevu cha (*E*) sukhīyana-

Tōp.	dukhīyanaṁ jānisaṁti dhaṁma-yutena cha viyovadisaṁti janaṁ jānapadaṁ
Ar.	dukhīyanaṁ jānisaṁti dhaṁma-yutena cha viyovadisaṁti janaṁ jānapadaṁ
Nand.	dukhīyanaṁ jānisaṁti dhaṁma-yutena cha viyovadisaṁti janaṁ jānapadaṁ
Rām.	dukhīyanaṁ jānisaṁti dhaṁma-yutena cha viyovadisaṁti janaṁ jānapadaṁ

Tōp.	kiṁti hidataṁ cha pālataṁ cha ālādhayevū ti (*F*) lajūkā pi laghaṁti
Ar.	kiṁti hidataṁ cha pālataṁ cha ālādhayevu (*F*) lajūkā pi laghaṁti
Nand.	kiṁti hidataṁ cha pālataṁ cha ālādhayevū ti (*F*) lajūkā pi laghaṁti
Rām.	kiṁti hidataṁ cha pālataṁ cha ālādhayevū ti (*F*) lajūkā pi laghaṁti

Tōp.	paṭichalitave maṁ (*G*) pulisāni pi me chhaṁdaṁnāni paṭichalisaṁti
Ar.	paṭichalitave maṁ (*G*) pulisāni pi me chhaṁdaṁnāni paṭichalisaṁti
Nand.	paṭichalitave maṁ (*G*) pulis[ā]ni pi me chhaṁdaṁnāni paṭichalisaṁti
Rām.	paṭichalitave maṁ (*G*) pulisāni pi me chhaṁdaṁnāni paṭichalisaṁti

Tōp.	(*H*) te pi cha kāni viyovadisaṁti yena maṁ lajūkā chaghaṁti
Mīr.	. . . . [ka] chaghaṁti
Ar.	(*H*) te pi cha kāni viyovadisaṁti yena maṁ lajūka chaghaṁti
Nand.	(*H*) te pi cha kāni viyovadisaṁti yena maṁ lajūka chaghaṁti
Rām.	(*H*) te pi cha kāni viyovadisaṁti yena maṁ lajūka chaghaṁti

Tōp.	ālādhayitave (*I*) athā hi pajaṁ viyatāye dhātiye nisijitu asvathe
Mīr.	[ā]lādha[y]i[tave] (*I*) . . . . tu asvathe
Ar.	ālādhayitave (*I*) athā hi pajaṁ viyatāye dhātiye nisijitu asvathe
Nand.	ālādhayitave (*I*) athā hi pajaṁ viyatāye dhātiye nisijitu asvathe
Rām.	ālādhayitave (*I*) athā hi pajaṁ viyatāye dhātiye nisijitu asvathe

Tōp.	hoti viyata dhāti chaghati me pajaṁ sukhaṁ palihaṭave hevaṁ
Mīr.	[ho]ti vi[ya] . . . . [l]i[ha]ṭave hev[aṁ]
Ar.	hoti viyata dhāti chaghati me paṁjaṁ sukhaṁ palihaṭave ti hevaṁ
Nand.	hoti viyata dhāti chaghati me pajaṁ sukhaṁ palihaṭave ti hevaṁ
Rām.	hoti viyata dhāti chaghati me pajaṁ sukhaṁ palihaṭave ti hevaṁ

Tōp.	mamā lajūkā kaṭā jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (*J*) yena ete abhītā
Mīr.	[mam]ā [la]jūk[a] . . . . ye (*J*) yen[a] ete a[bh]ītā
Ar.	mama lajūka kaṭa jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (*J*) yena ete abhīta
Nand.	mama lajūka kaṭa jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (*J*) yena ete abhīta
Rām.	mama lajūka kaṭa jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (*J*) yena ete abhīta

Tōp.	asvatha saṁtaṁ avimanā kaṁmāni pavatayevū ti etena
Mīr.	asvatha saṁ . . . . [pa]vataye[v]ū ti [e]te[na]
Ar.	asvathā saṁtaṁ achhimana kaṁmāni pavatayevū ti etena
Nand.	asvathā saṁtaṁ avimana kaṁmāni pavatayevū ti etena
Rām.	asvathā saṁtaṁ avimana kaṁmāni pavatayevū ti etena

Tōp.	me	lajūkānaṁ	abh[i]hāle	va	daṁḍe	vā	ata-patiye	kaṭe
Mīr.	me	[laj]ū[kā]n[aṁ]	. . . .				ata-patiye	kaṭ[e]
Ar.	me	lajūkānaṁ	abhihāle	va	daṁḍe	va	ata-patiye	kaṭe
Nand.	me	lajūkānaṁ	[a]bhihāle	va	daṁḍe	va	ata-patiye	kaṭe
Rām.	me	lajūkānaṁ	abhihāle	va	daṁḍe	va	ata-patiye	kaṭe
All.	. . . .	[kānaṁ	abhihāle	vā	daṁḍe	vā	ata-pa]t[i]y[e	kaṭe]

Tōp.	(*K*) ichhitaviye	[h]i	esā	kiṁti	viyohāla-samatā	cha	siya
Mīr.	(*K*) ichhitavi	. . . .			[h]āla-samatā	ch[a]	siyā
Ar.	(*K*) ichhitaviye	hi	esa	kiṁti	viyohāla-samatā	cha	siya
Nand.	(*K*) ichhitaviye	hi	esa	kiṁti	viyohāla-samatā	cha	siya
Rām.	(*K*) ichhitaviye	hi	esa	ki[ṁ]ti	viyohāla-samatā	cha	siya
All.	(*K*) [i]chh[i]t[a]v[i]y[e]	h[i	e]s[a]	k[iṁ]t[i]	. . . . . la-sama[t]ā	cha	siyā

Tōp.	daṁḍa-samatā	chā	(*L*) ava	ite	pi	cha	me	āvuti	baṁdhana-
Mīr.	daṁḍa-sa[ma]						[me]	āvuti	[ba]ṁdhana-
Ar.	daṁḍa-samatā	cha	(*L*) āvā	ite	pi	cha	me	āvuti	baṁdhana-
Nand.	daṁḍa-samatā	cha	(*L*) āvā	ite	pi	cha	me	āvuti	baṁdhana-
Rām.	daṁḍa-samatā	cha	(*L*) āvā	ite	pi	cha	me	āvuti	baṁdhana-
All.	da[ṁ]ḍa-samatā	cha	(*L*) āva	ite	pi	cha	me	āvuti	baṁdhana-

Tōp.	badhānaṁ	munisānaṁ	tīl[i]ta-daṁḍānaṁ	pata-vadhānaṁ	tiṁni	divasā[n]i
Mīr.	[badh]ānaṁ	munisā[naṁ]	. . . .	vadhānaṁ	tiṁni	di[va]sāni
Ar.	badhānaṁ	munisā[na]ṁ	tīlita-daṁḍānaṁ	pata-vadhānaṁ	tiṁni	divasāni
Nand.	badhānaṁ	munisānaṁ	tīlita-daṁḍānaṁ	pata-vadhānaṁ	tiṁni	divasāni
Rām.	badhānaṁ	munisānaṁ	tīlita-daṁḍānaṁ	pata-vadhānaṁ	tiṁni	divasāni
All.	badhānaṁ	munisānaṁ	tīlīta-daṁḍānaṁ	pata-vadhānaṁ	tiṁni	divasāni

Tōp.	me	yote	diṁne	(*M*) nātikā	va	kāni	nijhapayisaṁti	jīvitāye
Mīr.	[m]e	y[o]te	diṁne	(*M*)			payisa[ṁ]ti	j[ī]v[i]tāye
Ar.	me	yote	diṁne	(*M*) nātikā	va	kāni	nijhapayisaṁti	jīvitāye
Nand.	me	[yo]te	diṁne	(*M*) nātikā	va	kāni	nijhapayisaṁti	jīvitāye
Rām.	me	[y]ote	diṁne	(*M*) nātikā	va	kāni	nijhapayisaṁti	jīvitāye
All.		yote	diṁne	(*M*) . . . . [k]ā	va	kāni	nijhapayisaṁti	jīvitāye

Tōp.	tānaṁ	nāsaṁtaṁ	vā	nijhapayitā	dānaṁ	dāhaṁti	pālatikaṁ
Mīr.	tāna[ṁ]	nāsaṁtaṁ	[v]ā	ni . . . . ti			pālatikaṁ
Ar.	tānaṁ	nāsaṁtaṁ	va	nijhapayi[ta]ve	dānaṁ	dāhaṁti	pālatikaṁ
Nand.	tānaṁ	nāsaṁtaṁ	va	nijhapayi[tav]e	dānaṁ	dāhaṁti	pālatikaṁ
Rām.	tānaṁ	nāsaṁtaṁ	va	nijhapayitave	dānaṁ	dāhaṁti	pālatikaṁ
All.	tānaṁ	nāsaṁtaṁ	vā	nijhapayitā	dānaṁ	dāhaṁti	pālatikaṁ

Tōp.	upavāsaṁ	va	kachhaṁti	(*N*) ichhā	hi	me	hevaṁ	niludhasi	pi
Mīr.	u[pa]vāsaṁ	vā	k[a]	(*N*)			hevaṁ	niludhasi	pi
Ar.	upavāsaṁ	va	kachhaṁti	(*N*) ichhā	hi	me	hevaṁ	niludhasi	pi
Nand.	upavāsaṁ	va	kachhaṁti	(*N*) ichhā	hi	me	hevaṁ	niludhasi	pi
Rām.	upavāsaṁ	va	kachhaṁti	(*N*) ichhā	hi	me	hevaṁ	niludhasi	pi
All.	upavāsaṁ	vā	[ka]chha[ṁ]ti	(*N*)	[h]i	me	hevaṁ	niludhasi	pi

Tōp.	kālasi	pālataṁ	ālādhayevū	ti	(*O*) janasa	cha	vaḍhati	vividhe
Mīr.	[k]ālasi	pā[la]taṁ	ālādha[ye]				vaḍhati	vividhe
Ar.	kālasi	pālataṁ	ālādhayevū	ti	(*O*) janasa	cha	va[ḍha]ti	vividhe
Nand.	[kālas]i	pālataṁ	ālādhayevū	t[i]	(*O*) janasa	cha	vaḍhati	vividhe
Rām.	kālasi	pālataṁ	ālādhayevū	ti	(*O*) janasa	cha	vaḍhati	vividhe
All.	kālasi	pālataṁ	ālādhayev[u]		(*O*) janasa	cha	vaḍhati	vividhe

Tōp.	dhaṁma-chalane	saṁyame	dāna-savibhāge	ti
Mīr.	dhaṁma-chal[a]ne	saṁyame	dā[na]	
Ar.	dha[ṁ]ma-chalane	sayame	dāna-saṁvibhāge	ti
Nand.	dhaṁma-chalane	sayame	dāna-savibhāge	ti
Rām.	dhaṁma-chalane	sayame	dāna-savibhāge	ti
All.	dhaṁma-chalane	sayame	dāna-savibhāge	

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT

Tōp.	(*A*) Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	ahā	(*B*) saḍuvīsati-vasa-abhisitena
Ar.	(*A*) Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āha	(*B*) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitasa
Nand.	(*A*) Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āha	(*B*) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitasa
Rām.	(*A*) Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āha	(*B*) saḍuvīsati-[va]sābhisitena
All.	(*A*) . . . . . . [p]iye	Piyadasī	lājā	hevaṁ	āhā	(*B*) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena

Tōp.	me	imāni		jātāni	avadhiyāni	kaṭāni	seyathā	suke	sālikā	alune
Ar.	me	imāni	pi	jātāni	avadhyāni	kaṭāni	seyatha	suke	sālika	alune
Nand.	me	imāni	pi	jātāni	avadhyāni	kaṭāni	seyath[ā]	suke	sālika	alune
Rām.	me	imāni	pi	jātāni	avadhyāni	kaṭāni	seyatha	suke	sālika	alune
All.	me	imāni		jātāni	avadhiyāni	kaṭāni	seyatha	suke	sālikā	alune

Tōp.	chakavāke	haṁse	naṁdīmukhe	gelāṭe	jatūkā	aṁbā-kapīlikā	daḷī
Ar.	chakavāke	haṁse	naṁdīmukhe	gelāṭe	jatūka	aṁbā-kapilika	duḷi
Nand.	chakavāke	haṁse	naṁdīmukhe	gelāṭe	jatūka	aṁbā-kapilika	duḷi
Rām.	chakavāke	haṁse	naṁdīmukhe	gelāṭe	jatūka	aṁbā-kapilika	duḷi
All.	chaka[v]āke	. . . .	[naṁdī]m[u]khe	gelāṭe	jatūk[ā]	aṁbā-kipilikā	duḍī

Tōp.	anaṭhika-machhe	vedaveyake	Gaṁgā-pupuṭake	saṁkuja-machhe	kaphaṭ[a]-
Ar.	anaṭhika-machhe	vedaveyake	Gaṁgā-pupuṭake	saṁkuja-machhe	kaphaṭa-
Nand.	anaṭhika-machhe	vedaveyake	Gaṁgā-pupuṭake	saṁkuja-machhe	kaphaṭa-
Rām.	anaṭhika-machhe	vedaveyake	Gaṁgā-pupuṭake	saṁkuja-machhe	kaphaṭa-
All.	anaṭhika-machhe	vedaveyake	Gaṁgā-p[u]p[u]ṭake	saṁkuja-machhe	kaphaṭa-

Tōp.	sayake	paṁna-sase	simale	saṁḍake	okapiṁḍe	palasate	seta-kapote
Ar.	seyake	paṁna-sase	simale	saṁḍake	okapiṁḍe	palasate	seta-kapote
Nand.	seyake	paṁna-sase	simale	saṁḍake	okapiṁḍe	palasate	seta-kapote
Rām.	seyake	paṁna-sase	simale	saṁḍake	okapiṁḍe	palasate	seta-kapote
All.	. . . . k[e]	p[a]ṁna-sase	simale	saṁḍa			[ta]-kapote

Tōp.	gāma-kapote	save	chatupade	ye	paṭibhogaṁ	no	eti	na	cha
Ar.	gāma-kapote	save	chatupade	ye	paṭipogaṁ	no	eti	no	cha
Nand.	gāma-kapote	save	chatupade	ye	paṭibhogaṁ	no	eti	na	cha
Rām.	gāma-kapote	save	chatupade	ye	paṭibhogaṁ	no	eti	na	cha
All.	gāma-kapote	sa[v]e	chatu[pa]de	ye	paṭ[i]bhogaṁ	[no]	. . . . .		

Tōp.	khādiyatī	(*C*)		i	[e]ḷakā	chā	sūkalī	chā	gabhinī	va	pāyamīnā
Ar.	khādiy[a]ti	(*C*)	ajakā	nāni	eḍakā	cha	sukalī	cha	gabhinī	va	pāyamīnā
Nand.	khādiyati	(*C*)	ajakā	nāni	eḍakā	cha	sūkalī	cha	gabhinī	va	pāyamīnā
Rām.	khādiyaṭi	(*C*)	ajakā	nāni	eḷakā	cha	sūkalī	cha	gabhinī	va	pāyamīnā
All.	. . .	. .		nā	. .	. .	. .	. .	.	.	[p]ā[ya]mī . .

Tōp.	va	avadhi[y.	p.ta]ke	pi	cha	kāni	āsaṁmāsike	(*D*) vadhi-kukuṭe
Mīr.	. .	. . . .	[potake	pi	cha]	k[ā]n[i]	. . . . ke	(*D*) [vadh]i-kukuṭe
Ar.	va	avadhya	potake		cha	kāni	āsaṁmāsike	(*D*) vadhi-kukuṭe
Nand.	va	avadhya	potake		cha	kāni	āsaṁmāsike	(*D*) vadhi-kukuṭe
Rām.	va	avadhya	potake		cha	kāni	āsaṁmāsike	(*D*) vadhi-kukuṭe

Tōp.	no	kaṭaviye	(*E*) tuse	sajīve	no	jhāpetaviye	(*F*) dāve	anaṭhāye	vā
Mīr.	no	kaṭaviye	(*E*) tuse	sajī[ve]	. . . .	ta[v]iye	(*F*) dāve	[a]naṭhāye	vā
Ar.	no	kaṭaviye	(*E*) tuse	sajīve	no	jhāpayitaviye	(*F*) dāve	anaṭhāye	va
Nand.	no	kaṭaviye	(*E*) tuse	sajīve	no	jhāpayitaviye	(*F*) dāve	anaṭhāye	va
Rām.	no	kaṭaviye	(*E*) tuse	sajīve	no	jhāpayitaviye	(*F*) dāve	anaṭhāye	va
All.	. .	. .	. .	sajīve	no	jhā[pa] .	. .	. .	. .

Tōp.	vihisāye	vā	no	jhāpetaviye	(*G*) jīvena	jīve	no	pusitaviye
Mīr.	vihisāye	vā	no	[jhāpe]ta[vi]ye	(*G*) jī[v]ena	j[īv]e	no	pusi[ta]viye
Ar.	vihisāye	va	no	jhāpayitaviye	(*G*) jīvena	jīve	no	pusitaviye
Nand.	vihisāye	va	no	jhāpayitaviye	(*G*) jīvena	jīve	no	pusita iye
Rām.	vihisāye	va	no	jhāpayitaviye	(*G*) jīvena	jīve	no	pusitaviye

Tōp.	(*H*) tīsu	chātuṁmāsīsu	tisāyaṁ	puṁnamāsiyaṁ	tiṁni	divasāni
Mīr.	(*H*) tīsu	chātaṁmāsīsu	[t]isāya[ṁ]	pu[ṁna]mā[si]ya[ṁ]	tiṁni	divasāni
Ar.	(*H*) tīsu	chātuṁmāsīsu	tisyaṁ	puṁnamāsiyaṁ	tiṁni	divasāni
Nand.	(*H*) tīsu	chātuṁmāsīsu	tisiyaṁ	puṁnamāsiyaṁ	tiṁni	divasāni
Rām.	(*H*) tīsu	chātuṁmā[s]īsu	tisyaṁ	puṁnamāsiyaṁ	tiṁni	divasāni
All.	. .	. . .	. .	. . . . .	. .	. [n]i

Tōp.	chāvudasaṁ	paṁnaḍasaṁ	paṭipadāy[e]	dhuvāye	chā	anuposathaṁ
Mīr.	chāvudasaṁ	paṁnaḍasaṁ	p[a]ṭipadā	dh[r]uvāye	cha	anuposathaṁ
Ar.	chāvudasaṁ	paṁnaḷasaṁ	paṭipadaṁ	dhuvāye	cha	anuposathaṁ
Nand.	chāvudasaṁ	paṁnaḷasaṁ	paṭipadaṁ	dhuvāye	cha	anuposathaṁ
Rām.	chāvudasaṁ	paṁnaḍasaṁ	paṭipadaṁ	dhuvāye	cha	anuposathaṁ
All.	chā[v]u[da]saṁ	[pa]ṁcha[da] .	. . .	. . .	. .	. . .

Tōp.	machhe	avadhiye	no	pi	viketaviye	(*I*) etāni	yevā	divasāni	nāga-
Mīr.	machhe	avadhiye	no	pi	viketav[i]ye	(*I*) etān[i]	yeva	divasāni	n[ā]ga-
Ar.	machhe	avadhye	no	pi	viketaviye	(*I*) etāni	yeva	divasāni	nāga-
Nand.	machhe	avadhye	no	pi	viketaviye	(*I*) etāni	yeva	divasāni	nāga-
Rām.	machhe	avadhye	no	pi	viketaviye	(*I*) etāni	yeva	divasāni	nāga-

Tōp.	vanasi	kevaṭa-bhogasi	yāni	aṁnāni	pi	jīva-nikāyāni	no	haṁtaviyāni
Mīr.	van[a]si	kevaṭa-bhogasi	y[āni	aṁnāni]	pi	jīva-nikāyān[i]	no	[ha]ṁtaviyānī
Ar.	vanasi	kevaṭa-bhogasi	yāni	aṁnāni	pi	jīva-nik[ā]yāni	no	haṁtaviyāni
Nand.	vanasi	kevaṭa-bhogasi	yāni	aṁnāni	pi	jīva-nikāyāni	no	haṁtaviyāni
Rām.	vanasi	kevaṭa-bhogasi	yāni	aṁnāni	pi	jīva-nikāyāni	no	haṁtaviyāni

Tōp. (*J*) aṭhamī-pakhāye chāvudasāye paṁnaḍasāye tisāye punāvasune tīsu
Mīr. (*J*) aṭham[i-pakhā]ye [chā]vudasāye paṁ[na]ḍasāye tisāye punāvasune tīsu
Ar. (*J*) aṭhami-pakhāye chāvudasāye paṁnaḍasāye tisāye punāvasune tīsu
Nand. (*J*) aṭhami-pakhāye chāvudasāye paṁnaḷasāye tisāye punāvasune tīsu
Rām. (*J*) aṭhami-pakhāye chāvudasāye paṁnaḍasāye tisāye punāvasune tīsu

Tōp. chātuṁmāsīsu sudivasāye gone no nīlakhitaviye ajake eḍake sūkale
Mīr. chātuṁmāsīsu sudivasāye gone no nīlakhitavi[y]e ajake eḷake sūkale
Ar. chātuṁmāsīsu sudivasāye gone no nīlakhitaviye ajake eḷake sūkale
Nand. chātuṁmāsīsu sudivasāye gone no nīlakhitaviye ajake eḷake sūkale
Rām. chātuṁmāsīsu sudivasāye gone no nilakhitaviye ajake eḷake sūkale

Tōp. e vā pi aṁne nīlakhiyati no nīlakhitaviye (*K*) tisāye punāvasune
Mīr. e vā pi aṁ[n]e nī[la]khi[ya]ti [no] nīlakhitaviye (*K*) tisāye punāvasun[e]
Ar. e vā pi aṁne nīlakhiyati no nīlakhitaviye (*K*) tisāye punāvasune
Nand. e vā pi aṁne nīlakhiyati no nīlakhitaviye (*K*) tisāye punāvasune
Rām. e vā pi aṁne nīlakhiyati no nīlakhitaviye (*K*) tisāye punāvasune

Tōp. chātuṁmāsiye chātuṁmāsi-pakhāye asvasā gonasā lakhane no kaṭaviye
Mīr. chātuṁmāsiye chātu[ṁ]māsi-pakhāye asvasā gonasā lakhane no ....[v]iye
Ar. chātuṁmāsiye chātuṁmāsi-pakhāye asvasa gonasa lakhane no kaṭaviye
Nand. chātuṁmāsiye chātuṁmāsi-pakhāye asvasa gonasa lakhane no kaṭaviye
Rām. chātuṁmāsiye chātuṁmāsi-pakhāye asvasa gonasa lakhane no kaṭaviye
All. . . . . [lakha]n[e no kaṭaviye]

Tōp. (*L*) yāva-saḍuvīsati-vasa-abhisitena me etāye aṁtalikāye paṁnavīsati
Mīr. (*L*) yā[va]-saḍuvīsati-[va]sa-abhisitena me etāye a[ṁ]talikāye paṁnavīsati
Ar. (*L*) yāva-saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitasa me etāye aṁtalikāye paṁnavīsati
Nand. (*L*) yāva-saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena me etāye aṁtalikāye paṁnavīsati
Rām. (*L*) yāva-saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena me etāye aṁtalikāye paṁnavīsati
All. (*L*) [y]ā . . . .

Tōp. baṁdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni
Mīr. baṁdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni
Ar. baṁdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni
Nand. baṁdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni
Rām. baṁdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT

Tōp. (*A*) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ ahā (*B*) duvāḍasa-
Ar. (*A*) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ āha (*B*) duvā[ḍa]sa-
Nand. (*A*) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ āha (*B*) duva[ḷa]s[a]-
Rām. (*A*) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ āha (*B*) duvāḍasa-
All. (*A*) ...... [p]iye [P]iyada[s]ī l[ā] . . . .

Tōp. vasa-abhisitena me dhaṁma-lipi likhāpitā lokasā hita-sukhāye se taṁ
Ar. vasābhisitena me dhaṁma-lipi likhāpita lokasa hita-sukhāye se taṁ
Nand. [va]sābhisitena me dhaṁma-lipi likhāpita lokasa hita-sukhāye se taṁ
Rām. vasābhisitena me dhaṁma-lipi likhāpita lokasa hita-sukhāye se taṁ

Tōp.	apahaṭā	taṁ	taṁ	dhaṁma-vaḍhi	pāpovā	(*C*) hevaṁ	lokasā	hita-
Ar.	apahaṭa	ṭaṁ	taṁ	dhaṁma-vaḍhi	pāpova	(*C*) hevaṁ	lokasa	hita-
Nand.	apahaṭa	taṁ	taṁ	dhaṁma-vaḍhi	pāpova	(*C*) hevaṁ	lokasa	hita-
Rām.	apahaṭa	taṁ	taṁ	dhaṁma-vaḍhi	pāpova	(*C*) hevaṁ	lok[a]sa	hita-
All.	. . . .	t[aṁ]	. . . . . .	[ḍh]i	[pā]....	(*C*) heva[ṁ	lokasa]	hita-

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Tōp.	[sukhe]	ti	paṭivekhāmi	atha	iyaṁ	nātisu	hevaṁ	patiyāsaṁnesu
Ar.	sukhe	ti	paṭivekhāmi	athā	iyaṁ	nātisu	hevaṁ	patyāsaṁnesu
Nand.	sukhe	ti	paṭivekhāmi	athā	iyaṁ	nātisu	hevaṁ	patyāsaṁnesu
Rām.	sukhe	ti	paṭivekhāmi	atha	iyaṁ	nātisu	hevaṁ	patyāsaṁnesu
All.	sukhe	ti	paṭivekhāmi	atha	[iya]ṁ	. . . .	[va]ṁ	[paty]āsa[ṁ]ne[su]

Tōp.	hevaṁ	apakaṭhesu	kimaṁ	kāni	sukhaṁ	avahāmī	ti	tatha	cha
Ar.	hevaṁ	apakaṭhesu	kiṁmaṁ	kāni	sukhaṁ	āvahāmī	ti	tathā	cha
Nand.	hevaṁ	apakaṭhesu	kiṁmaṁ	kāni	sukhaṁ	āvahāmī	ti	tathā	cha
Rām.	hevaṁ	apakaṭhesu	kiṁmaṁ	kāni	sukhaṁ	āvahāmī	ti	tathā	cha
All.	[heva]ṁ	apaka[ṭh]e[su]	kimaṁ	[k]ā[ni]	. . .	. .	.	.	.

Tōp.	vidahāmi	(*D*) hemevā	sava-nikāyesu	paṭivekhāmi	(*E*) sava-pāsaṁḍā
Ar.	vidahāmi	(*D*) hemeva	sava-nikāyesu	paṭivekhāmi	(*E*) sava-pāsaṁḍā
Nand.	vidahāmi	(*D*) hemeva	sava-nikāyesu	paṭivekhāmi	(*E*) sava-pāsaṁḍā
Rām.	vidahāmi	(*D*) hemeva	sava-n[i]kāyesu	paṭivekhāmi	(*E*) sava-pāsaṁḍā
All.	[v]i[dah]āmi	(*D*) hevaṁmeva	[sa]va..[k]āyesu	paṭivekhāmi	(*E*) [sa]va-pāsaṁḍā

Tōp.	pi	me	pūjitā	vividhāya	pūjāyā	(*F*) e	chu	iyaṁ	at[a]nā	pachūpagamane
Mīr.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	ūpagamane
Ar.	pi	me	pūjita	vividhāya	pūjāya	(*F*) e	chu	iyaṁ	atana	pachūpagamane
Nand.	pi	me	pūjita	vividhāya	pūjāya	(*F*) e	chu	iyaṁ	atana	pachūpagamane
Rām.	pi	me	pūjita	vividhāya	pūjāya	(*F*) e	chu	iyaṁ	atana	pachūpagamane
All.	pi	me	pūjitā	vividhāya	[pū]jāyā	(*F*) e	chu	iy[a]ṁ	atanā	pachupagamane

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Tōp.	se	me	mokhya-mate	(*G*) saḍuvīsati-vasa-abhisitena	me	iyaṁ	dhaṁma-
Mīr.	se	me	mokhya-mate	(*G*) saḍu . . . . isitena	me	iyaṁ	dhaṁma-
Ar.	se	me	mukhya-mute	(*G*) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena	me	iyaṁ	dhaṁma-
Nand.	se	me	mokhya-mute	(*G*) saḍuvīsati-va[s]ābhisitena	me	iyaṁ	dhaṁma-
Rām.	se	me	mokhya-mute	(*G*) saḍuvīsat[i]-vasābhisitena	me	iyaṁ	dhaṁma-
All.	se	me	mukhya-mute	(*G*)	. .	. .	.

Tōp.	lipi	likhāpitā	
Mīr.	li[pi]	li......	
Ar.	lipi	likhāpita	
Nand.	lipi	likhāpita	
Rām.	lipi	likhāpita	
All.	lipī	likhāpitā	ti

IV. THE RUPNATH ROCK-INSCRIPTION AND COGNATE INSCRIPTIONS

Rūp.	(*A*) Devānaṁpiye	heva[ṁ]	āhā	(*B*) sāti[ra]kekāni	aḍhati[y]āni
Sah.	(*A*) Devānāṁpiye	he[vaṁ	ā]		[iyāni]
Bair.	(*A*) Devānāṁpiye		āh[ā]	(*B*) s[ā]ti	
Mas.	(*A*) Dev[ā]na[ṁ]piyasa	Asok[a]sa	. . . .		[a]ḍh[a]t[i] . . ni
Brah.	(*B*) Devāṇaṁpiye	āṇapayati		(*C*) adhikāni	aḍhātiyāni
Śidd.	(*B*) [Dev]ā[na]ṁpiye	hevaṁ	āha	(*C*) adhikāni	a[ḍhā]t[i]y[āni]
Jaṭ.	(*B*) Dev[ā]n[a]	. . .	. .	. . . . .	. . . . .

Rūp.	va	ya	sumi prakāsa	[Sa]k[e]	(*C*) no	chu		bāḍhi
Sah.	[savachhalāni ı	a]ṁ	upāsake	sumi ı	(*C*) na	chu		bāḍhaṁ
Bair.	vasān[i]	ya	hakaṁ	upāsake	(*C*) [no	chu]		bāḍhaṁ
Mas.	vashā[ni] ı	aṁ	sum[i]	Bu[dha]-Śake				
Brah.	v[a]sāni	ya	hakaṁ	. . . sa[ke]	(*D*) no	tu	kho	bāḍhaṁ
Śidd.	vasāni	ya	ha[kaṁ	u]pāsake	(*D*) no	tu	kho	bāḍha
Jaṭ.	. . .	ya	hakaṁ	. . . . .	(*D*) . . .		kho	bāḍha

Rūp.	pakate				(*D*) sātileke	chu	
Sah.	[palaka]ṁ[t]e				(*D*) sav[a]chhale		
Bair.	. . .	. .	. .	. . . .	. . . .	. .	. .
Mas.			(*C*)	. . . .	. [t]ire . .		
Brah.	prakaṁte	husaṁ	ekaṁ	savachharaṁ	(*E*) sātireke	tu	kho
Śidd.	pakaṁte	husaṁ	ek[aṁ]	sa[vachha] . .	(*E*) [sātire]ke	tu	kho
Jaṭ.	. . .	. .	. .	. . .	(*E*) . . ti[reke]	. .	.

Rūp.	chhavachhare	ya	sumi haka[ṁ]	sagh[a]	up[e]te	bāḍhi	ch[a]
Sah.	sādhi[ke ı	aṁ]					
Bair.	. . . .	aṁ	mamayā	saghe	[u]payāte	[bā]ḍha	cha
Mas.		. . . . [m]i		[s]aṁgha[ṁ]	u[pa]gate	[uṭh]	
Brah.	saṁvachhareṁ	yaṁ	mayā	saṁghe	upayīte	bāḍhaṁ	cha
Śidd.	saṁvachhare	[yaṁ	mayā	saṁ]ghe	upayīte	bāḍhaṁ	[cha]
Jaṭ.	. . .	[ya]ṁ	. . [yā]	. . .	. . .	. . .	. .

Rūp.		pakate	(*E*) yā	[i]māya	kālāya	Jaṁbudipasi	
Sah.	. . . . .	[te]	(*E*) [etena	cha	aṁta]lena ı	Jaṁbudīpasi ı	
Bair.	. . .	. .	. . . .	. .	. . . .	Jaṁbudipasi	
Mas.	. . m[i]	u[pa]gate	(*D*) pure			Jaṁbu . . . . s[i]	
Brah.	me	pakaṁte	(*F*) iminā	chu	kālena	amisā	samānā
Śidd.	[me]	p[akaṁ]te	(*F*) i[m]inā	chu	kālena	[a]misā	samā[nā]
Jaṭ.	. . .	. .	. . . .	. .	. . . .	. . .	. .

Rūp. amisā devā husu te dāni m[i]s[ā] kaṭā
Sah. aṁmisaṁ-[de]vā । saṁta munisā [m]isaṁ-deva [kaṭā ।]
Bair. amisā na devehi . . . . . . [m]i . . . .
Mas. [ye amisā devā husu] te [dā]n[i] misibhūtā
Brah. munisā Jaṁbudīpasi mi[s]ā devehi
Śidd. mu . . . . Jaṁbu[d] . . . [mi]sā devehi
Jaṭ. . . . .

Rūp. (*F*) pakāmasi hi [e]sa phale (*G*) no cha esā mahatatā
Sah. (*F*) [pala] . . . . . [iyaṁ phale] (*G*) [no] . . . [yaṁ] mahatatā va
Bair. (*F*) . . [ka]masa esa . . l[e] (*G*) [no] hi e[s]e ma[ha]taneva
Mas. (*E*) iya a[the]
Brah. (*G*) pakamasa hi iyaṁ phale (*H*) no hīyaṁ sakye
Śidd. (*G*) pakamasa hi iyaṁ phale (*H*) no [h]i iya sake
Jaṭ. (*G*) . . . [h]i i[yaṁ] . . . .

Rūp. p[ā]potave khudakena pi
Sah. chakiye pāv[a]t[a]ve । khudakena pi
Bair. chakiye . . . .
Mas. [khu]dake[na pi]
Brah. mahātpeneva pāpotave kāmaṁ tu kho khudakena pi
Śidd. [ma] . . . . [ne]va pāpo[ta]ve kāmaṁ tu kho khudakena pi
Jaṭ. . . . .

Rūp. pa[ka]mam[i]nenā sakiye pipule pā svage ārodheve
Sah. palakamamīnenā vipule pi s[u]ag . . . [k]iye [ālā] . . . [ve ।]
Bair. . . kamaminenā vipule pi śvage [cha]kye [ā]lādheta[v]e
Mas. dhama-yute[na] sake adhigatave (*F*) na hevaṁ dakhitaviye
Brah. paka[m]i . . ṇeṇa vipule svage sakye ārādhetave
Śidd. [pa] . . . . na [v]ipul[e] svage sak[e] ārādhetave
Jaṭ. . . . .

Rūp. (*H*) etiya aṭhāya cha sāvane kaṭe kh[u]dakā cha
Sah. (*H*) se etāye aṭh[ā]ye iyaṁ sāvāne । khudakā cha
Bair. (*H*) . . . . kā cha
Mas. [uḍā]lake va ima adhigachh[e]yā ti (*G*) [khudak]e [cha]
Brah. (*I*) e[t]āyaṭhāya iyaṁ sāvaṇe sāvāpite . . . . . .
Śidd. (*I*) [s]e . . . . ya [iya]ṁ sāvaṇe sāvite yathā khu[dakā cha]
Jaṭ. . . . .

Rūp. uḍālā cha pakamatu ti atā pi cha jānaṁtu
Sah. uḍālā chā pa[la]kamaṁtu aṁtā pi ch[a] jānaṁtu ।
Bair. [u]ḍ[ā]lā chā [pala]kamatu [t]i [aṁ]tā pi cha jānaṁtu ti
Mas. [uḍ]ālake cha vataviyā hevaṁ ve kalaṁtaṁ bha[dak]e
Brah. mahāt[p]ā cha imaṁ pakame[yu t]i aṁtā cha mai jāneyu
Śidd. [ma]hātpā cha imaṁ [pa]kameyu ti atā cha . . . .
Jaṭ. . . . .

Rūp. iya paka[rā va] kiti chira-ṭhitike siyā (*I*) iya hi aṭhe
Sah. chila-ṭhit[īke] cha p[a]l[ā]kame hotu । (*I*) iya[ṁ] cha [aṭhe]
Bair. [ch]ila-ṭhit . . . .
Mas. [se a] . . . . t[i]k[e] cha
Brah. chira-ṭhitīke cha iyaṁ [paka] . . . . . . (*J*) iyaṁ cha aṭhe
Śidd. [chira]-ṭhi[t]īk[e] cha iyaṁ pakame hoti (*J*) . . . .
Jaṭ. . . . . [cha] . . .

Rūp. vaḍhi vaḍhisiti vipula cha vaḍhisiti
Sah. vaḍhisati । vipulaṁ pi cha vaḍhisati diyāḍhiyaṁ
Bair. . . . . laṁ pi vaḍhisati . . . . .
Mas. va[ḍhi]siti chā diya[ḍhi]yaṁ
Brah. vaḍhisiti vipulaṁ pi cha vaḍhisiti
Śidd. va[ḍh]isiti vipu[la]ṁ p[i] cha vaḍhisiti
Jaṭ. . . [ḍhi]s . . . . [p]ulaṁ pi . . . . .

Rūp. apaladhiyenā diyaḍhiya vaḍhisata (*J*) iya cha aṭhe pavatis[u]
Sah. aval[a]dhiyenā diy[a]ḍhiyaṁ vaḍhisati । (*L*) ima cha aṭhaṁ pavatesu
Bair. . . . . . . diyaḍhiyaṁ vaḍhi[sa]ti . . . .
Mas. he[vaṁ] ti
Brah. avaradhiyā diyaḍhiyaṁ [vaḍh]isiti
Śidd. [a] . . . . . . [yaḍhiya]ṁ vaḍhisiti
Jaṭ. . . . . [ya]ḍhiyaṁ . . . . .

Rūp. lekhāpeta vālatā (*K*) hadha cha athi sālā-ṭh[abh]e silā-
Sah. [likhāpa]yāthā (*M*) ya . . [vā] ath[i] hetā silā-thaṁ[bh]ā tata

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Rūp. ṭha[ṁ]bhasi lākhāpetavaya ta (*L*) etinā cha vayajanenā yāvataka
Sah. pi [likhāpayatha t]i
Sār. (*I*) āvate

Rūp. tupaka ahāle savara vivasetavā[ya] ti
Sār. cha tuphākaṁ āhāle savata vivāsayātha tuphe etena viyaṁjanena

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Rūp. (*M*) vy[u]ṭhenā sāvane kaṭe
Sah. (*J*) iyaṁ [cha savane v]ivuthena (*K*) duve sapaṁnā
Brah. (*K*) iyaṁ cha sāvan[e] sāv[ā]p[i]te vyūthena
Śidd. (*K*) i[ya]ṁ [cha] sā[va]ṇe . . . . . .
Jaṭ. (*K*) i . . . . . s[āvaṇe] . . . . [th]e[na]

Rūp. (*N*) 200 50 6 sata vivāsā ta
Sah. lāti-satā vivuthā ti 200 50 6
Brah. (*L*) 200 50 6
Śidd. (*L*) [200] 50 6
Jaṭ. (*L*) 200 50 6

INDEX

THIS index contains every word of Aśōka's inscriptions, with the exception of a few particles (*cha, pi, vā, hi*). Of the six pillar-edicts, only the Delhi-Tōprā version is quoted; but one of the five other copies of these edicts is referred to if the reading of one or more of them differs from the standard text. The following abbreviations are employed:

Gir. = Girnār.
Kāl. = Kālsī.
Shāh. = Shāhbāzgaṛhī.
Mān. = Mānsehrā.
Dhau. = Dhauli.
Jau. = Jaugaḍa.
Sep. = Separate edicts (of Dhauli and Jaugaḍa).
Sōp. = Sōpārā.
Tōp. = Delhi-Tōprā.
Mīr. = Delhi-Mīraṭh.
Ar. = Lauṛiyā-Ararāj.
Nand. = Lauṛiyā-Nandangaṛh.
Rām. = Rāmpurvā.
All. = Allahabad-Kōsam.
Qu. = Queen's edict.
Kauś. = Kauśāmbī edict.
Sāṁ. = Sāṁchī.
Sār. = Sārnāth.
Rum. = Rummindēī.
Nig. = Nigālī Sāgar.
Rūp. = Rūpnāth.
Sah. = Sahasrām.
Bair. = Bairāṭ.
Calc. = Calcutta-Bairāṭ.
Mas. = Maski.
Brah. = Brahmagiri.
Śidd. = Śiddāpura.
Jaṭ. = Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara.
Bar. = Barābar.

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CORRIGENDA

Introduction, pages xlv–xlvii.—Since I wrote chapter IV of the Introduction, I have lost my belief in the correctness of the meaning 'on tour', assigned to *vyushṭa*, and am now convinced that this past participle has to be taken in the same sense as e.g. in the *Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra*, IV, 5, 30, viz. 'having spent the night (in prayer)'. Cf. JRAS, 1904. 364 f. (Kielhorn); 1911. 1106 (Fleet); 1916. 113 ff. (Thomas). I would now translate sections J–K of the Sahasrām edict (Text, p. 171) as follows: 'And this proclamation (was issued) by (me after I had) spent the night (in prayer). Two hundred and fifty-six nights (had then been) spent (in prayer).' The translations of the corresponding portions of the Rūpnāth and Brahmagiri edicts (Text, pp. 169 and 177 f.) have to be modified in a similar way. But *vivāsayātha* at Sārnāth (section I, p. 162) and *vivasetavā[ya]* (read *vivāsetaviye*) at Rūpnāth (section L, p. 167) probably mean nothing but 'expel ye (schismatic monks or nuns)'; and *vivāsāpayāthā* at Sārnāth (section J, p. 162) would mean 'issue ye orders to expel (schismatic monks or nuns).' See Thomas, JRAS, 1915. 111 f.

Introduction, page li, lines 14, 15, 17. *For* instruction *read* exhortation.

Introduction, page lxxvi, line 13 from bottom. *Read as follows*: The two Sanskrit masculines *prāṇa* and *vṛiksha* are used as neuters: *pānāni* (I, 3, 4) and *[lu]khāni*[2] (II, 6).

Page 2, note 6. *Add*: According to the *Suttanipāta*, II, 7, verse 25, king Okkāka sacrificed many times 100,000 cows.

Page 12, Roman text, line 12. *For* ta[2] (M) etāya *read* (M) ta etāya.

„ „ Cancel note 2.

„ 13, section (M). *For*: For the following purpose *read*: Now for the following purpose.

„ 15, note 7, line 4. *For* XIII, I *read* XIII, l. 4.

„ 56, note 21. For the Rāshṭrikas see the Introduction, p. xxxviii, line 2 from bottom.

„ 69, section (M). *For* converts *read* exhorts.

„ „ note 3. *Add*: See also *Kāvyaprakāśa*, sec. ed., p. 57. मञ्चा हसन्ति occurs already in the *Mahābhāshya* on Pāṇ. IV, 1, 48, *Vārttika* 3.

„ 73, Roman text, line 9. *For* duva[.a]śa- *read* duva[ḍa]śa-.

„ 95, line 3. *For* (thus) *read* (this).

„ 96, section (N). *For* arise to you *read* arise in you.

„ „ „ (T). *For* badly fulfils this duty *read* fulfils this duty badly.

„ 97, „ (V). *For* edict *read* rescript.

„ „ „ (CC), line 3. *For* thus, as *read* just as.

„ 99, Translation, section (A). *For* (thus) *read* (this).

„ „ „ „ (E), line 2. *For* thus *read* so.

„ 100, section (I). *For* inspire confidence to them *read* inspire them with confidence.

Page 100, section (J). *For* entertain *read* maintain.
„ „ „ (K). *For* inspire confidence to those (borderers) *read* inspire those (borderers) with confidence.
„ 100, section (M). *For* inspire confidence to those borderers (of mine) *read* inspire those borderers (of mine) with confidence.
„ 119, Nāgarī text, line 4. *For* सुसूयाया *read* सुसूसाया.
„ „ Roman text, line 4. *For* su[sū]yāyā *read* su[sū]sāyā.
„ 133, note 6, line 3. *For kākapāda* read *kākapada.*
„ 137, sections (JJ), (KK), and (NN). *For* conversion *read* exhortation.
„ 142, Second Pillar-Edict, Roman text, line 4. *For* sukataṁ *read* sukaṭaṁ.
„ 145, Sixth Pillar-Edict, Nāgarī text, line 3. *For* हेव *read* हेवं.
„ 147, Second Pillar-Edict, Roman text, line 5. *For* sukataṁ *read* sukaṭaṁ.
„ 179, line 19. *For* . . . [ki]tī *read* . . [ki]tī.
„ 184, line 23. *For* tim *read* tiṁ.
„ 235, second column, line 22 from bottom. *For* [āl]as[y]e[na] *read* [āla]s[y]e[na].